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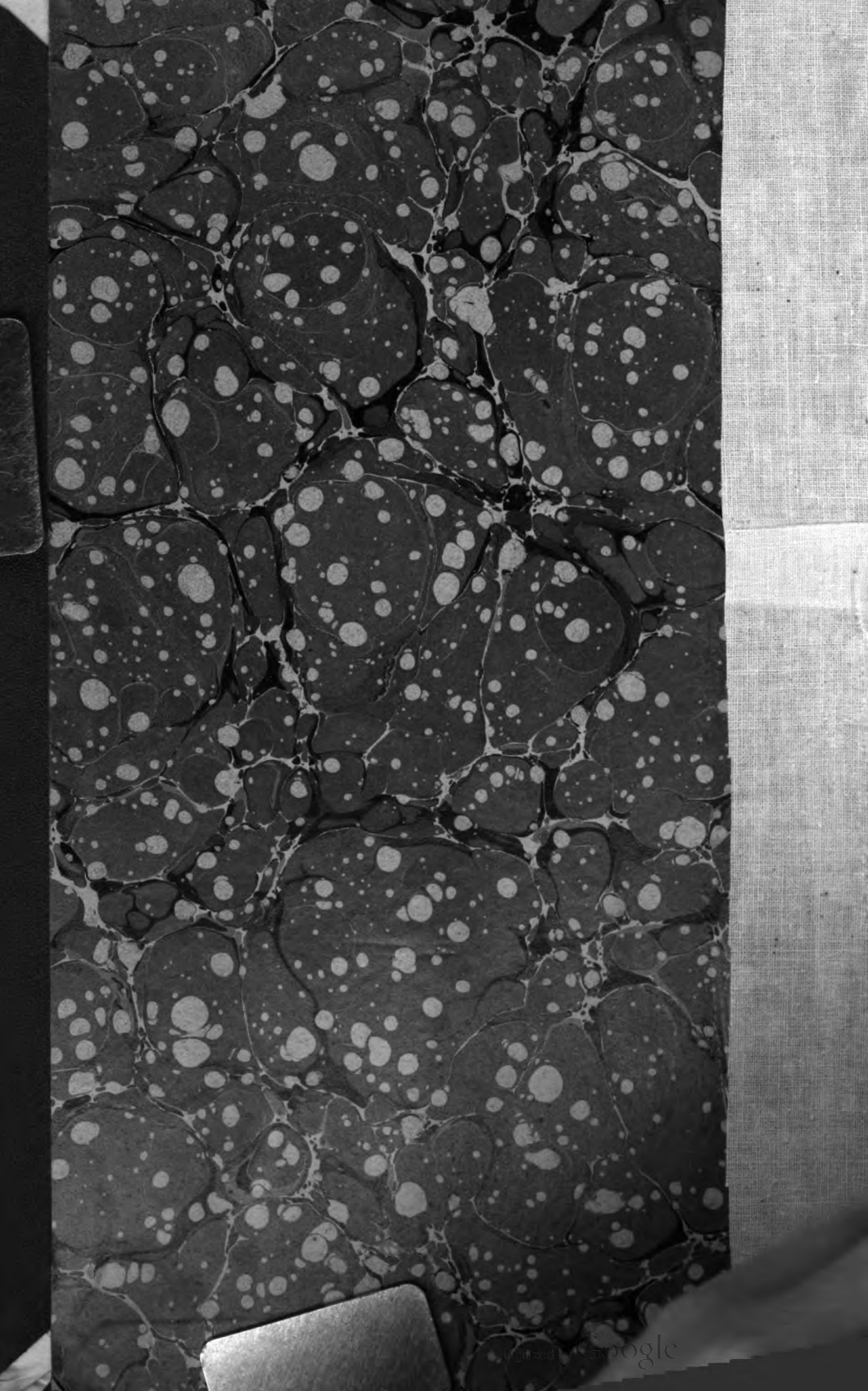
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THE  
AMERICAN  
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY  
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE  
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. XXIII, I.

WHOLE No. 89.

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## I.—PROBLEMS IN GREEK SYNTAX.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

#### INTRODUCTORY.

Some nine years ago I conceived the plan of collecting my own studies in Greek syntax, together with those that had been set on foot at my suggestion, and of publishing the whole under the title of 'Problems in Greek Syntax.' While I found little to retract, there was not a little to add by way of further illustration and

<sup>1</sup> In an address delivered in December, 1899, on the 'Place of Philology,' President Wheeler of the University of California made public lamentation over 'the exaggerated attention paid to syntax in American class-rooms of Greek and Latin' as constituting 'the severest menace to the usefulness and therefore to the continuance of classical study'. This warning was duly echoed by the editor of the *Classical Review*, himself a grammarian; but as no names were mentioned and as, of late years, other American scholars have flooded the philological world, and, for aught I know, their class-rooms, with a fertilizing Nile of syntactical studies, I might have failed to take the lesson to myself. True, I have worked at syntax and if I have not 'turned up the field of Aphrodite or the Charites' with my grammatical ploughshare, as Pindar would say, I have, at least, like Tennyson's Northern Farmer (Old Style) 'stubbd' or helped to stub 'Thurnaby waāste.' But in order that I might not comfort myself with the thought that I had done some decent work and that at any rate I was not the greatest sinner in the land, the editor of an English educational journal proceeded to point President Wheeler's moral and to reinforce Professor Postgate's comment by holding up Professor Gildersleeve as one who had exercised a deleterious influence on cis-Atlantic classical studies. What a sad return for the patience with which I have kept my arrows within my quiver for all these years! μή τις ἐτι πρόφρων ἀγανδὲς καὶ

explanation, and the volume would have bulked largely enough to arrest the attention of the scholarly world. For no *obiter dicta*, no pregnant aphorisms, will avail nowadays. If the chips are not sent in with the table, the table cannot be accepted as a specimen of joiner's work. To this collection I intended to prefix an introductory essay which should set forth my point of view and indicate some lines of research that could, in my judgment, be profitably pursued. In the preparation of this essay I made use of no works of reference, in the hope that I should thereby gain in readableness, a hope which proclaims me to be still in the bonds of literary iniquity.<sup>1</sup> No true grammarian has any right to be readable. Being called on unexpectedly to say something at the Chicago meeting of the American Philological Association, in 1893, I availed myself of the opportunity to air some of the notions embodied in the essay, so that a few of the phrases here used may be familiar to some of my readers and in the time that has elapsed some of the points made have been more fully developed, now in the Journal, now in special treatises by my students, and haply by others. On reviewing this performance I cannot help thinking that while it was well to abandon the projected volume of syntactical studies, the introductory matter

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ἡπιος ἔστω. But the publication of this series of papers will show how little I am disturbed by these criticisms, which I mention by way of encouragement to my fellow-syntacticians and I resume my lucubrations in cheerful mood. *ἄσφα δρῶν εὐφραине θυμόν*, says Bakchylides. And should I ever need heartening, I will read and re-read what Weil, who is no syntactician à *outrance*, has written on the subject of Greek Syntax in the *Journal des Savants* for May, 1901. '<Le> don < de sentir et de faire sentir les nuances les plus délicates >, nécessaire à tout grammairien, l'est particulièrement à celui qui entreprend d' écrire une syntaxe grecque. Rien ne ressemble moins à un code : elle obéit, il est vrai, à des lois que l'on peut dégager, mais dès qu'on essaye de formuler ces lois, elle résiste, elle réclame sa liberté : cette liberté n'est cependant pas la licence ; si elle semble enfreindre la lettre de la loi, c'est pour mieux se conformer à son esprit. C'est que la langue grecque, produit naturel d'un peuple admirablement doué, n'a pas connu pendant des siècles le joug étroit des grammairiens de profession ; instrument d'une merveilleuse souplesse, elle s' accommoda au caractère des genres littéraires, au génie des poètes, des orateurs, des écrivains qui savaient en jouer, capable de rendre les plus fines nuances du sentiment et de la pensée. Mobile et variée à l'infini, tout en restant la même, cette langue fait, par son apparente indiscipline, le désespoir des grammairiens rigides et les délices des esprits qui savent la goûter.'

<sup>1</sup> The notes are all afterthoughts.



may not have lost all its interest. As editor of the American Journal of Philology I have imposed on myself a self-denying ordinance, and when after the first ten years, the supply of copy for the department of original communications became ample, I withdrew into the narrow confines of 'Brief Mention.' But in the volumes that are yet to be issued under my management I expect to try the patience of my subscribers more seriously than I have done heretofore, and with this number I make the beginning.

It is a droll fate that a man whose ambition for all his early years was to be a poet, or, failing that, to be a man of letters, should have his name, so far as he has a name at all, associated with that branch of linguistic study which is abhorrent to so many finely constituted souls. But when I renounced literature as a profession and betook myself to teaching, I found that there was no escape from grammar, if I was to be honest in my calling. Every teacher must spend much time in the study of grammar, if he is to do his duty, for no teacher finds any grammar satisfactory at all points. Each author has a grammar of his own, written or unwritten. Each student has a grammar of his own, has his ways of adjusting the phenomena to his range of vision or *vice versa*, less frequently *vice versa*. As soon as one begins to handle the language practically, to set exercises, to correct exercises, even in the elementary form of retroversion, problems are sure to arise. The rules will not work; the facts will not fit into the scheme; analysis will not yield synthesis; the prepositions and the cases are rebellious; and the moods and tenses will not reproduce themselves, when the test of retranslation is applied. It is in the very beginnings that the troubles show themselves. In Greek verse composition, in Latin verse composition, the problems are not so obtrusive. They are veiled in phraseology, and hence in the mosaic of Greek and Latin verses there are much fewer errors in grammar than might be expected from the very slender knowledge that the artists display when they come to write on grammatical subjects. One is reminded of the way in which Aristophanes mimics epic syntax. True, in almost all modern productions of this kind the eye of the student of historical syntax will detect absurd lapses, absurd anachronisms, absurd violations of sphere;<sup>1</sup> but if we are

<sup>1</sup> So in running my eye over a volume of Greek verses to which I owe some pleasant half-hours, I notice *εἶεν* in Attic verse as a present; 2nd pers. pres.

to lay righteousness to the line and judgment to the plummet, there will be no enjoyment of any artificial poetry, there will be no pleasure in the study of the Alexandrians or in the contemplation of the Greek Anthology. There is such a thing as being too sensitive. One scholar tells us that Victor Hugo lost somewhat of his French touch by his residence in Jersey. Another that Lysias had lived too long in the West to be considered a safe guide in the matter of Atticism.<sup>1</sup> Let us not be too hard to please; let us not break the bruised 'Reeds of Cam' nor pluck to pieces the paper 'Garland of the Severn,' nor stop our ears to the 'Whispers of the Hesperides.' The advantage that comes to the individual from the close study of diction and versification is undeniable, and the cheap fun that has been made of Latin and Greek verse-wrights ought not to lead scholars who have not been brought up under English influences to sneer at exercises that have a positive value. What English scholar would be guilty of such quantities as German 'Gelehrte' inflict on a long-suffering public?<sup>2</sup> What sterner demand for practice in verse-making could be made than has been made of late by Wilamowitz—one of the most brilliant scholars of our day? No translator 'is he that cannot translate both ways.'<sup>3</sup> But the advantage is an individual

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subj. with neg. as an imperative, which, by the way, may be found in Hug's Symposium 179, B 5 (μή λέγης); the articular infinitive used with the same freedom as in prose; πρίν with pres. inf. as a normal thing and as many *deī* σ' *δπως*'s as are to be found in the whole range of Greek literature.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. IV 88.

<sup>2</sup> "Quanta tum forem felicitate beatus" is an hexameter pilloried in the Cl.R. 1892, p. 452, and the following note copied from the Nation of March 17, 1892, may be of interest. 'I had just re-read,' says "An Old Contributor," 'Ritschl's merciless review of Madvig's "Adversaria" in which the Danish scholar's false quantities are not spared (Opusc. iii. 164), when I opened a volume of "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft Wilhelm von Christ zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht" and began with the "Carmen Salutatorium" by J. Menrad, who is known as the author of a creditable piece of work on contraction and synizesis in Homer. Where his master, Christ, studied I do not know; but many a sexagenarian scholar of Ritschl would rather have died at fifty-nine than have lived on to be congratulated in a poem that begins with the portentous blunder *Iam lux ter vicies*. To be sure, *vicies* is no worse than Madvig's *nâtasce* and *pâletur*, and Latin verses are an anachronism; but the anachronist should possess and use a *Gradus ad Parnassum* under penalty of having his verses considered *perparvi valoris*, as a German Latinist wrote the other day.'

<sup>3</sup> A. J. P. XIII 517.

advantage and belongs to a range of studies that the world rightly or wrongly has agreed to discard. *Versus et cetera ludicra pono.* The teacher's main business is to account for the phenomena of the authors read in class; and composition is tolerated chiefly for the exactness it gives in the command of the facts.<sup>1</sup> It is just here, just in the daily explanation of the texts, just in the correction of exercises that almost every thoughtful teacher finds difficulties more or less abundant, according to his vision, according to his temperament. And my first studies in Greek syntax were of this practical kind. Many of the formulae reached during twenty years of teaching were deposited in the notes of my edition of Justin Martyr, which I have elsewhere compared to a hunter's *cache*, and much that I have written since is little more than a justification of rules and principles established or verified in the course of my class-work. Established or verified, I say. To the eye of the specialist the novelties are few indeed; and what I have fancied was my own may have been nothing but reminiscence. Questions of originality and priority concern me little. He would be a poor teacher who should not hit upon a happy phrase, an apt formula now and then. What I am desirous of setting forth is the point of view, which, apart from the moral obligations of the teacher, has given grammatical research so large a place in my professional life. But of this point of view, this creed, this ideal, I have written at some length in my essay on 'Grammar and Aesthetics'; and I will not repeat what I have set down there. Suffice it to say, the study of Greek syntax would always have imposed itself on me as a duty, but take away its spiritual, its artistic content, and it would cease to be for me the meadow of asphodel it has been for years. It would lack the purple glow that lights up the arid plain of grammar until it becomes the Elysian fields of art. It is the moral, the aesthetic side of the study that has interested me from the beginning, and it is the glimpses of the moral and the aesthetic side that have made me less forlorn. The man in Bunyan was so busy with his muck rake that he did not see the crown of glory that was over his head. The muck rake is sometimes the only instrument by which the crown of glory can be reached.

Fortunately for the student of the historical syntax of Greek that wishes to redeem his department from the charge of that

<sup>1</sup>See an article entitled: *Quelques mots sur l'histoire du thème grec*, *Revue Universitaire*, 15 mars, 1893, p. 281.

statistical dulness into which we have been drifting of late, aesthetic syntax is an organic part of his work, an inevitable part of his work. For history we must have chronology and the various départements of Greek literature develop themselves chronologically, so that one important factor in the account is secure. But in the history of literature, chronology is not everything. The sphere must be considered, and the more one studies, the more one becomes convinced of the importance of the literary range. Each department of literature has a history of its own; each author has a stylistic syntax of his own; and these are the problems that have always interested me most, that have made of a passionate lover of literature a dispassionate dissector of language. But the anatomist and the physiologist have their loves despite scalpel and microscope, and I trust that the grammarian has not wholly killed the literary man in me. Indeed so far from that, it is the literary man in me that seeks the aid of the grammarian at every turn. Grammatical figure cannot be divorced from rhetorical figure. Music is older than rhetoric, rhetoric is older than grammar. What were the men who used the language doing in the long ages before writing checked growth? All through those aeons artistic work was going forward, and not all unconsciously. From the grammatical side euphony is movement in the line of least resistance. From the artistic side it is delight in the play of sound; and the artistic definition has imposed itself on grammar. What is analogy from the linguistic side, is love of symmetry from the artistic side. Language as art, is the art of arts, and outdoes in its perfection painting and sculpture, but art works under law and it is largely the function of grammar to determine the law. We cannot escape grammar when we study style; and he did good service who entitled his book a 'Grammar of Ornament.' We cannot escape grammar when we study style. We cannot escape style when we study grammar. Bald truism, perhaps. But unless I am mistaken few appreciate how close the connexion is, how often the interpretation of a point of grammar turns upon the knowledge of an author's style. Perhaps I may be pardoned for giving one or two familiar illustrations from elementary grammar.

#### THE SENTENCE.

Syntax begins with the sentence—*si dis placet*. Of course, in genetic syntax one does not deal with such old-fashioned things

as 'sentence,' 'subject' and 'predicate.' Genetic syntax has to do with 'current' and 'poles,' but for the outer world it may be safe to say that syntax begins with the sentence. To be sure, the most simple form of the sentence, the finite verb with its implied subject, does not admit of syntax. As soon, however, as the subject is expressed, the problem begins. *εἶπον*. Well and good. But are we to say *ἐγὼ εἶπον* or *εἶπον ἐγὼ*? And lo! we encounter at once the question of hiatus, we encounter the question of position, we encounter the question of expressing the subject at all, every one a stylistic problem.<sup>1</sup>

Our grammars tell us that the subject need not be expressed, nay, is not expressed unless it is emphatic; but it is expressed, needlessly expressed, expressed where we can feel no special emphasis. The verbs of these subjects have a certain range; they are very often verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, and with these verbs the first person is very often expressed where we do not feel the need. This assertion of personality in *ἐγὼ*, in *ἐγώμαι*, is a clue to the tone. The same phenomenon is set down as vulgar in Latin. It is to a certain extent vulgar in Greek, and we are not surprised that the vulgarian Aischines is given to an undue use of the personal pronoun outside of the consecrated range. Is it not 'better form' in our own world to suppress 'I' in favor of the colorless 'one,' in favor of the impersonal passive?

One of the first sections in syntax is the use of the copula. Of course, we are promptly told that the copula is often dispensed with, as in *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ* and all the other wise saws that we quote, but do not practise. Strictly speaking, we might turn the statement round. The verb which serves as a flux—*εἰμί*—was originally something more than a flux, shows itself, if half a chance be given it, much more than a flux. Two words put side by side will work out the problem of predicate and subject. The old will be the subject, the new will be the predicate, or they will be subject and predicate in turn. We cannot help asking the stylistic meaning of this so-called omission of the copula. Being primal, it belongs to elevated language. Pindar scarcely ever uses the copula, the flux. Being primitive, it is found in proverbial language and proverbial language belongs to the speech of the people. Extremes meet in syntax as in vocabu-

<sup>1</sup>See Ritter, *Untersuchungen über Plato*, p. 90. Cf. A. J. P. VI 489 and X 439 (Hussey).

lary. Our poetical words are often vulgar. Our vulgar words are often poetical. One would like to know more about the omission of the copula than is taught in school grammars.<sup>1</sup> Go a step farther in the same direction. When two substantives are put side by side, one may serve as predicate to the other. Which is which, is extra-linguistic. In Latin juxtaposition must be made to yield the result. There are certain conventionalities, as they are called, in position, *mons summus, summus mons*. In Greek the development of the article serves to distinguish subject from predicate. All this comes naturally from the demonstrative force of the article. The article gives the old notion (*schon da gewesen*), the anarthrous the new. But see how stylistic considerations come into the naïveté of language. At a late period the prefixing of the article here and the omission of it there, were looked upon as a contrivance for avoiding ambiguity, just as in still later times the prefixing of the article was looked upon as a means of indicating gender, τὸ ἄρθρον being practically τὰ ἄρθρα.<sup>2</sup> Outside of such combinations as οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος, with the article, in which we have the old appositive use, the predicative position of the article, as it is called, involves a certain amount of analysis and it is not impossible that in οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ a later time may have felt οὗτος as the predicate. Another such gnomon of style was recognized by the Greeks themselves in the different attributive positions of the article, adjective and substantive. ὁ ἐμὸς υἱός was to them an illustration of συντομία, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς of ὄγκος, and the swell of the latter form was sought after by some of the orators. The third position υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς depends for its interpretation on the grammatical stage of the language. When the article is still largely implicit, when υἱός is ὁ υἱός then υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς = ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς. When it is explicit, then υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς has a decidedly naïve effect, the after-thought ὁ ἐμὸς is a *grata negligentia*, a slipshodness of the Greeks, and we are not surprised to find it so often

<sup>1</sup> See now Bishop on the omission of the copula with -τέον, A. J. P. XX 248, and Delbrück, Vergl. S. III 121. Worse than useless is such a note as Campbell's on Plato, Theaet. 143 E: 'The adjective receives greater emphasis by the omission of the substantive verb.' It is an explanation that fails to explain.

<sup>2</sup> Theon προγνμν. II 83 Sp.: προσθέσει ἄρθρων οὐκέτι ἀμφίβολος γίνεται ἡ λέξις. In old-fashioned grammars of Latin *hic, haec, hoc* served as substitutes for ὁ, ἡ, τό. Every one will remember the Latin lesson in the Merry Wives of Windsor: 'Articles are borrowed of the pronoun and be thus declined, *singulariter, nominativo, hic, haec, hoc.*'



in Herodotos.<sup>1</sup> But this is only one of the manifestations of the article that cannot be studied grammatically without being studied stylistically. Beginning as a demonstrative pronoun, the article never loses its demonstrative force, but its sphere and its range are different at different times and in different authors. The Homeric use is an adumbration of what it is to be, but the epic use is not the lyric use, the lyric use is not the dramatic use. Compare the chorus of the drama with the dialogue. Compare comic poetry with tragic. The article with proper names has in it a history of styles from the universal omission in the epic to the universal employment in the late Homeric paraphrast.<sup>2</sup> The orators are bound as the historians are not, and among themselves the orators, vary according to their regard for the conventionalities. But I must not let my illustrations outgrow my thesis, which after all no one will think it worth while to controvert. Every Greek syntax is more or less a *syntaxis ornata*, and if I shall be able to extend the domain of this *syntaxis ornata*, I shall be more than satisfied.

The facts are doubtless more or less familiar and my only hope is that the grouping of the facts and the presentation of the facts may be of service to those who have not made a special study of the relations of grammar and style. Nor need there be any dread lest the necessary analysis destroy the feeling for language. Feeling for language is not destroyed by multiplied observations of this sort. Nay, it is but heightened. The reasoned observation passes over into the unreasoned perception. The mere literary student of style may be able to pronounce with Cicero's man that this verse is by Plautus, this not<sup>3</sup>, but the scientific student of literature has other and more certain tests. After a while the application of these tests becomes so instinctive that the process is not felt, and when the rhetorician tells the grammarian that this piece of Lysias and that piece of Demosthenes are indistinguishable,<sup>4</sup> the grammarian feels an array of differences as immediately as if he had not learned those differences by analysis.

<sup>1</sup> See Aristotle's Rhetoric III c. 2, and my comments on his example τῆς ἡμετέρας γυναικός A. J. P. XX 459, which must not be taken too seriously. To the examples of *pluralis maiestatis* there given, add Eur. El. 34: ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ δίδωσιν Ἡλέκτραν ἔχειν | δάμαρτα. On the slipshod position see Justin Martyr Apol. 1, 6, 7; A. J. P. VI 262 where I correct my statement as to Lucian, and XVII, 126, 518; and Milden's dissertation on the Limits of the Predicative Position in Greek, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XI 483.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. Fam. IX 16, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal., Dem. 992 R.

## PARTS OF SPEECH.

There is a queer little book by Spangenberg (A. J. P. VIII 255), if indeed it be by Spangenberg,<sup>1</sup> in which the Nouns under their king *Poeta* make war on the Verbs under their King *Amo*. Spangenberg's—or rather Guarna's—jest becomes earnest with us and we also have to recognize a certain rivalry between the two in the matter of aesthetic syntax. Hermogenes, a famous rhetorician, gives us to understand that the use of the noun gives a certain dignity to style<sup>2</sup> and a practical illustration of this even in English is furnished by a comparison of the style of Johnson, and the style of Addison as was pointed out long ago. See my *Essays and Studies* p. 155. Whence this dignity? The meaning of the noun is more implicit than that of the verb. The noun wraps itself up, as it were, in its mantle with an air of reserve and whereas the finite verb reveals its voice, its mood, its tense, its person, the abstract noun lets you divine all this. Noun and verb are twins, but not more unlike were Esau and Jacob, Esau, the outspoken and Jacob, the supplanter. Each of these twins has its advantages, the noun in compactness, the verb in directness. But the lively Greek is not content with one advantage at a time—*ἀ ὅς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν*—and impatient of reserve introduces the articular infinitive to do the office of both noun and verb. Introduces it, for the articular infinitive seems to have belonged originally to the realm of vulgar speech, to the realm of eating and drinking—*τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν*. It is not allowed to figure in the aristocratic epic, for in nothing does Parmenides show more plainly his indifference to style than in the use of the articular infinitive in the hexameter. It appears, though rarely, in the lyric, which will not be bound by conventionalities. Fiery Alkaios will cry out:

τὸ γὰρ  
Ἄρει κατάνην κάλον

and lofty Pindar will deign to say:

τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον αἰθλων.

<sup>1</sup> See Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* Bd. 154 (1896), p. 443, and a long article by L. Fränkl in *Z. f. vergl. Littg.* XIII, 242, which goes to show that the author is Andreas Guarna Salernitanus. The book was published at Strassburg 1512.

<sup>2</sup> Classen, *Einleitung zu Thuk.* LXVI, A. J. P. VIII 333, XVI 525, XX, 111 and now my *Greek Syntax* §§ 61, 141.

But for all that, the articular infinitive is a tribune of the people, a representative of the wants and wishes of the mobile verb. To be sure, it may be said that the infinitive was an abstract noun, to begin with, but it had become the drudge in the family of the verbs and it had served as a substitute for every mood. The patrician Claudius had become the plebeian Clodius and at first τὸ θανεῖν could hardly have been more dignified than τὸ θρέττε. But the promotion of the infinitive and its free association with abstract nouns on a footing of equality gave it something of the σεμνότης of its companions and yet the σεμνότης is a false σεμνότης and there is an ἀπειροκαλία about it at times that reminds one of the market-place. The free use of the articular infinitive in narrative, the free use of the articular infinitive, where the regularly developed verbal noun will serve, are notes of a vulgar style, such as that of Polybios,<sup>1</sup> just as in English 'nonce-nouns' made of infinitives are all vulgar. 'It is my *shoot*', 'it is my *try*' are forcible enough and 'shoot' and 'try' have the same advantage over 'shot' and 'trial' that the articular infinitive has over the verbal noun, but I should think long before using in a serious composition Browning's 'He thinks many a long think'.

To the ancient grammarians the infinitive was not a distinct part of speech. τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον was only a manifestation of the verb, though they might have made it a part of speech with the same right as they made the participle, the μετοχή, a part of speech. Nor did the ancient rhetoricians have much to say about the stylistic effect of the infinitive. But in the participle they did recognize a potent element of style, as I have already set forth at length (A. J. P. IX 137), and well they might. The participle adds color and sweep to description. The color sometimes becomes confusing, the sweep sometimes becomes a tangle, but an ametoichic discourse would lack fluency, would lack light and shade. In Greek the participle is idiomatically used where few languages dare follow. So of two imperatives, one is subordinated and our English resents. There is a variant in Matt. 9, 6, that tells the story. ἔγειρε ἄρῶν σου τὴν κλίνην is the Semitic of ἐγερθεὶς ἄρον. It is ἔγειρε ἄρον in Mark 2, 11. In Luke 5, 24, however, it is ἔγειρε καὶ ἄρας τὸ κλινιδίον σου πορεύου. Nay, the subordination of the participle with the imperative is common enough in the N. T. The great command is: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε

<sup>1</sup> See Hewlett, A. J. P. XI 287.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. But in the narrative even the Greek of the N. T. does not neglect the participle. It could not be Greek at all if it did, and so the Evangelist goes on to say ἐγερθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν where in English we say, 'He arose and departed.'

But the Greek participle did not achieve all its triumphs at once. It has a history. The logical elements which we dissect out of the participle when we call it causal, adversative, conditional, final, all these lay undifferentiated in its original plastic use. This original plastic use is felt throughout the language. This is the use that manifests itself after verbs of perception, for after verbs of actual perception, the participle must be used and no periphrasis will take its place (A. J. P. XIV 374). This is the use that manifests itself in those combinations in which we say that the participle is used *instead* of a substantive, such as αὐτὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόντι, where the translation by an abstract noun destroys the concreteness of the expression.<sup>1</sup> The participle, to begin with, is an adjective but it has more movement than an adjective. The temporal significance is a part of its being. If it loses that temporal significance it is degraded to an adjective, to a noun. If the adjective gains temporal significance it is elevated to the rank of a participle and may take the construction of a participle.<sup>2</sup> Now it is out of that temporal significance that the familiar categories of cause and condition arose; it is in this way that the participle came to be regarded as an abridged sentence, if one may use the somewhat dangerous phraseology of our grammars. But was there to the Greek himself any consciousness of the participial sentence as an abridged sentence? The Greek rhetoricians give us samples of shifting expression which show consciousness, but their evidence has to be taken with considerable caution and our best guide is the usage of the classic authors. When an author uses a conditional sentence in one member of an antithesis and a participle in the other we can hardly deny the full consciousness of a conditional participle.<sup>3</sup> But the conditional participle as such could

<sup>1</sup> For English examples, see Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 263, and cf. A. J. P. XIX 463, XX 353.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pind. O. 9, 2; φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία where one of Pindar's unfortunate commentators wishes to 'emend.' Comp. Ion fr. 1, 7 (Bgk.), where the same word is construed as a participle, παῖδες φωνήεντες, δταν πέσῃ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, | πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Hdt. 1, 187: ἤν σπανίσῃ—μὴ σπανίσας.

not have come at once, because a conditional participle requires the negative μή and the negative μή with the participle is a comparatively late achievement.<sup>1</sup> As we can watch the timid introduction of αὐ with inf. to match αὐ with opt. in *oratio recta*,<sup>2</sup> so we can watch μή stealing into the participial sentence. Once established there, μή extends its empire as by divine right, and this 'generic' use of μή of which so much is made in the grammars is nothing but a transfer from the conditional sentence as abridged in the participle. The conditional sentence itself goes back to the imperative, goes back to the optative meaning of μή, and it is no longer necessary to divide the body of μή and to recognize in it two distinct uses, as is practically done by some, openly by others.<sup>3</sup>

When μή is first used with the participle it is used only in consequence of the general requirements of the sentence. There is, strictly speaking, no μή with the participle in Homer.<sup>4</sup> When we find it again μή with the participle distinctly echoes the μή of an equivalent finite construction. And the articular participle with μή is a condensed form of the conditional relative. The naïveté of the language is over in Pindar's δ μή συνιείς (N. 4, 31) as it is over in Pindar's ἀγνωμον δὲ τὸ μή προμαθεῖν (O. 8, 61). The participle, then, expresses concretely relations that would be expressed logically by the finite verb; and the use of the finite verb for the participle or the participle for the finite verb produces a stylistic effect which the ancient rhetoricians recognized distinctly.<sup>5</sup> But participle in Homer and participle in Isaïos are not the same thing. In Homer involution precedes evolution; in Isaïos evolution precedes involution. It is evening primrose against umbrella. In the one

<sup>1</sup> All these points have been worked out since the date of these remarks in two Johns Hopkins dissertations, Gallaway, On the use of μή with the Participle, and Bolling, On the Participle in Hesiod.

<sup>2</sup> Il. 9, 684—Comp. v. 417.

<sup>3</sup> Cook-Wilson says, 'whatever the common ultimate ancestry of the two meanings of μή, they are as distinct uses as if they were represented by different words.' See A. J. P. XII 520.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. P. XVIII 244, 369. Remarkable is the steadiness of epic syntax even among imitators. See C. J. Goodwin on Apollonius Rhodius. As to the special instance Ap. Rh. 2, 209 οὐδέ τις ἐτλη | μή καὶ λαυκανίην δὲ φορέμενος ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τηλοῦ | ἐστῆώς, that is not a true example of μή with the participle. It is an elliptical figure like μὴ δτι, but that also is alien from epic poetry. But see now G. M. Bolling, The Participle in Apollonius Rhodius (Studies in Honor of B. L. G., p. 462).

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal., *Jud. de Isaëo*, 598 R.; Pindar I. E. cix; A. J. P. IX 142.

case the bud has not opened. In the other the umbrella has been folded. As a verb, the participle encroaches on the verb; as an adjective, it encroaches on the adverb. Here again we have concreteness instead of analysis. Conspicuous is the well-known coincidental use of the participle in that construction in which finite verb and participle are reversible, such as the early use of *φθάνω* and *λανθάνω*, as the later use of *τυγχάνω*.<sup>1</sup> For *λανθάνω* the Greek can use *λάβρα*, for *τυγχάνω* he can use *τύχη*, for *φθάνω* he can use the prefix *προ-*, but what a difference in feeling and color; what a difference in feeling and color in the like use of the adjective, *λαθραῖος* for *λάβρα*, *σκοταῖος* or *σκότιος* for *ἐν σκότῳ*, 'darkling' for 'in the dark,' and the rest of the *-ιος* forms. The manner of the action becomes the characteristic of the agent and in some of the combinations we are not far from the concrete Hebrew. (See Pindar xci note.)<sup>2</sup> *πενταῖος* is 'the son of the fifth day' or as the Hebrew has it, the son of five days, just as *κλεινίος* is the son of *κλεινίας*. Like the English 'son' in proper names, the feeling may be dulled somewhat but it can always be sharpened. The Jewish Mendelssohn thrusts itself on us by sheer bulk, but '-son' and '-sen' are not dead nor is *-ιος* dead. In some of the dialects it is the regular patronymic instead of the genitive. In Attic it is used with the feeling that reminds one of Fitz or Ap before names that are wont to take the Anglo-Saxon 'son.' *κλεινίος* used of Alkibiades is like 'Fitz-Smith' or 'Ap-Smith' for 'Smithson.' But not to enlarge on this point which brings us into perilous proximity to the genitive, there is evidently a greater naïveté, a greater inliness in this use of the adjective for the adverb, *λαθραῖος* for *λάβρα*, *νύχιος* for *ἐν νυκτί*, and a grammatical category becomes a norm of style.

Indeed, every metastasis of the parts of speech is full of stylistic meaning. So the shift from preposition to adverb, from adverb to preposition. Preposition and adverb belong ultimately to the same category. But in Greek the preposition is sharply differentiated from the ordinary adverb by the facility with which it forms those loose compounds, which to the Greek are *παράθετα* rather than *σύνθετα*. Only in a few instances do preposition and verb grow together and form a corporeal unity. The augment and the reduplication come between verb and preposition. There is

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. XII 76.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. Rpb. 614 B: δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρρῇ κείμενος ἀνεβίω.

no marriage, only a 'hand-fasting,' as the Scotch say. The Greek will not submit to more, and submits to this only with the preposition. The pseudo-prepositions may disport themselves with the cases, *ἀπα* may take the dative and *ἐνεκα* the genitive but a false Smerdis, if not the only one,<sup>1</sup> on the list of prepositions proper is *σύν*. Now the growth of this relation between the verb and the preposition we can divine from what the written language reveals. We can see how habit brings about love (*consuetudo concinnat amorem*)—how the independence of the prepositional adverb gives way to the seduction of the verb. The preposition as an independent adverb still exists in prose—but only in a few specimens. Even in poetry we feel more than we do in the case of the non-prepositional adverbs that where the preposition is, the mate cannot be far off. Hence the phenomenon is called *tnesis*, for union having become a second nature, non-union is construed as a divorce, and it is not necessary to speak of *tnesis* as the 'so-called' *tnesis*. Everyone can watch the growth of these alliances in certain verbs; everyone feels the difference between the adverbial state and the prefix state. 'Stretched out' and 'outstretched' are not the same even to us, nor 'fill up' and 'upfill'.<sup>2</sup> But it might be forcing the matter to attach too much importance to the stray prepositions that are still used as adverbs in Greek prose. It is a phraseological survival, an old tradition; and this maintenance of tradition lends raciness to style, makes it idiomatic. A style that abounds in idioms abounds also in traditions, abounds in those unreasoned survivals so precious to the student of language as language, not less precious to the student of language as art.

To the same sphere belongs the shifting use of the prepositions now in composition, now with their cases, now with both. The repetition of the preposition or the use of its synonyms with the case shows a desire to bring out the plastic character of the preposition which is apt to become effaced in the compound, and a large use of such repetitions is stylistically significant. In the earlier language it might be set down to the native desire for reduplication. But in the later language it would seem to show a

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann puts *δά* in the same category, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, p. 453, as Professor Miller kindly reminds me.

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare, R. & J., I 3: 'I must upfill this osier cage of ours | With baleful weeds'; not to cite examples in which the sense is wholly different, as 'run out' and 'outrun.'

conscious desire to be plastic, a would-be naïveté of style. But it would be premature to formulate in this direction, for in spite of recent labors, there remains much to be done in the whole field of prepositions and prepositional combinations, and those who come after us will have to blush for Greek scholarship as we have to blush when we think that the sphere of *σύν* was not delimited until less than thirty years ago, though, it would seem, any novice might have been struck by the range of citation in the ordinary lexicons.<sup>1</sup> And now that one knows what one knows about *σύν*—which is by no means everything—one is apt to speak as if *σύν* had dropped out of the language, and yet the practical death of *σύν* as a preposition did not affect its life as a prefix, so that it can arise and shine as a preposition in later Greek. Xenophon, it is true, may have something to do with this rehabilitation, as Xenophon is accountable for a variety of revivals in later Greek, but Xenophon alone would not have sufficed.

In estimating, therefore, the frequency of prepositions as a norm of style it is necessary to consider both elements of the preposition, the preposition which takes a case, the preposition which serves as a prefix. A simple enumeration of the prepositions will not serve and *ὀλιγοπροθεσία*, *πολυπροθεσία* cannot be based, as Mommsen has based them, on what we may call for brevity's sake the ptotic preposition. Still the variation in the number of these ptotic prepositions is not without its interest, not without its significance. The writer who has to do with the practical realm of things in the outer world must perforce use a large number and great variety of prepositions, as we can see in the narratives of the orators. In the earlier language we should expect the local signification of the cases to be more sharply felt and the use of the ptotic prepositions to be less imperative. But no matter how far back we go, the preposition is needed for the plastic, the concrete in style. The early poet does, it is true, make free use of the dative as a where case, not so free use of the genitive as a whence case, but the accusative as a whither case is reduced to narrow limits and we must not exaggerate this locative use. And even if the figures show *ὀλιγοπροθεσία* as they do in Pindar, the prepositions must be weighed, not counted merely. Pindar's use of the prepositions

<sup>1</sup> In my Pape of 1849, my constant companion for many years, one reads, 'Homer u. Folgende überall,' and yet outside of Xenophon he cites only two passages, both from Plato, one from the Laws. And this is the kind of work that was accepted in my youth as respectable.



is extremely effective and may be set down as a *gnomon* of his style (Pindar I. E. xli, xcvi foll.). But it is not Pindar, it is the tragic poets that outdo early Greek in their locative use of the cases; and this is one of the marks of conscious antiquarianism in the drama that must not be lost sight of in making up the verdict on this manifestation of antique art. No one can study vocabulary or syntax historically without a serious reduction of the *naïf* in his estimates. Much is conscious effort that is set down to native impulse. But if our enjoyment is not to be marred by all this reflexion and all this analysis we must remember that the technique soon ceases to be conscious, that the burin becomes part of the engraver's hand. Not to cite the long vindication of analysis in art given by Dionysios (Dem. 1113 R. foll.), we may simply say with Euenos:

φημί πολυχρονίην μελέτην ἔμεναι φίλε καὶ δὴ  
ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.

#### THE CASES.

From the consideration of the stylistic effect of a shift in the parts of speech we next approach the stylistic effect of a shift in the cases and here we encounter a number of delicate problems that need the application of those precise methods which so many despise. There is a sad if not a dreary lack of statistical and other material. We have dissertations without number on the use of such and such a case in such and such an author but, so far as I am aware, there has been no research into the average frequency of the occurrence of the several cases and no study of the conditions of the varying proportions. And yet vowels and consonants have been counted and that not merely for purposes of phonetic analysis. In our English type-cases the *e*-box is the largest of all. But even in advance of exhaustive investigation it would be safe to say that there must be a different normal use of the nominative in different languages, that there must be a different individual use of the nominative in different authors. Two authors, for instance, might be differentiated by their respective use of the nominative of abstract nouns. The nominative implies person or personification (A. J. P. XX 111). That is the reason why the neuter has no nominative and the free personification of abstract nouns would be foreign to a simple, practical prose style, would be native to

poetry, to philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Much can be learned from a dry Index verborum. To be sure, one cannot take the nominative alone as, indeed, few phenomena of language can be considered alone. So, for instance, the range of the nominative and the range of the passive cannot be wholly dissociated. Some languages have an aversion to the passive. So the whole Germanic group: But in English the repugnance has been overcome by early translation from languages that use the passive freely and by close contact with Romance syntax, and we use the passive with the utmost readiness, nay, the English language is notoriously passive-loving.<sup>2</sup> It is a φιλυπτιωτάτη διαλεκτος, as one might say, and goes beyond its models. And this freedom in the use of the passive is furthered by the degradation of the cases, which enables us to turn the active into the passive as readily as does the Greek, nay, more readily. But when we compare Greek with Latin we see the difference. In Latin the dative is not turned into a nominative with the passive as in Greek, but recourse is had to an impersonal passive and φθονοῦμαι becomes *mihi invidetur*. This use of the impersonal, of the dative, carries with it a certain legal particularity of tone, which is in perfect accordance with the character of the Latin language. When the Latin language violates its rule we feel that it is off on a frolic with the Greek. At the same time it will be noticed that the Greek is much more shy of turning its so-called intransitives into impersonal passives. φθονεῖται μοι would be worse than *invideor*. The shyness of Greek is not as the shyness of Latin. Greek will not give up the life of its person, Latin will not give up the exactness of its case. But the characteristics of different languages as based on the relative frequency of their use of the nominative must await more detailed investigation; and it may suffice for the present to note that the effect of the free use of the nominative in Greek has not escaped the observation of the Greek rhetoricians. Ὁρθότης, or the use of the nominative and the finite verb, was to them a note of simplicity. (See A. J. P. IX 141.) This is the

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. X 37.

<sup>2</sup> 'The use of the passive is much more extensive in English than in French, as, in fact, in any language ancient or modern.' See Mätzner Engl. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, I 344. Super-Weil, On the Order of Words, p. 50. 'In Old English only transitive verbs could be used in the passive. 'We still hesitate over and try to evade such passive constructions as "she was given a watch," "he was granted an audience," because we still feel that *she* and *he* are in the dative, not the accusative relation.' Sweet, N. E. Gr. § 2312.

way in which stories have been told from time immemorial. This is the way in which fables begin. This is the way in which Lysias regularly opens his *narratio*. (A. J. P. IX 142 n.) But simplicity may be overdone. When we rise to a higher sphere like that of tragedy the fabulistic style is felt to be inappropriate and as early a critic as Aristophanes assailed Euripides for the mechanical uniformity of his prologues, which allowed the comic muse to 'hang a calf-skin on the recreant limbs' of tragedy, to substitute a dish-clout for the sable pall of Melpomene and to make *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* an immortal gibe.<sup>1</sup> The grand manner of Demosthenes avoids rather than seeks a nominative opening and what is called technically *πλαγιασμός* takes its place. That master of forensic chess disdains the ordinary gambit.

Nominative and accusative are the two poles of the explicit sentence, they are the two poles of the implicit sentence, the finite verb. *φονεύω* involves *ὁ φονεύς*, it involves also *τὸν φόνον*. No *λόγος* without the two. But there is a difference which pole is presented, whether we say *ἡ δημοκρατία κατελύθη* (Lys. 13, 4), or *κατέλυσαν τὴν δημοκρατίαν* (cf. § 12), or *τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσαν*. In translation, it is true, we are perfectly right to sacrifice active to passive or passive to active as the case may be, in order to bring out the emphasis of position, but translation is a poor approximation and should not be allowed to efface, in our minds at least, the native distinctions. The accusative has far more primitive force, has far more passion in it than the nominative, and in all moments of excitement rushes to the head of the sentence, so that this reversal of the poles of the sentence is a mechanical device that cannot be considered a perfect success, and yet if we retain the original order and say 'Him ye have taken', 'This Jesus hath God raised up,' everyone feels that the stress is overdone. This is a problem of perpetual recurrence and has not escaped our grammars, but involving as it does the order of words, it is either passed over lightly or answered by a mechanical formula that satisfies no one. It is, then, by no means a matter of indifference whether we express a thought actively or passively, whether the subject takes the place of the object or not — nay, the rhetoricians tell us that in some circumstances it makes a difference whether we use the nominative with the finite verb or the accusative and the infinitive,<sup>2</sup> but the distinction which they

<sup>1</sup> Ar. Ran. 1212.

<sup>2</sup> Theon II 74 Sp.

make is hardly a grammatical one. It simply amounts to saying that with the accusative and infinitive one shirks the responsibility and is therefore more modest.

#### OBLIQUE CASES.

The rivalry of nominative and accusative, though fairly recognized, is commonly relegated to the unsatisfactory category of emphasis, and so dismissed, but the real point, the rivalry between the oblique cases will not down and makes it hard to sit in the seat of those who are scornful of petty grammatical distinctions.

No grammar can escape the registry of these rival uses and a certain differentiation is demanded. When two cases have the same form, as dative and locative in Greek or as many datives and ablatives in Latin, how are we to tell which case is meant? Ordinarily in Latin the problem is simple enough, but sometimes it cannot be solved by grammatical tests. Sometimes the only test is the author's way of looking at things, just the same test that we apply to vocabulary in case of verbs, just as we say that in Pindar P. 2, 62: ἀναβάσομαι στόλον, it is more poetical<sup>1</sup> and consequently more Pindaric to take στόλον in the sense of 'proW' than in the sense of 'voyage' as a cognate accusative to ἀναβάσομαι, just as Mr. Pater translates *carrière ouverte* 'an open quarry' whereas ninety-nine hundredths of ordinary mortals would translate it 'open lists' or mayhap 'open career.'<sup>2</sup>

To take a Latin instance, if both dative and ablative are permissible, the choice will be determined by the way in which the author is wont to personify. But the problem of choice between ablative and dative is complicated by the fact that the ablative itself is a mixed case. To discover this was not reserved for our day. It was pointed out by Quintilian, who says that there is a certain natural amphiboly in the ablative and gives a concrete instance which he quotes from memory and misquotes, *caelo decurrit aperto*.<sup>3</sup> Is *caelo aperto* local, is it circumstantial? So,

<sup>1</sup> See Jebb on Soph. Philoct. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Plato and Platonism, p. 96: 'We . . . will bring you like some perfectly accomplished implement to this *carrière ouverte*, this open quarry, for the furtherance of your personal interests in the world.' Needless to say, this is a little joke of Mr. Pater's like Plato's use of ἀλοχος (Theat. 149 B). ἀλοχος, by the way, reminds me of Buchholz's κουρίδιος ἀλοχος (II 2, 7) and the painful necessity of learning some elementary things before one ventures on 'Homerische Realien.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Quint. I. O. 1. 4, 26; 7, 9, 10.

modern commentators have asked if in *assiduo ruptae lectore columnae* the ablative *assiduo lectore* is instrumental or circumstantial. To me it is as instrumental as the famous *lassata viris* is instrumental but I recognize the right of private judgment and there are many instances in which the decision may fairly be in suspense. The dative is a mixed case; in Greek clearly so. Now the choice between the different elements of this mixed case in a given instance must be determined in large measure by the aesthetic character of the author and the department. Shall we have the cold local dative or the warm personal dative?<sup>1</sup> These are problems with which the personal equation of the investigator must interfere to a considerable extent. It is easier to reduce *dare* to a mere verb of motion in Latin than it is to perform the same office for *δοῦναι* in Greek,<sup>2</sup> but at the same time it is harder to depersonalize the dative in Latin than to depersonalize the dative in Greek. These are undoubtedly perplexing problems. Evidently we have to be guided by extra-grammatical considerations, so that while we are trying to frame a code of aesthetics out of grammar, we have to construct a grammatical code out of aesthetics. As Quintilian puts the problem, we should have to consider the extent to which the author and the period use the ablative of manner, the ablative of time, which has become the ablative absolute, and the locative ablative before we can decide a simple point of grammar. The mixed cases once thoroughly mixed must have lain to a certain extent undifferentiated in the consciousness of the users of the language, and to decide when this or that element is dormant, when it is awake and at work, is no easy matter and this universal difficulty is further complicated by the character of period, department, individual.

More tangible seems to be the problem when different cases are permissible and when there can be no question as to the form, as when we find the genitive of the owner and the dative of the possessor side by side, as when certain adjectives oscillate between dative and genitive. Yet even these differences are not to be measured by any mechanical rule. What an interval,

<sup>1</sup> See Pind. O. 2, 90; I. E. xciii; Thompson on Phaedr. 254 E.; A. J. P. VIII 253, 254; Conington on Verg. Aen. 10, 681.

<sup>2</sup> To the examples of *δοῦναι* with dat. before cited I beg to add Sim. Amorg. 7, 54: τὸν δ' ἄνδρα τὸν παρόντα ναυσίῃ διδοῖ. Eur. Bacch. 621: χεῖλεσιν διδοὺς ὀδόντας 'letting his lips have his teeth'. Eur. Tro. 96: ἐρημία δοῦς (cf. 'leaves the world to darkness and to me'). Plat. Rpb. 566 C: θανάτῳ διδοται.

for instance, separates the fine ethical use of the pronoun from the coarse σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον with its ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Indeed, so crude is this ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ that we can hardly believe the traditional example, for Greek normally uses the genitive with parts of the body. So crude is it that we are tempted to call it negro-Greek as *mattre à moi* is negro-French. It may be hard to follow the finer lines of differentiation, and I myself have said (I. E. xciv), "There is a certain caprice in these matters that it is not profitable to pursue," but psychologists have made a special study of the knee-jerk<sup>1</sup> and the nimble capers of language must be followed up. There is clearly something more *naïf*, more dramatic about the dative than there is about the genitive. θυγάτηρ οἱ (Pind. O. 9, 16) is 'daughter to her' not 'her daughter'<sup>2</sup> and it would not be exaggeration to say that the encroachment of the dative on the genitive with adverbs and adjectives which we notice in certain authors shows a tendency to emphasize the personal relation; and assuredly this is a characteristic of style. It is the story of the genie. The dative releases the verbal element of the adjective which was shut up in the casket of the genitive. φίλος as a substantive takes the genitive, as an adjective it takes the dative.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See W. P. Lombard, Variations of the normal knee-jerk, Am. Journal of Psychology I, p. 5, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> To be sure, οἱ is now considered by some a virtual genitive and not a dative and Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> p. 393, says that it is false to make the dative sense basic (vom dativischen Sinn auszugehen), as Dyroff and Kühner-Gerth have done. But that is not the last word on the subject, unless I am very much mistaken. That οἱ was a dative to the Greek feeling seems to be as plain as anything can be. See my note on the chiasmic use of genitive and dative, Pind. O. 6, 5. And it is with the Greek feeling that I have mainly to do in my researches. How far comparative grammar helps to that end is a subject not to be discussed in a footnote. 'Das drama,' says Wilamowitz (H. F. 626), 'drückt in der anrede das possessive verhältnis bei verwandtschaftswörtern durch den dativ aus, θυγάτηρ μοι, τέκνον μοι, γύναι μοι.' Does this mean the effacement of the difference between the dative of the possessor and the genitive of the owner (cf. Plato, Theaet. 197 B), or is it simply one of the many devices that remind us how far the language of the stage was from naïveté?

<sup>3</sup> Of course, here also Delbrück and Brugmann have turned themselves and with themselves the grammatical world upside down, and I venture to heave again the sigh of which I delivered myself in my Chicago address of 1901: 'I must confess that I am in mourning because of the genitive and expect to go mourning all my days because of the genitive. In fact, I am tempted in dark hours to curse the genitive and die, or at any rate to say with Dame

πλησίον which normally takes the genitive, occasionally rebels against normality and the late ἑγγύς with the dative is a revolt of the living person against the dead place. The story of *par* in Latin is also instructive and the struggle of *plenus* to get rid of the genitive is not without significance. Verbs of touching in Pindar may take the dative. Is not this a part of his aloofness like the discarding of *ἵνα* and the espousal of *ὅφρα*? In fact all the shifts of the cases have meaning. So, for instance, in the *κατά-* compounds, so many of which take the genitive, while *καταρᾶσθαι* takes the dative, as does *καταγελᾶν* in Herodotos to Cobet's intense disgust,<sup>1</sup> and *κατακρίνειν* follows *κρίνειν*. The anaconda, analogy, swallows and assimilates so much that what has escaped the analogic process may well arrest attention and, in fact, grammarians essay to answer some of these questions. But the answers are often unsatisfactory to the oracles themselves, and the full significance, the sharp characteristics cannot be formulated without a study of the cases that will have regard to the whole range of the language as well as to departments and individuals.

Not an uninteresting chapter in the rivalries of the cases is the story of the absolute uses. All the Greek cases are used absolutely. The vocative, of course. The nominative when used alone is a sentence in itself and cannot get rid of its implied verbal function. It is a manifestation of character, if nothing else. And yet at times it tries to be irresponsible, and then we call it a nominative absolute, but it is at best a *nominativus pendens*, it is a functionary that is awaiting its function. We find the phenomena at one end in the *οἰδόφρων πέτρα* that we call Aischylos, we find it at the other in the shallow feuilletonist Philostratos, but how different the tone, how different the

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Quickly: "Vengeance of Jenny's case! Fie on her! Never name her!" The fact is, the genitive, the Greek genitive, seems to have gone wrong and I find it hard to accommodate myself to the reversal of the old views on the subject of that beautifully blended case. Theoretically I know how much a landscape gains by being viewed head down, and the regimen of the genitive is doubtless much more beautiful when you set the old theory on end, but when one is not only stiff in one's intellectual joints but has worn the academic and epicene attire of a professor for a few scores of years, the operation is not so easy as when one was more limber in his structure and had the freedom of bifurcated garments.'

<sup>1</sup> N. L. 97.

sphere. Three other cases enter the race—accusative, dative, genitive. The accusative gains a footing though comparatively late, the dative never wholly succeeds, never wholly fails, but the genitive becomes the absolute case by eminence. It might be not an altogether idle speculation to inquire why different languages have chosen this or that case for their absolute case, but for us it is of immediate importance to consider what is peculiar to Greek in the evolution of the genitive absolute and the significance of the evolution. Of course, everyone knows that the genitive absolute is not strictly absolute, but at the same time everyone feels the exceptional position and that is enough. I have been taken to task more than once for the use of figurative language in the domain of grammar, and one of my critics has been offended at my comparison of the genitive absolute with Milton's 'tawny lion pawing to get freed his hinder parts' (Pind. O. 6, 3). He says that nothing is gained by it. Perhaps not. But few scholars like any figures except their own, and for that matter critics have found fault with Milton's pawing lion as well as with my poor comparison. The paws, I need not say, are the participles and the hinder parts are the genitive, and the whole attitude represents the transition from the low relief of the earlier construction to the high relief of the later construction. But the lion is a terror to slothful intellects and possibly an impertinence here. Let us proceed soberly.

The genitive absolute was a gradual evolution. The dependent genitive released itself more and more from definite control until first familiar phrases gained their freedom and then long complexes. We can see the process going forward. The Homeric usage is an old story; the Pindaric usage marks a considerable advance on Homer and yet Pindar is much less free than Attic prose. A genitive that is dependent in Homer and Pindar may be independent in Plato and Demosthenes. The presumption is in favor of dependence in the earlier, of independence in the later writers. And this is a study that leads to another view of the cases, a stylistic view as well as a grammatical view. The cases have different tensile strength, different carrying power. Accusative and nominative can wait long for their regimen. Not so the genitive. If its regimen is to be felt it must be within easy reach and a genitive at the head of a sentence has a tendency to dissociate itself from the rest. Some uses of the genitive are, it is true, more tolerant than others. So



the partitive genitive can wait some time for its parts, but to Homer the distributive apposition is easier—that distributive apposition which is one of the features of Homeric syntax. No statistics are known to me in regard to this carrying power of the cases and evidently there must be a considerable difference in periods, department, individuals; and just as we find that the article has an enormous carrying power in the dactylo-epitrites of Pindar, which it lacks in the logaoedics, so in stately and deliberate language the genitive may carry much farther than in rapid conversation. We can see this by our use of the English equivalent of the genitive. 'Of man's first disobedience' is far enough from 'Sing, Heavenly Muse,' to set up an establishment of its own. But our minds are attuned to a more equable movement and we are not impatient. Elsewhere we should treat 'Of man's first disobedience' as if it were the title to a book like Milton's 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy' and we should not think of any regimen. This is what we find true of a number of genitives for which the grammars were good enough to supply *περί* or rather *περὶ*. But there is nothing to supply. The genitive at the head of the sentence without a regimen simply becomes an object of thought. If we must have a prop, let it be the neuter accusative article, let τοῦ τῆς τοῦ be τὸ τοῦ, τὸ τῆς, τὸ τοῦ, but no prop is needed.

The personal dative seems to have been almost ready to develop an absolute use and nearly approaches an absolute use in a number of phrases taken from everyday life, *εἰσιόντι, ἀψαμένῳ* and the like, but so sensitive is the dative that it sets up a relation anywhere and so ready is its attachment to any part of the sentence that grammarians are apt to consider it as dependent on the whole sentence rather than on any special word.

#### PREPOSITIONS.

If we pass from the cases to the prepositions we enter upon a field which has been worked in spots until the ground is pulverized with the statistical harrow, while in parts it lies absolutely fallow. Of polyprothesis and oligoprothesis something has been said already. Of the sphere of the different prepositions it is hardly possible to do more than give some illustrations. Each period, each dialect, each department, has a special register. Every author has his necessities, has his habits, has his

fads. A number of prepositions that parade themselves in our grammars by the side of the working members of prose society are really unpractical creatures, that are found chiefly in poetry, such as ἀμφί and ἀνά. In a recent edition of Pindar there is a long and rather fanciful excursus on ἀνά.<sup>1</sup> ἀνά is a fine old preposition, but it may be said of ἀνά as of Rose Aylmer, 'Ah! what avails the princely race.' ἀνά is dead to the prose of everyday life and παρά reigns in its stead. The large use of ἀνά gives at once an antique hue and we may expect to find it in conscious poetry. ἀμφί, which abounds in Pindar, has given way to περί. Thanks to legal phrases, and to its use by certain popular authors σύν holds on, and in later Greek there is a restoration of σύν, but such a model of deportment as Isokrates is careful to avoid a mixture of styles and no σύν is to be found in his orations. This scrupulous behavior of Isokrates was observed many years ago by Haupt, but it was not until 1874 that Mommsen set the character of σύν in its true light. This separation of prepositions into poetical and universal may, if you choose, be ranked under vocabulary and so escape syntax proper, but the poetical, the dialectic uses of the universal prepositions are assuredly syntactical and as assuredly stylistic. The gradual deadening of ὑπέρ into an equivalent of περί shows only one side of the process of change. In the course of time a preposition may be specialized and take on an atmosphere. So παρά narrows itself in prose to a personal use with genitive and dative. What is largely *chez* (casa) in prose is simply 'alongside' in poetry and if we transfer the personal connotation to poetry, we shall evidently give too much color, we shall evidently overdo. (Pindar, I. E., c and O. 1, 20.) The distinction, sharp and clear, which runs through prose remorselessly, despite the commentators, between διά with genitive and διά with accusative in a metaphorical sense, is naught in Homer because in Homer there is no διά with genitive, in the sense of a person through whom, and the distinction which is made in Homer, not with perfect assurance, between διά with genitive and διά with accusative in a local sense, falls away in prose which will have nothing to do with διά and the accusative in a local sense, and transfers that duty to the prefix διὰ so that we must say διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν or διαβαίνειν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ and there is no διὰ πόντον to compare with διὰ πόντου. ἴξ to an Ionian

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Bury, Isthmian Odes, Appendix H.

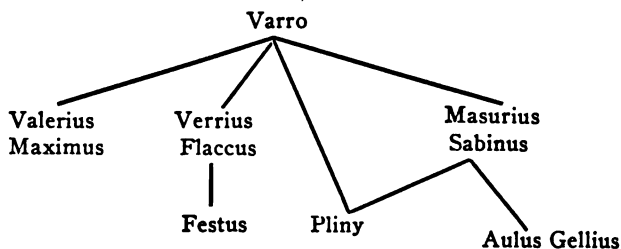
cannot have had so much color as it has to the writers of standard prose who differentiate it with more or less care from *ὑπό*. Those who change the Thukydidean *ἀπό* into the normal *ὑπό*, those who substitute *ἐν* for *ἐνί* with dative (A. J. P. XI 373) are sinning against individual rights which must be scrupulously guarded even if the assertion of those rights amounts, as it does in the case of Thukydides, to perverseness. As to the chapter on the favorite preposition, for which in the range of the Attic orators the industry of Lutz has provided us with ample statistics, we must be on our guard against rapid inference. That nothing is aesthetic that withdraws itself from perception is the baldest of truisms, and yet one must not lose one's footing on it; for perception is relative and figures are not to be despised. Figures serve to confirm impression, figures serve to train powers of observation, but microscopic differences in this direction and that, are of little avail. We must have large masses of phenomena, we must have startling contrasts. If one is told, for instance, that *ἐξ* is a favorite preposition with Isaios, one remarks languidly that Isaios had largely to do with inheritance cases and was obliged to use *ἐξ*. One would hardly recognize a stylistic element in the recurrence of 'cubits' in the account of the building of the tabernacle or in the history of the temple. One would not be impressed by 'out of' in a stud book. Somewhat different is the case when we come to Isokrates and his use of *πρός*, but with the shifting exigencies of the world about us, with the large variety of prepositions that we encounter, it is hardly possible to hear any dominant note, and if one begins to hear one note more than another, it is often at the expense of the whole symphony. Hyperaestheticism is even more fatal to enjoyment than the dull content which considers all constructions alike.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## II.—THE ANNALS OF VARRO.

In 1848 Ritschl published in the *Rhein. Mus. Bd. VI* (=Op. 3, 419) Hieronymus' catalogue of the writings of Varro. In this list the ninth title is "tres libros annalium". Before this the existence of an annalistic work from the hand of Varro rested on a single citation in Charisius, the authority of which was quite generally doubted. In his discussion of the different works Ritschl (p. 445) came to the conclusion that the Annals was a chronological work of the same character as the *Chronica* of Nepos or the *liber annalis* of Atticus. He also compared the chronological survey in Aulus Gellius 17, 21, where Varro is cited together with Nepos and assigned this fragment of Varro to the Annals. Undoubtedly this comparison and the shortness of the work (three books) were Ritschl's reasons for assigning a chronological character to it. He further defined it as an extension or completion of the third section of the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, in which the subject of chronology was considered under the heading "quando agant".

Since Ritschl's time but little advance has been made in investigations on this work. L. Mercklin (*de Varrone coronarum Romanarum militarium interprete praecipuo quaestiones*, Dorpat, 1859) tried to derive the various statements about military crowns in Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Festus, Gellius, etc. from the Annals, but gave no sufficient reason for assigning them to this work in preference to others of Varro, while for Pliny and Gellius he held that the relationship was indirect. His outline for the same was as follows :



This explanation found no acceptance, nor did that of Gruppe (Comment. Mommsen.), who denied the existence of the Annals as of the *res urbanae*, another little-known work of Varro. Teuffel-Warr I, 258 cites Gruppe for the view that these works were a garbled selection from the *Antiquitates rer. hum.*, while in fact Gruppe thus describes the two citations of the same in Charisius. He therefore meant that these were incorrect citations for portions of the *res humanae*.

Another to touch on this work was Urlichs (*die Anfänge der griech. Künstler-geschichte*, Würzburg, 1871, p. 38). He continued in the path of Ritschl, insisting on the chronological character of the Annals, which he considered similar to the *Chronica* of Eusebius (Hieronymus) and so referred Pliny's brief descriptions and dates of many sculptors and painters to this source. This is pure conjecture, nor does it pretend to be anything more. Just as groundless is Urlichs' statement (*die Quellenregister zu Plinius' letzten Büchern*, Würzburg, 1878, p. 17) that the Annals were written after 44 B. C. His sole evidence is Cicero's failure to mention this work in the letters to Atticus (12, 23; 16, 13) when referring to Atticus' *liber annalis* or asking for chronological information. We might well ask why the *Chronica* of Nepos should not also be mentioned in these passages; it was certainly better known than the Annals of Varro and was written before 54 B. C. Neither does the form of expression in the two letters of Cicero suggest that the works of Varro or any one else ought to be mentioned. But not only are Urlichs' reasons for dating the Annals after 44 absolutely without weight but there are strong grounds for placing its composition somewhat earlier than that date. Whatever the exact contents of the Annals were, they must have dealt with the early history and institutions of Rome as did also the *res urbanae*, the books *de gente populi Romani* and those *de vita pop. Rom.* Now the chief work belonging to this line of Varro's studies was without question the *antiquitates rer. hum.*, to which the lesser works must have borne some relation in time of composition, whether we consider them as popular reproductions or as excerpts enriched by other material brought to light in his investigations into the early history of Rome. But the *res humanae* were written before the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, for the *res divinae* (the second part of the work) was dedicated to Caesar about 47 B. C. Furthermore the *libri IV de gente pop. Rom.* is shown by a fragment to have been written in 43 B. C. As this

was probably the most elaborate of the lesser historical works of Varro and required investigation into the period preceding the founding of the city, it is likely to have been one of the latest published. So we shall not be far wrong, if we consider that the *Annals* were published either before or at latest about this time. I am however inclined to take the former view and to interpret Cicero, *Acad. post.* 1, 3, 9 (published in July, 45) as referring to this work. The words in question are the following: "Tu aetatem patriae, tu discriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarum nomina genera officia caussas aperuisti". The 'sacrorum iura' and 'sacerdotum' plainly refer to Varro's work *res divinae* and the 'domesticam, bellicam disciplinam' to the *res humanae*,<sup>1</sup> while all his works dealing with ancient Rome are included in the reference of the last clause. The 'aetatem patriae' and 'discriptiones temporum'<sup>2</sup> were also in a general manner handled in the *res humanae*, but Cicero would hardly have separated them from the plain reference to the same contained in the words 'domesticam bellicam disciplinam', unless he were thinking of a separate work. The only other works which could have handled both these subjects are the *Annals* and the *libri de gente pop. Rom.* (published in 43 B. C.); so the *Annals* is the one referred to here. The last of the special subjects treated by Varro, which Cicero names in this sentence is 'sedem regionum, locorum'. If we take this in the more general sense of the geography of the empire, it must be referred to the *res humanae*, but in the special sense of the districts and places of the city it corresponds exactly with the supposed contents of the *res urbanae*. Thus in Cicero's whole sentence we should have 4 works referred to, with two descriptive phrases allotted to each. This seems to me much more natural than to think that no published works were referred to, or that only the two chief works were meant, in which case the first two and the last four expressions would have to be referred to the *res humanae*, while the second two would belong to the *res divinae*.

I have discussed this question of the date at some length, as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aul. Gell. 1, 25, Varro in libro humanarum, qui est de bello et pace.

<sup>2</sup> I take this with Reid in the sense of chronological arrangements. If a more general meaning were given, which however the position next to aetatem seems to exclude, it would have to refer to the *res humanae*.

relation of the Annals to the other works of Varro can be intelligible only after the chronological succession of these works has been established. Now we may consider as certain that the Annals, belonging as they do to the historical works, were not written before Varro began his studies for the antiquitates, i. e. about 55 B. C. Neither are they likely to have been later than 43 B. C., the latest date to which we can refer any fragment from the historical works. They must therefore have preceded both the books de lingua Latina and the Imagines. If we accept that the passage in Cicero's *Academica* has the reference proposed, then we must suppose that the Annals were written at about the same time as the *res divinae*, which can be assigned to the years 47 and 46 B. C.

Turning our attention now to the contents and scope of the Annals, we consider first the two accepted fragments; Charisius 1, 105 (K.), *Scriptulum, quod nunc vulgus sine t dicit, Varro in Plutotoryne dixit, idem in annali*<sup>1</sup> (= *annal. I*) *nummum argenteum flatum primum a Servio Tullio dicunt. Is IIII scripulis maior fuit quam nunc est. Gellius 17, 21, 23, neque multo postea Eudoxus astrologus in terra Graecia nobilitatus est Lacedaemonique ab Athenienses apud Corinthum superati duce Phormione et M. Manlius Romae, qui Gallos in obsidione Capitolii obrepentes per ardua depulerat, convictus est, consilium de regno occupando inisse, dampnatusque capitis e saxo Tarpeio, ut M. Varro ait, praeceps datus, ut Cornelius autem Nepos scriptum reliquit, verberando necatus est; eo ipso anno, qui erat post reciperatam urbem septimus (= 384 B. C. Varronian) Aristotelem philosophum natum esse . . .* We have in these two fragments a notable occurrence and a notable man mentioned. In both cases the dating is by reference to some more prominent event, the one in the reign of Servius Tullius, the other after the capture of Rome. In the second fragment only the first statement about Manlius can be certainly ascribed to Varro, yet it is likely that he also as well as Nepos compared the chief events of Greek history, especially in so far as it came in touch with Rome. The exact year of the event, which Gellius has expressed as *annus*

<sup>1</sup>*Annal. I* is the proper emendation; *ann.*, *anna.*, and *annal.* are common abbreviations for the various cases of *annalis*, and these were often misunderstood; cf. Nonius 480 *Quadrigarius annali* (= *annal. I*); Nonius 29 *Caelius annavi* (*anavi*) = *annal. I* (*anna. VI*); Nonius 508 *annal. li. I* (in one MS). In *annali* cannot be used as a general designation for a work in three books.

septimus post reciperatam urbem,<sup>1</sup> was probably further designated by the names of the consuls. Also the tendency of Gellius to date events by reference to better known ones, and the consequent scarcity of exact dates in this chapter may be considered as evidence that neither Varro nor Nepos offered a complete schedule of the years of the republic with the events of each year. As frg. 1 came in the first book of the Annals Varro did not devote much space to the period before the founding, and as the purely chronological matter would not require much space, there would be abundant room, even in three books, to handle much other matter. In this was included not only notable events but also famous men, as the example of Manlius shows us. Note how, in brief space, the great deeds, crime, condemnation and execution of the man are given. We have a right to infer that Varro handled in like manner all the famous men of Rome. In this respect the work would have many points of similarity with the Imagines, which Varro published in 39 B. C. The Romans treated of must have been nearly the same in the two works, but the mention in the Annals was much briefer.

With this general view of the Annals, we pass now to the search for hidden fragments of the same, considering first the enumeration of the deeds of L. Sicinius Dentatus. I give first three versions in parallel columns, with similar expressions in italics.

AULUS GELLII 2, 11.

<sup>1</sup> *L. Sicinium Dentatum*,  
<sup>2</sup> qui tribunus plebi fuit,  
 Sp. Tarpeio, A. Aternio  
 consulibus, scriptum est in  
 libris annalibus, <sup>3</sup> *plus quam*  
*credi debeat, strenuum* bel-  
 latorem fuisse nomenque ei  
 factum ob ingentem for-  
 titudinem appellatumque  
 esse <sup>4</sup> *Achillem Romanum*.  
*Is pugnasse in hostem dicitur*  
<sup>5</sup> *CXX proeliis*, <sup>6</sup> *cicatricem*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.<sup>2</sup>

Sed quod ad proeliorum  
 excellentem fortitudinem  
 adinet, merito, <sup>1</sup> *L. Sicinii*  
 (Sicci) *Dentati* commemo-  
 ratio omnia Romana ex-  
 empla finierit, cuius opera  
 honoresque operum <sup>2</sup> *ultra*  
*fidem veri excedere iudicari*  
*possent, nisi ea certi auctores*,  
 inter quos M. Varro, monu-  
 mentis suis testata esse  
 voluissent, quem <sup>3</sup> *centies et*

FESTUS, p. 190 (M.).

Obsidionalis  
 corona . . . nam  
 et P. Decio datae  
 duae . . . et <sup>1</sup> *L.*  
*Sergio (Secinio)*  
*Dentato*, <sup>2</sup> qui  
*Achilles Romae*  
*existimatus est*,  
 ac fertur <sup>3</sup> *centies*  
 et vicies pro rep.  
 depugnasse.  
<sup>4</sup> coronis donatus

<sup>1</sup> This is used to date the following event, but *eo ipso anno* means the same year. For this use of *ipse* cf. Meader, the Latin Pronouns, p. 165 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For other views on this Varro citation, see literature in Schanz, Gesch. Röm. Lit. II, 2, p. 200.



AULUS GELLIUS 2, 11.

*aversam nullam, adversas XLV tulisse,*<sup>1</sup> *coronis donatus esse* <sup>a</sup>*aureis VIII,* <sup>b</sup>*obsidionalis I,* <sup>c</sup>*muralibus III,* <sup>d</sup>*civiciis XIII,* <sup>e</sup>*torquibus LXXXIII,* <sup>f</sup>*armillis plus CLX,* <sup>g</sup>*hastis XVIII.*  
<sup>11</sup>*Phaleris item donatus est quinquies vicesque.* <sup>12</sup>*Spolia militaria habuit multiuga,* <sup>13</sup>*in his provocatoria ple-raque.* <sup>14</sup>*Triumphavit cum imperatoribus suis triumphos IX.*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.

*vicies in aciem descendisse tradunt, eo robore animi atque corporis utentem, ut maiorem semper victoriae partem traxisse videretur;* <sup>12</sup>*XXXVI spolia ex hoste retulisse, quorum in numero,* <sup>13</sup>*VIII fuisse eorum, cum quibus inspectante utroque exercitu ex provocatione dimicasset,* <sup>14</sup>*XIII cives ex media morte raptos servasse,* <sup>15</sup>*V et XL vulnera pectore excepisse, tergo cicatricibus vacuo:* <sup>16</sup>*IX triumphales imperatorum currus secutum, totius civitatis oculos in se numerosa donorum pompa convertentem; praeferebantur enim* <sup>17</sup>*aureae coronae VIII,* <sup>18</sup>*civicae XIII,* <sup>19</sup>*murales III,* <sup>20</sup>*obsidionalis I,* <sup>21</sup>*torques LXXXIII,\** <sup>22</sup>*armillae CLX,* <sup>23</sup>*hastae XVIII,* <sup>24</sup>*phalerae XXV, ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi satis multa.*

FESTUS, p. 199 (M.).

XXVI, in his  
<sup>a</sup>*aureis VIII,*  
<sup>d</sup>*civiciis XIII,*  
<sup>c</sup>*muralibus III,*  
<sup>b</sup>*obsidionali I.*

Not only is there exact agreement in all the items mentioned, but the order in which they are given corresponds in a no less wonderful degree, if we allow for a single intentional change of order in each of the two, Valerius and Gellius. I have numbered the different statements from 1 to 14 as they stand in Gellius, and repeat the numbers alone here to show more clearly the agreement in order.

GELLIUS.

VALERIUS.

FESTUS.

1

1

1

2

—

—

3

3

—

4

—

4

\* MSS give *CLXXXIII*, but emendation is certain.

GELLIUS.	VALERIUS.	FESTUS.
5	5	5
—	12	—
—	13 (+ 7d a repetition)	—
6	6	—
—	[14	—
7	7	7
8	8	—
9	9	—
10	10	—
11	11	—
[12	—	—
[13	—	—
14	—	—

We see that Valerius transferred the mention of No. 14 (the 9 triumphs) from its natural position at the end to an earlier place, so that he might introduce the spectacle of his hero having all his decorations and presents carried before him in triumph before the admiring gaze of the citizens. If we disregard the mention of the "XIIII cives ex media morte raptos servasse", which is only a repetition and explanation of the 'coronae civicae XIIII', we have the order given by the common source.

Nos. 12 (*spolia militaria*) and 13 (*provocatoria*) were omitted by Gellius in their proper place and then inserted from memory just before the end. The omission of the number of spoils won in these two cases shows plainly that Gellius unintentionally omitted them in his excerpt, and recalling them to mind when he wrote out the chapter, preferred to insert them in this general manner at the end rather than to look up his reference again. In order to make more clear the agreement in order between Gellius and Valerius, I have classed the four kinds of crowns under a single head. Considering them separately, we find another change of order on the part of Gellius, while Festus agrees exactly with Valerius. The order in these two is aureae coronae VIII, civicae XIIII, *murales* III, obsidionalis I, i. e., in ascending scale according to importance. The civic crown is generally ranked second in importance (cf. Pliny x6, 3), but as bravery and strength are emphasized here, the mural (prize for ascending walls of besieged city first) is placed higher this time.

Gellius in his enumeration preserved the golden crowns in first place as he found them, but changed the order of the others so as to make an ascending scale in the number of the separate kind of crowns.

We thus see that even the slightest variations in the order can be naturally explained from the manner of writing of the two authors. In Festus there are no changes in order, but merely omission of items which were irrelevant. In comparison with the otherwise perfect agreement of the authors these slight changes sink into insignificance, and we are forced to conclude that all three used the same work as a source. But Valerius cites Varro as his authority and Gellius found his passage "in libris annalibus". The natural combination of these two is "Varro in libris annalibus", and as we have seen above (frg. 2 of the Annals), this work was used by Gellius.

But it may be suggested that in Gellius we have only an exact copy of the annalist whom Varro used. Against this view can be urged not only the almost complete agreement of the two versions, which renders a more distant relationship most improbable, but also the presence in Gellius of the introductory statement that Dentatus was tribune in the consulship of Tarpeius and Aternius. This form of dating the man corresponds with the chronological character of the Annals of Varro. The omission of the date in Valerius is in accord with his general system; for him the example and not the time is the important matter. Why he also omitted the statement that Dentatus was the Roman Achilles is not so clear, as such an omission is an exhibition of common sense, which we would hardly expect from him. The presence however of the statement both in Gellius and in Festus, though the latter otherwise agrees more closely with Valerius, makes it certain that it stood in Varro. But there is still another notable agreement between Valerius and Gellius which has not been noted, for Valerius says that the deeds and honors of Dentatus *could be considered beyond belief*, if there were not reliable authorities for the same among whom was Varro. This is plainly borrowed from Varro himself, with the name of Varro added because he had failed to name his *reliable authorities*. The proof of this is the fact that we find an echo of the same in Gellius' statement that Dentatus was a more vigorous warrior than *ought to be believed*.

Another author to make use of Varro's Annals for this passage was Dionysius Halicarnasensis 10, 37:

Λούκιος Σίκκιος . . . μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι μεμάχημαι τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἴληφα, καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νῶτον δ' οὐθέν. καὶ τούτων ὀδωδέκα ἐστίν, ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβίνος Ἐρδώνιος τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβετο. ἀριστεία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξενήνεγμαι τεσσαρασκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδρῃσαν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολιορκητικούς, πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχὼν, ὅκτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθην· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοὺς στρεπτοὺς περιανυχινίους, [ἑκατὸν] δὲ ἐξήκοντα περιβραχίδια χρύσεα, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωσκαίδεκα, φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσιν, ὧν ἐννέα ἦσαν, οὓς μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσαμένους ἐκούσιος ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα.

Dionysius has inserted the enumeration in a speech and in so doing omitted two points, the spoils and the triumphs. The others are in the same order as his source except the statement about the single combats, which is placed at the end. The order, in which the different kinds of crowns are given, is confused and the obsidionalis omitted. The presence of a second source is shown by the mention of the duration of his campaigns, the 12 wounds in one day, etc. The error that 60 bracelets are mentioned instead of 160 is not due to the second source, but the text must be corrected as later editors have seen.

Thus far our task has been comparatively simple, but we have still to consider the passage in Pliny 7, 101: L. Siccus Dentatus, qui tribunus plebei fuit Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos. haud multo post exactos reges, vel numerosissima suffragia habet centiens viciens proeliat, octiens ex provocatione victor, XLV cicatricibus adverso corpore insignis, nulla in tergo. idem spolia cepit XXXIII,<sup>1</sup> donatus hastis puris XVIII, phaleris XXV, torquibus LXXXIII, armillis CLX, coronis XXVI, in is civicis XIII, aureis VIII, muralibus III, obsidionali I, fisco aeris, X captivis et XX simul bubus, imperatores novem ipsius maxime opera triumphantes secutus praeterea (quod optimum in operibus reor) uno ex ducibus T. Romilio ex consulatu ad populum convicto male imperatae rei militaris. Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. 1, 110 n. 88) and Kempf (Val. Max.) hold that the passage of Pliny was taken from Valerius Maximus; but after our present investigations only a glance is necessary to teach us that this is impossible, for Pliny agrees better with Aulus Gellius, though giving many points not found in either. Thus he inserts the

<sup>1</sup>Valerius Maximus gives XXXVI, but should be emended, as Solinus supports Pliny.

additions that Dentatus was presented with "*fisco aeris, decem captivis et viginti simul bubus*". Also the *hastae* are properly described as *purae*, though that designation is not found in Valerius, Gellius or Dionysius; then too the episode about T. Romilius is added at the end and the order of the items is entirely different. Using the same numbers for the different statements which we used in Gellius and Valerius, and adding the numbers 15 to 18 for the four additional items, we have the following order: 1, 2, 5, 13, 6, 12, 10, 11, 8, 9, 7, 15, 16, 17, 14, 18. Considering No. 7 (the crowns) separately, as we did before, we find a different arrangement here also, as they have been placed in a numerical order with the largest number (the 14 civic crowns) first and the one *obsidionalis* last. In spite of these differences the relationship, especially with the version in Gellius, is very noticeable. Compare particularly the statement that Dentatus was "*tribunus plebei . . . Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos.*", though this is not found in Valerius. It is plain, then, that the source of Pliny is closely related to the common source of Gellius, Valerius, Dionysius and Festus, but that it gave the description of the hero in a more extended form. What this source was we can learn from Pliny himself, for the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned by him in two other passages, B. 16, 14 and 22, 9. The name is given each time in the same form, and in book 22 the 120 battles are also mentioned as well as the crowns. There can be no doubt that all three passages were drawn from the same source. If we turn to Pliny, n. h. 1, where he has enumerated the sources of all his books, we find, to be sure, that Valerius Maximus is mentioned among the sources of book 7, but he is not found either for book 16 or 22. So we have another proof that he could not have been the source of Pliny for this statement. The only authors cited by Pliny for all three books are Varro, Masurius Sabinus and Cato, one of whom must have been the source for the Dentatus story. But we can, I think, decide between the three; according to Brunn's<sup>1</sup> law Pliny enumerated his sources (in the index of them in book 1) in the order in which they were first cited or used without mention of name, though some deviations were brought about by changes made during the progress of the work, or by later additions, or in some cases by the grouping of the sources for books handling

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunn, *De auctorum indicibus Plinianis*, Bonn, 1856.

the same subjects. Book 7 is a particularly puzzling example of such deviations<sup>1</sup> and as a whole has not been explained with entire satisfaction. Perhaps the following explanation will remove some of the difficulties. The first five authors in the index (Verrius Flaccus, Cn. Gellius, Mucianus, Masurius and Agrippina) seem to be enumerated in inverse order according to the last citation of each beginning at the end of the book (the last citations are in sections 180, 198, 159, 135 and 46 respectively). This arrangement can be explained on the basis that Pliny had not included these authors in his first outline of the book, and so they were lacking in his first index of the sources; when the book was completed, he listed the authors of the extra excerpts he had included, naturally taking the last one first. Pliny usually appended at the end of his list the authors from whom excerpts had been added later, but there was no rule compelling him to do so, and chance or the importance of the authors may have caused a different procedure this time. That some explanation of the variation in order is necessary is shown by the index of the Greek authors for the same book; for in a list of 49 authors there is among those actually cited but one variation from the order in which they were used in the book. Turning now to the remaining Roman authors of book 7, we find them given in the following order, to which I add the section number of the first citation of each, if cited: Cicero (18), Asinius Pollio, Varro (13), Messala Rufus, Nepos, Vergil, Livius, Cordus, Melissus, Sebosus, Cornelius Celsus, Valerius Maximus (33), Trogus (33), Nigidius Figulus (66), Atticus, Asconius (159), Fabianus, Cato, Acta (60), Fabius Vestalis (213). By far too large a proportion are not cited for us to draw certain conclusions. It would seem that Cicero was used in some passage earlier than § 18, and so was naturally placed before Varro. The citation of the Acta may have been an addition by Pliny after the original publication of the work in 77 A. D., or when writing he may have inserted it at a point earlier than he had planned. However we explain these discrepancies, the arrangement as a whole points to Varro as the author of the passage in question (i. e. § 101); for Cato is named in the list after Asconius, who is cited first in § 159. As Masurius is in the number of those whom I consider as later additions, he can hardly have been the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Urlichs, *Jahrb. Phil. and Paedag.* 75, 337.

source of a passage so long and necessary to the context as the one under discussion. To this is added the fact that Varro is cited for six other passages in book 7 (§§ 75, 83, 176, 211, 214), thus showing that he was used often and throughout the whole book.

The evidence of book 16 is still more conclusive. The Roman authors in the order of the index with the section number of the first citation of each in the book are: Varro (115), Fetialis, Nigidius Figulus (25), Nepos (36), Hyginus (231), Masurius (75), Cato (193), Mucianus (213), Piso (192), Trogus, Calpurnius Bassus, Cremutius (108), Sextius Niger (51), Cornelius Bocchus (216), Vitruvius, Graecinus (241). The early position of Varro and Hyginus in the list shows that they were used earlier than the places where first cited. The use of Varro must have begun in the first chapters, as Nigidius Figulus who comes third in the list is cited in § 25. As the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned in § 14, it coincides exactly with our expectations. Masurius and Cato both come so much later in the list that they cannot be considered as possible sources for our passage. In the latter part of the list there is a manifest confusion (cf. Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 389), but it has no connection with the matter under discussion here. Book 22 furnishes no evidence on the order of sources, as they are given as identical with book 21.

We see therefore that Pliny, in spite of his variations in the Dentatus legend, must have used Varro as his source. If the work he used was the *Annals*, then he added to it from other sources and varied the order arbitrarily. Such procedure was not called for by the character of his work nor suggested by the excerpt method, which he made use of, still it must be admitted as a possibility, though a comparison of Pliny with his extant sources has shown that he was more apt to shorten and condense than to expand, when making his excerpts (cf. Heigl, *die Quellen des Plinius im 11. Buch*, Marburg, 1885; Stadler, *die Quellen des Plinius im 19. Buch*, Munich, 1891; Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 385; Sprengel, *Rhein. Mus.* 46, 54). But we are not forced to accept any such improbable explanation, for there is another work of Varro, the *Imagines*, which would have included the story of Dentatus. In this work were combined portraits and brief lives of Greek and Roman celebrities (kings, generals, statesmen, poets, prosewriters, professional men and those famous in other lines). The work was published after the

Annals, so that the dates of the different men as well as many of the more important statements about them would have been only a repetition of the facts given there. On the other hand the greater size of the work (7 books devoted to Romans) as well as the purely biographical character, shows that the individual men must have been treated at much greater length. The corrections also, which appear in the version of Pliny, indicate that we have a later emended edition of the life. Whether Pliny in making his excerpt himself condensed the story out of the *Imagines* or made use of Varro's 4-book epitome of the same, we can not, of course, decide.

The question will perhaps be raised, whether Dentatus, who is styled *tribunus plebei*, would have been included by Varro among his distinguished men, but I have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative; for in addition to the fact that he belonged to the prehistoric time, from which it was more difficult to get examples about whom much was known, he had actually served as a general, otherwise he could not have obtained the *corona obsidionalis*, which was presented by a besieged army to the general who broke up the siege (cf. Festus, p. 190 M.).

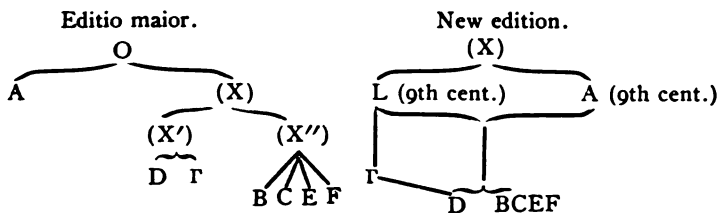
This legend seems to have been mentioned in a third work of Varro. Compare Fulgentius (in Nonius ed. Gerlach & Roth, p. 560): *et apud Romanos Varro scripsit Sitium Dentatum centies et vicies pugnasse singulari certamine; cicatrices habere e contra quadraginta quinque, post tergum nullam; coronasse accepisse XXVI, armillas CLX, et istum primum sacrum fecisse Marti.* This is cited to the word '*nefrendes*' merely for the sake of the mention of the sacrifice at the end, an item which occurs in none of the other versions; it is likely that the original source of the passage was Varro's *res divinae*.

There still remains for consideration the full name of our hero, whom I have heretofore called Dentatus to avoid confusion. In Gellius he is L. Sicinius Dentatus, but Pliny makes the middle name Siccus, while some manuscripts of Valerius Maximus give one and others the other. Dionysius and Livy both give Siccus, which must be accepted as correct, for the other writers having Sicinius are both late. Cf. Solinus 1, 102 and 106; Ammianus Marcellinus 25, 3, 13; 27, 10, 16. Festus has '*Sergio*' according to both Müller and Thewrewk de Ponor (repeating the text of Ursinus), though Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* 1, 110) states that the earlier editions as well as the Vatican copy (No. 1549) of the lost



portion of the MS Farnesianus have 'Secinio'. If this were a correction by an Italian scholar I should expect to find the name properly spelled. As the early editions represent the copy of the lost manuscript by Angelus Politianus, we have the authority of two copies against the undoubtedly more careful copy of Ursinus. It seems the latter must have made the mistake this time, for the form Sicinius is here required, as the passage is derived through the medium of Verrius Flaccus from the source of Gellius, where all the manuscripts give the name Sicinius.

In Valerius Maximus all editors before Kempf printed Sicinius after the majority of the manuscripts. Kempf changed to Siccus partly on the evidence of Pliny, whom he wrongly considered as copied from Valerius. We should rather reinforce the authority of the manuscripts by comparison with Gellius and Festus, which are from the same source. But these two throw their evidence for Sicinius, which we must accept in Valerius even though the manuscript evidence seems somewhat stronger for the other form. The stemma of the MSS of Valerius according to Kempf is as follows:



*A*, the best manuscript, has 'Sentii' in an erasure; this is a correction taken from the Epitome of Paris, which has 'Sentii' in all manuscripts. *L*, *D*, and *C* have 'Sicci' while *r* has 'Sicii'. *B* has 'Sicini' and *E* 'Sicinei'; *F* is wanting in this portion. As *C* is late and much interpolated, while *B* is a good manuscript of the 13th century, the class *B, C, E, F* must rest on the authority of *B, E*. Is *Sicini* in this class an attempted correction or was that the original reading of *A* or whatever manuscript may have been the source of this class? I have decided for *Sicinius* as the original reading and restore it to the text for 3 reasons: 1st, the source used by Valerius requires it; 2d, the form *Siccus* was well known from Livy and Pliny, and would therefore be more likely to be interpolated than *Sicinius* which would have to come from a knowledge

of Gellius or Solinus; 3d, the occurrences of Siccius in the MSS of Valerius can be traced to the manuscript L, the writer of which showed a tendency to correct proper names. This is especially shown by the filling out of initials (cf. Kempf ed. min. p. XXIII). Though restoring Sicinius to the text here I must repeat it is originally a mistake for Siccius, caused by confusion with the better known family. The mistake must have been made by Varro in the *Annals*, as its appearance in all the descendants shows. In the *Imagines* he corrected to the proper form as we see from Pliny and he wrote Siccius also in the *res divinae* if we refer the 'Sitius' of Fulgentius to that source.

We have still to consider how the form Sicinius came to appear in Solinus in a passage taken verbatim<sup>1</sup> from Pliny. As this form appears also in Ammianus Marcellinus in two passages copied from Solinus, there can be no doubt that the text is correct. What then induced Solinus to make the change? Here again we can trace the mistake to Varro's *Annals*, though the Varronian fragments in Solinus are all indirectly derived. Mommsen (*Praef. ad Solin.*) has shown that the Pliny excerpts in Solinus were not taken directly but had been combined with other material especially chronological and geographical by some predecessor. The chronological work used was that by Cornelius Bocchus of the time of Claudius (cf. Mommsen, p. 14).<sup>2</sup> But this was in turn mostly a compilation of his predecessors, if we may judge by the number of other historians cited by Solinus, the mention of whom must have come through Bocchus. According to Mommsen there are 22 of these, including both Greek and Latin; he also states that none of these lived later than Nepos, a statement which is true but misleading, for Unger (*Rhein. Mus.* 35, 19) was induced by some such thought to assert that Nepos in turn was the chief source of Bocchus. But we know that Nepos wrote his *Chronica* sometime before 54 B. C. Furthermore Varro is also cited for a subject which would naturally be referred to the *Annals*, viz., the founding

<sup>1</sup> Therefore in Solinus 1, 103 'in phaleris hastis puris armillis coronis CCCXII dona meruit' must be emended by inserting 'torquibus' before or after 'phaleris'. (I am in doubt whether this is a mistake of the manuscripts or of Mommsen's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> Schanz, *Röm. Litt.* III, 203 suggests Suetonius as the direct source of Solinus and the combiner of the chronological material from Bocchus with excerpts from Pliny, Mela and others. Some such intermediary is necessary, but we can not be sure that it is Suetonius or that it all came through one.

of Rome, and we have seen above that this work was published after 55 B. C. at the earliest. There are also citations from Cicero (from Brutus pub. 46 B. C.) and from Atticus' liber annalis (after 51 B. C.) Likewise L. Tarruntius the astrologer, who dedicated his horoscope of Rome to Varro, is cited. It is plain from all this, either that Nepos was not the chief source of Bocchus or that much of the historical information in Solinus did not come through Bocchus. Of the latter Varro was surely a direct source and probably some others were used, though there was undoubtedly much repeating of citations from the different sources. The fact that Varro was one of the sources can not be called in question, but it is not so certain that the particular work was the Annals. We know from Arnobius 5, 8 that Varro gave his date for the founding of the city and his discussion of the same in the libri de gente pop. Rom. and so all fragments relating to this subject have generally been assigned to that work. Still the Annals as a chronological work must have assigned a date to this event, though no such thorough discussion of the question as in the larger work could have appeared there. The date (753 B. C.) would have been the same as it had already appeared in the work of Atticus.<sup>1</sup> Also the fact that Varro is not cited by Solinus for the *date* of the founding of Rome, though 8 of his predecessors are, points to him as the intermediate source of all the citations. Before he made his own investigations, published in the de gente pop. Rom. he would have been likely to cite these predecessors and to have chosen the most probable of them for his statement in the Annals. Bocchus took the citations without naming Varro, and Solinus or his source treated Bocchus in like manner. The brevity and chronological character of all these works also tend to confirm the view that the shortest chronological work of Varro, i. e. the Annals, was the original source. It is besides certain that the name Siccius was changed to Sicinius in accordance with this source and this form of the name as we have seen must be traced to the Annals, for Varro corrected the mistake in his other works, the Imagines and the res divinae.

Even the short astrological computation from Tarruntius may have been taken by Bocchus-Solinus from the Annals, though

<sup>1</sup> We know from Cicero's *Academica* I, 3, 9 that Varro also had determined a date previous to 45 B. C., though the de gente pop. Rom. was not published till 43 B. C. Yet Cicero nowhere alludes to a difference between Atticus and Varro.

Varro must have given a fuller version of the same in the *de gente pop. Rom.* We thus see that everything points to the *Annals* of Varro as one of the principal sources of Bocchus-Solinus. Of the various reasons the appearance of the name Sicinius is certainly a strong one, the others are merely confirmatory in character.

On this basis we may consider the *Annals* as the indirect source not only of the passage of Solinus on the founding of Rome, for which Varro is cited, but also of the other passages which can be shown to be Varronian, except those derived through Pliny or taken from the *de litoralibus* (*de ora maritima*) which is cited. As possible fragments of the *Annals* we may enumerate:

Solinus 1, 13 (porta Pandana) cf. Varro l. l. 5, 42.

" 1, 14 (Pallatium and Reate) cf. Varro, r. r. 3, 1, 6; Pliny 3, 109.

" 1, 17 Varro cited.

" 1, 18 Tarruntius cited.

" 1, 19 (the Parilia) cf. Festus, p. 222 (M.)

" 1, 20 (spolia opima and king Acron) cf. my *Quellen-contamination* im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius, p. 47.

Solinus 1, 21-23 (the residence, length of reign, date of death and place of burial of the kings). Note particularly the dates of death for Numa (ol. 27), Hostilius (ol. 35), Ancus Marcius (ol. 41). These three dates agree exactly with the Varronian date of the city (753), if we take the expression *olympiade septima et vicesima*, etc. to mean the first year of the olympiad, i. e. the summer when the games occurred. The usual interpretation would place the death any time during the four years of the olympiad. It is noticeable that the dates of the deaths of the other kings are not given in olympiads as they would not have coincided with Olympian festivals according to the Varronian system of dating. Varro may have noticed the coincidence in the case of the three kings and so dated their deaths 'incipiente olympiade, etc', for Bocchus would have to omit the participle to keep the discrepancy with his system of chronology from being too apparent.

Solinus 1, 34 (the original 10 month year) cf. Censorinus 20.

" 2, 5 (Janiculum and Janus) cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 245.

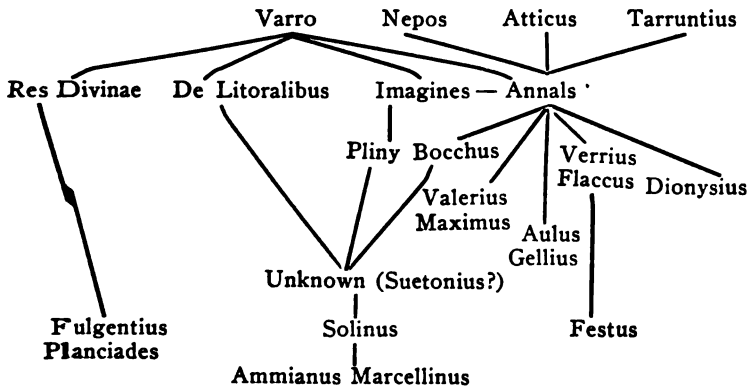
" " (Saturnia and Saturn) cf. Varro, l. l. 5, 42.

Also in Aulus Gellius there are other concealed fragments of the *Annals*, as the following:

17, 21, 13 (the death of the 300 Fabii dated the 4th year after Salamis).

17, 21, 16 (date of the beginning of 2nd Punic War).

17, 21, 40 (date of first Punic War). All these dates agree with the chronology of Varro rather than Nepos. The Annals may also have been used in other chapters of Gellius or Valerius Maximus but in all such passages we have not sufficient data to distinguish between the different works of Varro as sources. The following is the outline for the relation of sources shown in this paper.



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### III.—WORD-ACCENT IN EARLY LATIN VERSE.

#### FIRST PAPER.

The greater harmony between word-accent and verse-ictus in early Latin iambic and trochaic verse has been generally regarded as due to the stress-quality of the accent. Though it is granted that the fundamental structural principle followed in this early verse was that based on differences of quantity, as it was in the Greek models, yet with the possibility, which in present opinion amounts almost to certainty, that the Latin accent was not a pitch-accent, but a stress-accent, this assumed stress is thought to have had a considerable influence in shaping the verse, and especially to have resulted in giving the verse, in early times, a more pronounced "accentual" character than it possessed in the classical period. As it happens, all our extensive specimens of this early verse are preserved to us in comedy, whose language is necessarily that of every-day life and thus enjoys a freedom from conventionalities not permitted in other classes of poetry. On general principles it does not seem altogether strange, therefore, that certain departures from the Greek form of the metres in question should be connected with their introduction into that form of early Latin literature with which we are best acquainted. And indeed, in addition to what appears to be the influence of a Latin stress-accent, there is the neglect of the quantity in the inner theses<sup>1</sup> of the iambic and trochaic dipody; and both of these deviations from the model have seemed so natural in the early comic poets, and apparently due to such evident causes, that little effort has been made to go beneath the surface for an explanation.

#### I.

In a general way, we may say that a verse is produced by the alternation of syllables having prominence with syllables lacking prominence. It goes without saying that a syllable having prominence in poetry has prominence also in the ordinary pro-

<sup>1</sup> By theses are meant the weak parts of the verse, those which do not have the ictus.

nunciation of the word in prose, and that a syllable having or lacking prominence elsewhere must have or lack it also when employed in poetry. To the extent, then, to which the syllable having the accent coincides with the arsis in early Latin verse, this fact of coincidence itself might furnish a presumption that the syllable mentioned had a prominence by virtue of the accent. This presumption is, however, greatly weakened by even a slight acquaintance with the facts of the verse itself. For it appears very clearly that, whatever may be the part played by the accent, this class of verse is constructed according to quantity, and that while long syllables without the accent are found in the arsis in practically every line, single short syllables which have the accent are never found there. In other words, while the quantity always prevails over the accent, the accent never prevails over the quantity and has clearly no independent force to make itself felt in the verse apart from the quantity. It remains therefore to consider whether the accent played the part of a general reinforcing stress which, when added to a syllable of long quantity, made the prominence of this syllable all the more marked, and when added to a short syllable, partly raised it also out of the obscurity to which its quantity alone would have condemned it—for this is the only kind of accent-stress that can with any probability have played a part in early Latin verse.

If we examine an early Latin verse, say an iambic senarius, we must needs take as our starting-point the fact that upon its first introduction into Latin, this verse can only have been a copy from the iambic trimeter of the Greek drama. Considering it as a copy, we find a flagrant violation of quantity in certain parts. While in the arses and the last thesis the quantity practically does not depart from that of the model, we find it quite generally disregarded in the other two theses which were kept pure in Greek, namely the second and the fourth. This disregard of quantity can not be due to absolute uncertainty of the quantity in Latin words, for the same syllables which are wrongly used in the theses, are practically always used correctly in the arses. Nor, on the other hand, does this disregard of quantity arise from utter indifference to the distinctions between the two kinds of theses, for the last thesis is always pure in Latin, no less than in Greek, and among the other theses also there is, even in early Latin, a very considerable variation in the proportion of long and short syllables which they contain. This is clear from a



count of the theses—resolutions being omitted—of the 553 iambic senarii of the Trinummus, which yields the following result:

Number of thesis	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
long syllables	327	283	403	310	436	0
short syllables	72	202	127	188	58	553
percentage of shorts	18+	42—	24—	38—	12—	100

It will be seen that the percentage of short syllables in the second and fourth theses, which were always short in Greek, is much larger than it is in the first, third and fifth. Much the same proportion holds for all the early dramatists, comic as well as tragic, though in the more careful writers, like Ennius and Terence, the percentage of short syllables in the theses of the second and the fourth foot is somewhat greater than in other writers. To be sure, by the time of Ennius and Terence, and especially with the writers of *togatae* and *praelectatae*, the peculiarities of the iambic and trochaic verse of the drama were no longer due so much to incorrect copying of Greek verse, as they were due to correct adherence to the forms established by Roman predecessors. But with the first writers of Latin iambic and trochaic verse it was a different matter. They are to be held responsible for setting the precedent and creating the type.

But why was it that these first Roman playwrights did not reproduce the metres of their originals more accurately? There are two possible answers: 1. They may have had an imperfect mental image of the form of the verse, when they set about to reproduce it; 2. They may have experienced difficulties from the crude and unsuitable nature of the language in which they tried to reproduce their mental image of the model, the image itself being perfect. The facts seem to indicate that the peculiarities of early Latin verse were the result of a combination of these two conditions.

It is evident from the structure of early Latin metre, that the writer's mental image of the quantity of the different syllables in the Greek models was not equally clear for all parts of the verse. In the case of the iambic trimeter he must have been distinctly conscious of the nature of the arses and the last thesis, but much more vaguely conscious of the nature of the other theses. This can only have been due to the fact that the attention rested more directly upon the arses and the last thesis of the Greek verse.



And in again giving outward form to such a mental image, in which some parts were vague and others were distinct, it is but natural that the attention was again fixed upon the distinct parts and that they were more correctly reproduced as to quantity than the others.

In this way we might account in a simple manner for a neglect of some of the theses. But, at the same time, it is hard to imagine that the writers in question would have written such faulty theses if they had attempted to reproduce the verses in Greek instead of Latin. At least none of those who actually wrote Greek dramas ever allowed himself such a neglect of quantity. It would seem then, that after all the most indispensable factor in the explanation of the peculiarities of early Latin dramatic verse was the condition of the Latin language. But it was not the only factor, as appears from what has already been mentioned, namely that the Roman dramatist could on occasion be quite as accurate in quantity in the Latin verse, as the Greek dramatist was in the Greek verse. The certain thing is that this accuracy was possible in Latin only in those parts of the verse whose precise quantitative character was clearly marked in the writer's mental image.

The most important thing, however, is still to be considered. That the early Roman writers were more clearly conscious of the quantity employed in Greek, and to be employed in Latin, in some parts of the verse than in others, has just been shown from the way in which they universally treated the different parts. If we look at these parts a little more closely, we shall find some other interesting facts. We find that while the quantity is carefully observed in the first five arses and in the last thesis of the Latin senarius, there are two places among this number where the metrical treatment is unusually strict. These are the last thesis and the fifth arsis, immediately preceding it.<sup>1</sup> Of these two, as is well known, the last thesis is the only thesis whose quantity is absolutely pure in early Latin. In addition to being pure, this thesis is almost entirely free also from resolution, and altogether free from the irregularities that attend resolution, "semi-hiatus" and "iambic shortening." The fifth arsis has resolution much less frequently than the other arses, does not have the "semi-hiatus", nor does it allow the two syllables of its resolution to

<sup>1</sup> The syllables referred to are the two marked "a" in the following line:

u - - u - - u - - a a - .  
4                      4

stand in two separate words, and the cases of "iambic shortening" found in it are extremely rare.

Upon further investigation we find also that the accented syllable of words has a strong tendency to drift to those positions in the verse where we find the quantity accurately observed. So while it is a well-known fact that the accented syllable stands in the arses with unusual frequency in early Latin, it is also true that many more accented syllables are found in the last thesis than in any of the other theses. A count of the senarii of the *Trinummus* gives the following result:

Number of thesis	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Accented syllables	143	47	37	69	177	246

These facts and figures should positively prove one thing about the accented syllable, namely that if it had a stress, this stress did not, as such, have the slightest influence upon the form of these early Latin verses. The only way in which such a stress-influence could manifest itself would be in a coincidence of the accented syllables with the arses. And it would, of course, also be true that if there was an accent-stress which gave the accented syllable greater prominence by resting upon it, as the theory of accentual influence must assume, the recognition of this greater prominence by the writer, or in other words, the extent of coincidence of the accented syllable with the arsis, would be greatest wherever the difference between an arsis and a preceding or following thesis was clearest and most decisive in the writer's mental image of the verse. For there, if anywhere, it would be natural for the writer to attempt to concentrate all possible prominence to be found in words, whether of quantity or of accent, upon the unusually prominent part of the verse, the arsis, and to remove it from the thesis.

Just such a case we have found in the fifth arsis of the senarius and the following thesis. The vigorous effort made by the writer to preserve clearly the distinction in quantity between these two parts of the verse, is sufficiently evident from the reluctance, already noticed, with which anything but a single short is admitted to the thesis, or a single long to the arsis. But unfortunately for the theory of accentual influence, while the quantity, which every one accepts at least as the primary principle of structure, shows beyond a doubt the rhythmical effort made at this point in the verse toward a decisive distinction

between the two syllables, the accent not only fails to support this effort, but runs directly counter to it. For there is no arsis in the line which has fewer, and no thesis which has more accented syllables than those just referred to.

It is not possible to explain away this circumstance by saying that at the end of the verse there was necessarily a certain amount of conflict between arsis and accent which could not be so easily avoided there as in the middle of the verse. For, as a matter of fact, Plautus made hardly as much effort in his senarii to keep the accented syllables out of the last thesis, as Horace did in his trimeters, which was none at all. Of the 553 senarii of the *Trinummus*, 246 (44+%) have an accented syllable in the last thesis, and 288 (56—%) in the fifth arsis. In the 311 iambic trimeters of Horace's *Epodes* the number is 131 and 178 (42+ and 58—%) respectively. The completeness, on the other hand, with which the harmony of accent and ictus became established at the end of all iambic and trochaic verses in late Latin, in many cases without any neglect of quantity whatever, shows beyond a doubt that such a thing was at least possible.<sup>1</sup>

The relation that actually does exist between the accented syllables and particular parts of the verse is rather this, that a close approach to purity, i. e. consistency in the use of quantity, at any place in the verse, goes hand in hand with a relatively large number of accented syllables in that place. With regard to the arses this proposition will be readily accepted, but it is a fact, and can easily be shown, that it is true no less of the theses. In comparing the different theses, however, with reference to the number of accented syllables found in them, it is manifestly unfair to include those of the second and of the third foot of the *senarius*, since the prevailing caesura practically ensures a final syllable for the thesis of the third foot, and thus prevents an accented syllable from standing there, while the same caesura also practically excludes the accented syllable from the thesis of the second foot, except only in the rare cases when a monosyllable stands immediately before this caesura.<sup>2</sup> But if we com-

<sup>1</sup> Full statistics of the relation between accent and arsis in late Latin are collected in the writer's dissertation, "The Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin" (Chicago, 1900).

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions may of course occur through the elision of final syllables.

pare the remaining theses with each other, we get the following results for the various early authors:<sup>1</sup>

	Number of verses.	I.		IV.		V.		VI.	
		% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.
Naevius...	63	15+	19	37+	6	14+	18	100	24
Plautus (Tri- nummus)	553	18+	143	38—	69	12—	177	100	246
Ennius....	99	18—	34	52+	13	18+	40	100	36
Pacuvius ..	141	19+	34	41—	11	13+	57	100	58
Terence (Phormio)	617	19+	136	39+	79	10+	178	100	278
Accius....	284	16—	77	35+	23	6+	145	100	114
Afranius ..	194	15+	40	43—	16	12—	53	100	78
Total .....	1951	18+	483	39+	217	11—	668	100	834

This table shows not only for early Latin verse in general, but for all the authors individually—the only exception is the sixth as compared with the fifth foot in Ennius and Accius—that the relation between the number of accented syllables and the degree

<sup>1</sup>As has been mentioned before, all resolutions have, for present purposes, been left entirely out of account as tending to obscure the actual relation between long and short syllables. The percentages in the table given above are therefore not percentages of the total number of verses, but of the sum of all single long and short syllables found in that particular part of the verse. The actual number of longs and shorts found in the four theses under discussion is:

	Number of verses.	I.		IV.		V.		VI.	
		Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.
Naevius...	63	45	8	39	23	48	8		63
Plautus (Tri- nummus)	553	327	72	310	188	436	58		553
Ennius....	99	73	16	46	50	77	17		99
Pacuvius ..	141	97	23	79	54	112	17		141
Terence (Phormio)	617	367	88	360	232	506	57		617
Accius....	284	186	33	173	95	257	17		284
Afranius ..	194	135	24	110	82	136	18		194
Total .....	1951	1230	262	1117	724	1572	192		9151

of quantitative consistency in a particular part of the verse is universal and positive. We find the smallest number of accented syllables (217) in the fourth thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 39 + to 61 —. The number of accented syllables is more than twice as high (483) in the first thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 18 + to 82 —. The number is still higher (668) in the fifth thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 11 — to 89 +. But it is highest of all (834) in the sixth thesis, where the same quantity is found without any variation whatever.

In looking for the significance of these figures, we must remember that those who first composed Greek metres in Latin, did not find in the latter language conditions quite so simple as those which existed later, when the influence of Greek rules of prosody had, for purposes of poetry, reduced all differences between syllables in Latin to a single one, that between long and short. The language-material which the first dramatic writers in Latin must needs employ in writing their comedies was the colloquial idiom, whose daily usage in any tongue presents almost innumerable shades of quantity, not to mention pitch and stress. And not only must the grades of prominence have been many, but we are also aware that a given syllable of a word does not even under all conditions have a uniform value in speech. Under circumstances like these, even the slightest indication of a preference of a particular syllable for a special purpose must be important, and when there is a decided tendency, such as we noticed in the case of accented syllables, both long and short, to gravitate toward certain parts of the verse having a common characteristic, we are surely justified in laying great emphasis upon this fact, and in seeing a close relation between the accent and the peculiar characteristic common to these parts of the verse.

Making verse, generally speaking, consists in making such an arrangement of the available sound-units, or syllables, of the language, that the latter come to stand in series in which a certain distinctive characteristic possessed by some syllables recurs at definite intervals, and in which the syllables possessing this distinction alternate with syllables which, to a greater or less extent, do not possess it. But unless a new verse-form is being invented, the exact nature of the series thus to be produced is already present as a verse-image in the writer's mind. For

practical purposes, therefore, verse-making is merely an adapting of the characteristics of speech to the peculiarities of this mental verse-image. So we are certain in saying that the main characteristic of the verse-images of the first Latin dramatists, which they received from the Greek models, was the alternation of long and short elements, and we find it natural that these writers should have employed those syllables of the Latin language at any particular place in the verse, which in Latin speech were found to possess the qualities that agreed with the peculiarities of the mental image of the verse in that place<sup>1</sup>. In addition to mere differences in quantity, we found further that there must have been differences between one part of this verse-image and another, in the clearness and definiteness with which the mind realized the particular quantity required, whether long or short. So the last thesis in the mental image of the iambic trimeter must have been distinctly short, and the first five arses quite as distinctly long, while the other theses, as well as the last arsis, upon which the attention of the ear had not rested so directly, were in the mental image more vaguely defined as to their quantity.

Now, if the accented syllable was used by preference for those parts of the verse whose quantity was clearly defined in the verse-image, there is one sure conclusion which we can draw as to the character of the accented syllable, namely that its quantity, whether long or short, was more definitely and clearly realized in the mental image of the word than the quantity of the other syllables. And in the word as in the verse, this superior clearness must have been due to the fact that the accented syllable for some reason had the attention resting upon it more directly, that it was, we might say, the center of attention in the word.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the accentual hexameters in English, which will occur to one in this connection, it may be well to say that the verse-image of the ancient hexameter existing in the minds of the modern poets in question, had, no doubt, as its main characteristic, a much too vigorous stress of the ictus, such a one as they acquired when they learned to scan their "*arma virúmque canó*." But even when it is possible for an English poet to divest himself entirely of his peculiar training in Latin and of the metrical practice of his own language, it will still be found that any imitation, in English, of Latin or Greek metres will be accentual as well as quantitative. This is necessarily the case, since the accent practically monopolizes long quantity in English words. For illustration compare the alcaics and hendecasyllabics of Tennyson.

But that the accented syllable did not have the quality of stress to any appreciable degree is, aside from the conclusive fact of its preference for the pure thesis in Latin, shown by the further fact that it did not cripple the other syllables of the word. So far from robbing them of length, or of all vocal character whatsoever, as is so often the case in English, the quantity of the unaccented syllables in early Latin became, with the exception of a few word-endings, quite as clear and definite as that of the accented syllables, whenever these unaccented syllables stood in the arses or in the last thesis, and were thus for the time brought directly under the attention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The chief arguments that have been advanced for a stress-accent in this connection, are drawn from the phenomena of "vowel-weakening" and syncope.

"*Vowel-weakening*."—The former of these, by which is meant the change, for example, of a short *a* to a short *i* when a word receives a prefix, as *facio*, *efficio*, appears to have come about mainly in prehistoric times, and must, therefore, be handled with care. This much is true, however, that a stress-accent could contribute to bringing about this change only in case it fell on the syllable before or the syllable after the one affected, for if the accent fell on the so-called "weakened" syllable itself, it would clearly be adding weakness to the syllable instead of strength, and could therefore not be looked upon as a stress-accent. As a matter of fact, no distinction of this kind exists between the syllables of the word. The "weakening" occurs with much the same frequency in the accented syllable as in the others. To maintain the theory, therefore, it has been necessary to take refuge in the assumption of a prehistoric accent on the first syllable of the word.

But even if we allow this assumption, it is difficult to see how a stress-accent could have the effect which is claimed for it. For the "weakening," as it actually occurs, is universally a change from a vowel of lower to one of higher pitch (*ɛ* to *ɪ*, *ɔ* to *ɪ* or *ɪ*, *au* to *u*, &c), and not a change from long to short, for example (*au* becomes *u*, not *ā*; *ae* becomes *ɪ*, not *ē*). Now, a change from long to short might be true evidence of a neighboring stress-accent, (cf. our customary pronunciation *amēddmus*); but no one would wish to maintain that an unstressed syllable is naturally pronounced at a higher pitch.

A much more plausible explanation may at least be suggested. The changes just mentioned occur when the word is lengthened, by a prefix or otherwise, as *facio*, *efficio*; *cano*, *cecini*; *carmen*, *carminis*. This additional syllable is of course an additional draft upon the air-reserve in the lungs. To make the air-reserve hold out under the changed conditions, an unconscious and automatic adjustment naturally takes place, of a kind that will neutralize the extra demand. This adjustment consists in the contraction of the vocal passage, so as to let less breath escape in a given time. And this contraction in itself means a sound of higher pitch.

*Syncope*.—If we turn to the argument for a stress-accent which is drawn from the syncope of short inter-consonantal vowels, as for instance, *viridis* for *viridis*,

On the other hand it is easy to see that the clearness of the accented syllable has a reality apart from those verse-positions which lay directly under the attention. For in the second and fourth theses of the senarius the accented syllable much more nearly preserves the purity which these theses have in Greek,

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we find one of the strongest single arguments that can be made for the theory that the Latin accent was stress. For in spite of exceptional cases like *puertiae* for *pueritiae*, *vigias* for *vigilias*, the syncopation occurs, for all practical purposes, only in the unaccented syllables. Here we have at least something which, we must confess, could come about through stress of the accent.

If we look more closely, however, we are met at the very outset by the fact that while syncopation of short syllables is of common occurrence throughout the history of the language, the reduction of long vowels to short ones, with the exception of a few final syllables, where it is due to other causes, as we shall see, is not common. Surely, it is even more natural to expect the unaccented long syllables to become short, than to expect the unaccented short syllables to disappear altogether. Our own customary pronunciation, in which we certainly stress the accented syllable, will illustrate. We can hardly help saying *amābdmus* instead of *amābdmus*, but we never say *valdus* instead of *validus*, nor *frigidus* instead of *frigidus*. If then the accent did not have the more natural result to be expected from a stress, the less natural result was in all probability not due to it either, but to some other cause.

It is evident from ancient testimony that the syncopated and unsyncopated forms of words were often current side by side. The question of the comparative merit of the two forms seems to have been a subject of discussion. Cf. the preference of Augustus for *caldum* (Quint. I 6, 19), which grammarians condemn as a barbarism. The trouble must have been caused by the actual pronunciation of the words, and the explanation would seem to be about as follows.

The pronunciation of consonants in Latin, as we know, was much more distinct than it is in English. When two consonants stood together in a word, and both of them were pronounced with their full individual sound, it was impossible, except in cases where these consonants merged readily into each other, to avoid a slight intervening vowel sound in passing from one to the other. This "parasitic" vowel sound in some cases found its way into the spelling of the Latin words, especially as *i* or *u*, while in other cases it remained unwritten. But whether written or unwritten, this sound must have been more or less distinctly heard, in good as well as careless pronunciation, and we know, from the attention given to the subject by the grammarians, that it was a source of constant trouble to the schoolmaster. And well it might be, for in addition to these "parasitic" vowels, there were numerous other short vowels with a good legal right to their place, which were represented by the same letters as the "parasitic" vowels and, as this fact shows, did not differ materially from them in pronunciation. By the average man these two classes of short vowel sounds would, under such circumstances, naturally be treated alike, i. e. while some would perhaps be pronounced more, and others less distinctly, and some, as the inscriptions show, were certainly written, and



than do other syllables of the word. The senarii of the Trinummus show the following distribution of syllables in the theses:

Accented:	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
Long,	105	16	28	24	173	
Short,	38	31	9	45	4	246
Before the accent:						
Long,	78	94	38	69	66	
Short,	26	94	25	30	22	
Final:						
Long,		101	275	159	135	
Short,		46	76	51	31	13

If we add together the three outer theses (I, III and V), whose quantity is undetermined in Greek, we have

	Long.	Short.	% Short.
Accented,	306	51	14 +
Before the accent,	184	73	29 —
Final,	410	107	21 —

others were not, this distinction would, in the nature of the case, be made without any reference to the origin of the vowels, and would therefore not be the same in all cases and at all times. Even the scholar must have had his difficulties, with no rule but past practice in spelling and the occasional analogy of a Greek word to guide him. Even in our own day, with Sanskrit and the mass of other comparative material, it does not seem possible, in very many cases, to establish anything beyond the general fact of the confusion.

That this confusion could more easily arise in unaccented syllables than in accented ones is plain, if the latter, as was certainly the case, possessed a certain distinction among the syllables of the word, which served to give them more of the speaker's attention and thus tended to preserve their peculiar vocal character much more faithfully than that of the syllables which did not enjoy the speaker's attention to the same degree. But even if we leave this out of account altogether, a confusion between parasitic and other short vowels in the accented syllable was almost impossible for the reason that the parasitic vowel hardly ever came to stand in the accented syllable. In any individual word, an accent on a parasitic vowel is possible only on the supposition that the accent had previously stood on the vacant interval between the two consonants where the vowel in question arose. It is, of course, possible to think of such a syllable coming by the accent by chance, when the accent is shifted through changes in the end of the word, due to declension or conjugation. But when the parasitic vowel has once become fixed to the extent that it maintains itself under the changes described, it is, for all practical purposes, no longer a parasitic vowel at all, but a fixed and recognized part of the word, at least so far as the individual speaker or writer is concerned.

If we add the two theses (II and IV) which are pure in Greek but not in Latin, we have

	Long.	Short.	% Short.
Accented,	40	76	66 —
Before the accent,	163	124	43 +
Final,	260	97	27 +

Our conclusion, then, for the character of the accented syllable in Latin, so far as the early verse is concerned, would be that there was no stress upon it of any appreciable force, that is, none that was strong enough to have an influence upon the metrical structure, but that the quantity of the accented syllable was nevertheless more stable, i. e., more clearly defined in the mental image of the word, than the quantity of the other syllables, or in other words, that the accented syllable, for some reason and to some extent, was the center of attention in the word.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

It remains to see whether we can find out how this syllable could come to occupy the center of consciousness, even though, aside from a possible long quantity, it had no other appreciable strength or stress in pronunciation, which could have served to direct attention to it.

What impresses us most about the Latin accent is the unvaried monotony of its position. It can not stand on the final syllable,<sup>2</sup> nor more than a certain limited distance from it. It does not fall upon a syllable of special significance, because of its significance, but accidentally, if at all. In fact, it possesses no individuality whatever, but is shifted from one of its two places to the other by the chance of length or brevity. This whole condition of things strikes us as thoroughly mechanical. We might almost suspect that it was the invention of some enterprising pedagogue, if it were not that the unanimity and universality in the treatment of the subject by the Latin grammarians,

<sup>1</sup> If the quantity in proper names is less carefully observed than in other words, this is to some extent due, no doubt, to the frequent necessity of fitting them into a metre which is not suited to receive them. But it must not be forgotten, that the pronunciation of proper names is, in itself, in daily practice, subject to much greater variations and irregularities than the pronunciation of other words.

<sup>2</sup> Cases like "illfc", "addúc", &c., can of course hardly count as exceptions.

and their comparison of the position of the Latin accent with that of Greek, lead us to believe that the accent in Latin must be a matter of some importance. At the same time the wide and careful treatment accorded to the rules for the place of the Latin accent, in spite of their great simplicity, suggests that its position was far from being at all times and unmistakably marked by a distinguishing characteristic of pronunciation. We are compelled, therefore, by the testimony of the grammarians, as well as by that of early metres, to be prepared to take account of even the slightest indications that may lead us to a conclusion.

Of one thing we may be sure as a beginning, namely, that the accent has some sort of connection with the end of the word. If now we take as our starting-point the difference in definiteness of quantity which the structure of early verse led us to assume between the accented syllable and other syllables of the word, we readily see that the final syllable, or syllables, of an inflected word must necessarily leave a less definite and stable impression on the mind, owing to the changes which inflection makes them undergo in form and quantity. It can not be objected to this statement that the inflectional endings, representing, as they do, distinctions of person, number, &c., must consequently be distinct and even prominent in pronunciation. For these endings, the personal endings in verbs, for instance, are not used to point a distinction at all. An unemphatic "we", as in "we heard the explosion", is expressed in Latin by the ending "-mus", but when a real distinction of persons is to be made, as for example between "we" and "you", the ending does not suffice in Latin, but separate words "nos" and "vos" are employed.

But in addition to this the final syllables of a word are subject to still further conditions that constantly tend to weaken them as compared with the other syllables. If a word is pronounced by itself, or if it stands before a full pause at the end of a clause or sentence, with very few exceptions the end of this word naturally suffers not only a decided decline of pitch, but, in a smaller degree, of vocal effort in general, and hence of vigor and length. In the exertion which is put forth to pronounce the words and syllables of the sentence, and especially in the tension of the vocal chords which this pronunciation involves, the pause at the end is anticipated, as it were, by a gradual descent of the last word.

It is natural that this descent should begin after the last

prominent syllable preceding the end of the word. Such a prominent syllable would, in a Latin word, be the last long preceding the final syllable, when there is such a long. Thus in "produco" or "praefectum", the decline itself would involve only the last syllable; in "praefeceras" it would affect the last two syllables. If there are no long syllables preceding the final, the descent would of course have to occur the same as in other words, but we can easily see how there might then be a wavering as to the precise *short* syllable which was to mark the beginning of the decline. If the doctrine of "two shorts equal to a long" was not a pure fiction, a word like "dederas" would offer somewhat the same conditions for the descent as "duco", "familiam" would correspond somewhat to "feceram." Still, at the same time, the mere number of syllables would have its influence, and the fact that in words like "produco" and "praefeceram" there could be no sort of doubt as to the number of syllables that shared in the descent, must have had the effect of setting up such words as the types, to which other words in which there might be more or less doubt, because they had no long syllables in the two places before the final, would naturally come to conform. And if we wish to draw conclusions from a comparison of the Plautine scansion of words like "familiam" and "facilius" and the iron-clad "three syllable" rule of the later grammarians, we may say that the "three syllable" tendency finally prevailed over the other.

But while the last syllable or syllables of a Latin word suffered the decline mentioned, when the word was pronounced by itself or before a pause, they did not, of course, suffer such a decline when they stood closely before other words in the same sentence. In the latter case there was probably no very appreciable prominence of one syllable over another, except such prominence as the syllable may have possessed through its long quantity and what that brings in its train. This is clearly shown by the Latin grammarians in their rules for the pronunciation of a word which may be used either as a preposition or as an adverb. When a preposition stands before its case, we read,<sup>1</sup> it has no accent, but when it stands alone or, in other words, when it is used as an adverb, it has the accent on the usual syllable. Some gram-

<sup>1</sup> The passages of the grammarians are collected in Schoell, *De accentu linguae latinae*, p. 179 ff.

marians<sup>1</sup> go so far as to say that prepositions before their nouns have the accent on the last syllable, as "*circúm litora*", but this statement is, no doubt, due only to the half-conscious effort to emphasize a distinction between the prepositional and adverbial pronunciation of the word.<sup>2</sup> Such statements can easily be duplicated from certain elementary grammars of the French language, which assert that French words always have the accent on the final syllable. The grammarian Pompeius gives us the true state of affairs when, with his habitual frankness, he says (Keil V, p. 130 (or 131): "*nam quando dicimus *poné* (ultimam habere accentum), non ideo dicimus, quia sic debet dici, sed ut sit discretio.*" Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* I 5, 25-29.

In considering this matter, we must not lose sight of the fact that when a grammarian set about to pronounce a word to himself or, which amounts to the same thing, when he imagined a word pronounced, for the purpose of discovering its accented syllable, this pronunciation, or imagined pronunciation, would almost inevitably have the falling inflection, that is, it would be the pronunciation which prevails at the end, not that which prevails in the body of the sentence. When a word, however, was used either as a preposition or as an adverb, the natural mode of procedure in determining the place of the accent for each, would be to think of the adverb as a separate word, and, by way of distinction, to pronounce or think of the preposition together with its object. How natural it is to do this, an unprejudiced effort on our own part, to discover, in English, a possible difference in pronunciation between "before", the adverb, and "before", the preposition, will clearly show.

There is another point, however, which must be carefully considered. While, generally speaking, it is certainly natural to pronounce a word individually and with the falling inflection, when we wish to get it before our mind's eye for inspection, it is no less true that the total experience which we have had in the use of a particular word, has produced a composite image of that word in our minds, and that it is this composite mental image which, disturbing factors aside, must, to some extent at least, determine our actual pronunciation of the word. Now, in

<sup>1</sup> Schoell, p. 177, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Schoell, p. 127 ff., "*Causa discretionis*", "*necessitas separandi*", "*ratio distinguendi*", "*ne confusibilitas aliqua nascatur.*"

the formation of this composite image, the peculiar pronunciation of a word before a pause will, of course, have its share. In other words, the normal pronunciation of a word will necessarily show some traces of the pronunciation which it has at the end of the sentence, where the last syllable or two are depressed. Or we may say that a word frequently used at the end of the sentence will, generally speaking, show a greater difference between the pronunciation of the final syllables and that of the accented syllable than one which is rarely or never used in that position.

This makes it quite clear, too, why not only prepositions, but also conjunctions are sometimes represented by the grammarians as having no accent.<sup>1</sup> For, like prepositions, these words naturally do not stand before a pause, and their normal pronunciation can not, therefore, show any sort of permanent distinction between an "accented" syllable and the syllable or syllables following it. As the ends of these words are never made to suffer a decline, the composite mental image will, in their case, have no element in it that will tend in any way to fix the attention upon that syllable which immediately precedes the final syllables, which in most words do suffer a decline, in such a way as to lead the grammarians to speak of an "accented" syllable in special terms.<sup>2</sup>

Now, to understand exactly what is the nature of this distinction of the accented syllable we must realize clearly what the depression before a pause means for that syllable. We may accomplish this in a rough way, if in a word, "procuratoribus", for instance, we imagine the last two syllables depressed, as they would be before a pause, and then represent the individual syllables by upright lines of a height corresponding to their individual prominence. Then we may draw an oblique line from the upper end of the vertical line that stands for "-bus" to the upper end of the line that stands for "pro-", to represent the ground level of the word. We shall then find that the upright line representing the syllable "tor" projects highest above the oblique line, even though taken in its full length, as representing the *absolute* prominence of this

<sup>1</sup> For the passages see Schoell, *De acc.*, p. 194 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The slighting of the syllable which, according to the rule, should have the accent, in words like *inde*, *unde*, *nempe* perhaps furnishes an illustration of this principle in early verse. The scansion of the forms of *ille* and *iste* in early verse may also be mentioned in this connection, for they are likewise words that practically never stand at the end of a sentence and, on the other hand, generally stand directly before other words.

syllable, the same upright line is no higher than the lines which stand for the syllables preceding it. It is this *relative* prominence of the "accented" syllable which will, as we saw, necessarily form part of the vocal associations of every word which may at any time stand in a position that involves such a depression of the final syllables as that of which we have spoken.

Just how much the normal pronunciation of a word (by which we mean the exact reproduction by the voice of the composite mental image of the word) will be affected by the peculiarities of its pronunciation before a pause, is a point not so easy to determine. We may perhaps be sure of this, however, that the various distinctive qualities of the accented syllable will be the same in kind and relative importance as compared with each other, in the normal pronunciation as they are in the pronunciation at the end of a sentence, but that these qualities will of course all be far less prominent in the former pronunciation than in the latter.

If we consider the matter in this light for a little while, it may appear to us that perhaps the Latin grammarians, from Varro on, do not deserve all the abuse for stupidity and lack of independence, which is so freely heaped upon them by our treatises and chapters on the Latin accent. It is a well-known fact that these grammarians almost unanimously describe the accented syllable in Latin by saying that it is higher in pitch than the others. This piece of evidence contemporary philology derives from Greek sources, without stopping to think that the only natural thing for a person to do, when considering the accent of two languages, is to conceive of the accent of the one with which he is less familiar in terms of the one with which he is more familiar, and not "vice versa," and further, that those men who counted for much and were used as authorities, were after all, for the most part, Romans, and not Greeks.

Now, if we observe the way in which the voice falls off at the end of a sentence, we will discover that by far the most prominent and easily detected change is precisely the change in pitch. And if this is true in the English language, in which difference of stress is without question the chief element of rhythm, and in which therefore a decline of stress would seem to be the natural method of anticipating a pause at the end of the sentence, we may feel quite confident that decline in pitch was the prominent element in the falling inflection in Latin also, and that the grammarians who fixed the rules of Latin pronunciation, were probably guided

by Latin words, and not by Greek rules, when in one chapter they point out the difference between the place of the accent in Latin and in Greek, and in the next chapter tell us that the Latin accent was elevation of pitch.<sup>1</sup>

So far as metre is concerned, to be sure, a pitch accent, i. e. a relatively higher pitch in a particular syllable, is of very little consequence. For within the ordinary range of pitch employed by a person when speaking, there is no very appreciable difference between the exertion required to pronounce the high, and that required to pronounce the low syllables, at least the difference is very slight when compared, for instance, with the difference in the effort put forth to pronounce syllables of long and syllables of short quantity. Hence we may say that, so far as any influence upon the rhythm of verse is concerned, a pitch-accent is a factor which may be neglected, as we actually find it apparently playing no part whatever in Greek metre. But while this is no doubt true, a relatively higher pitch in the pronunciation of a particular syllable in the word has nevertheless the effect of giving that syllable a distinctive character, of singling it out from its fellows. From the standpoint of the speaker this means nothing more than that the syllable in question is the center of attention in the word. We have then from this side reached the same conclusion as to the accented syllable, which we had reached previously from our study of early verse.

The same study of early verse, it will be recalled, led us to the conclusion that there was no accent-stress in Latin of sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Another charge of servility is brought against the Latin grammarians in the matter of the circumflex. It is easy to see, of course, that if the Latin accent was one of stress, a circumflex is a practical impossibility, since its very nature implies rise and fall in pitch.

Lindsay (Lat. Lang. p. 153) also finds fault with the distinction made by the grammarians between "*Rōma*" and "*Rōmae*", and argues that "the quantity of the final syllable is the chief factor in Greek accent, but not in Latin, where the quantity of the paenultima takes its place, so that one would not expect the accent of the first syllable of *Romā* to differ from that of *Romāe*." This criticism is based on the wording of the school grammar and is utterly unscientific. Why should not the character of the final syllable have an influence upon the accent as well as that of the penultimate? In the case of the falling inflection, which we have made the basis of our own explanation of the Latin accent, it surely does not seem strange that a single short final syllable, especially when preceded by a long, should be felt to be too slight to carry the descent of the sound, and that consequently this descent should involve the preceding syllable, entirely, if it is short, and the second half of it, if it is long.



importance to have an effect upon the structure of the metre. Indeed, if there is any yielding to accent-stress at all, it ought to appear especially at the ends of sentences where, as we have seen, the relative prominence of the accented syllable is certainly more positive than at any other place. But even in the cases where the end of the verse coincides with the end of the sentence in early Latin, it is not evident that there is any more decided preference for those endings in which ictus and accent fall together, than there is when the end of the verse stands in the middle of the sentence. The senarius, for instance, ends in an iambic word just as freely when this ending concludes a sentence, as when it does not. Even under those conditions, therefore, where we might fairly expect the influence of a possible stress-accent to be strongest, we do not notice any effect of such an influence upon the verse.

### III.

It still remains to make an examination of those statements of the grammarians about the Latin accent, which appear to describe it as a more vigorous stress. We have already called attention to the fact that a grammarian's observations on the accent are almost necessarily based on the pronunciation of individual words, i. e. on the same pronunciation that the word has at the end of the sentence. We may therefore feel safe in assuming, as a general principle, that whatever these grammarians say about the accent, necessarily gives, if anything, an exaggerated estimate of the relative difference between the accented syllable and the rest of the word.

There are three different statements of Latin grammarians which define the accent in Latin as a greater stress in unmistakable terms. They are by Pompeius (Keil V 126-7), by Servius Honoratus (Keil IV 426) and in the Codex Bernensis 16 (Anecdota Helvetica, p. XLV 17 H),<sup>1</sup> and their language clearly shows that they all represent the same tradition. Of the Codex Bernensis we need not speak, for it belongs to the ninth century and the passage in question is evidently nothing more than the repetition of a few catch-words like "anima verborum", "syllaba quae plus sonat", "accentus a cantu vocatus."

The other two statements both occur in commentaries on Donatus, and their wording shows clearly enough that they

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Schöll, *De accentu*, p. 78.

amount to but a single one. They deserve special attention because, to prove that the accent is "louder sound", they both suggest a test which, in its simplicity and innocence, furnishes us with the neatest refutation of their own theory that we could wish for. Let us take the statement of Pompeius, the fuller of the two: "Ergo illa syllaba quae accentum habet, plus sonat, quasi habet maiorem potestatem. Et quomodo invenimus ipsum accentum? Et hoc traditum est. Sunt plerique qui naturaliter non habent acutas aures ad capiendos hos accentus et inducitur hac arte, finge tibi quasi vocem clamantis ad longe aliquem positum. Ut puta finge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare et clama ad ipsum. Cum coeperis clamare, naturalis ratio exigit ut unam syllabam plus dicas a reliquis illius verbi, et quam videris plus sonare a ceteris, ipsa habet accentum."

Taken together with the detailed explanation of the simple rules for the place of the accent, which is everywhere given, this passage shows us that the position of the accented syllable was not easily recognized by the ear in ordinary speech. Especially does this seem to be true also of the alleged stress of the accent. To realize that the accented syllable actually "sounds louder", it is necessary to make it sound louder by shouting the word. For shouting consists, as everyone knows, not merely in louder utterance, but, more than that even, in concentration of effort upon certain words or syllables, which is, in its turn, a simple physical necessity due to the unusual exertion. That the effort should in such a case be concentrated upon the "accented" syllable, is of course perfectly natural, if that syllable was the center of attention; but that the word should have to be shouted in order to make the greater stress on the accented syllable apparent to the average ear, means, if it means anything, that in ordinary pronunciation, even of the single word spoken by itself with the falling inflection, to say nothing about the body of the sentence, this "stress" on the accented syllable was not thus apparent.

Now if these most positive and unmistakable statements on the side of the stress-accent make such a poor showing for it, we shall find it easier to refuse to this theory the benefit of the doubt in two other passages which are sometimes cited in favor of it, but whose meaning is not so evident. One is in Diomedes (Keil I 430) "accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa elatio orationis vocisve intentio vel inclinatio acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba." The description of the accent as "anima vocis", which is found a few

lines further on, strongly suggests a connection with the tradition "plus sonat", for in at least two of the statements of the latter the expressions "anima vocis" and "anima verborum" are used in the same way as in the passage from Diomedes. On the other hand, the fact that Diomedes says that the accent is *either* "elatio" or "intentio" seems to indicate that he, or his authority, did not feel it possible or necessary to decide between pitch and stress, and presumably, that he did not feel either to be so prominent as to compel him to state the fact. The other passage, from Cledonius (Keil V 31-2), "acutus qui cursim profertur, ut *drma*, excusso enim sono dicendum est; circumflexus qui tractim, ut *Rôma*; gravis qui pressa voce habet accentum", has distinct references to quantity (cursim, tractim) and possibly to pitch (pressa voce), but "excusso sono", in which Seelmann (Ausspr. d. Lat., p. 28, 29) would see a reference to a stress-accent, can be clearly seen from the passage to be only a picturesque explanation of "cursim", as if the sound were to be got rid of as quickly as possible.

To return now from our somewhat lengthy digression, we may conclude from other sources of information about the accented syllable in Latin, as well as from the early metres, that there was no stress on it that could have been felt, to any extent, as a structural principle in early verse. On the other hand, the view toward which we were led by the peculiarities of early Latin verse, namely that the main difference between the accented syllable and the other syllables is that the former lay more directly under the attention, and was consequently more stable in quantity, is not contradicted, but rather upheld and strengthened by other pieces of evidence and other lines of reasoning as well.

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J. J. SCHLICHER.

#### IV.—A MARTYROLOGICAL FRAGMENT FROM JERUSALEM.

In describing the library of the Greek Convent of the Holy (properly the Most Holy) Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in 1889, Professor J. Rendel Harris mentioned a fragment of a Greek Martyrology, probably of the ninth century, and published nine lines of it.<sup>1</sup> While working in the same library, in the winter of 1900, I saw the manuscript and made a transcription of the better preserved side of it. Since my return my notes have been supplemented by some readings sent me by the accomplished librarian, Kleophas, the discoverer of the mosaic map at Madaba, and by photographs taken for me through the kindness of Professor C. W. Votaw of the University of Chicago.

The manuscript is a double leaf now measuring 32 by 25.5 *cm.* but doubtless larger originally, for at least one line and probably more are missing at the tops of the columns. The mutilated condition of the leaf is due to its having been used in the binding of a book, and the glue spread over one side of it in this process has left that side practically illegible. The leaf is inscribed in neat slightly decorated uncials of the later type, in single columns now of 32 lines each, but originally longer. In the library catalogue, the leaf appears under Marsaba 704, and is assigned to the eighth century, but Professor Harris favors the ninth. The parchment is lined in the usual indented way, the letters standing on the line, not depending from it. There are the usual abbreviations,  $\overline{\chi\nu}$   $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\nu}$   $\overline{\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon}$   $\overline{\theta\nu}$ , an imperfect punctuation, (high point, comma) breathings in the rectangular form, a few accents, —grave, acute, circumflex—and a single mutilated marginal capital at the top of the first recto. The diaeresis is used, though not uniformly, over initial  $\nu$ , and over  $\iota$  and  $\upsilon$  in diphthongs.

The manuscript came into the library of the Greek Convent of the Holy Sepulchre from the library of the Convent of Marsaba a few years ago, when Nicodemus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, united in the buildings of the Greek Convent of the Sepulchre the

<sup>1</sup> Haverford College Studies I (1889) p. 13.

libraries of the neighboring convents of Marsaba and the Holy Cross. The library further possesses a unique distinction in containing the famous *Codex Constantinopolitanus* in which Bryennius discovered the Didache, which was sent from the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople to the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as being the seat of the Jerusalem Patriarchate to which the Constantinople Convent belongs.

It is not quite certain what the order of the pages is, but the character of its contents and the lower half of a large marginal capital at the top of it make it probable that the page beginning *καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ κτί* comes first. At any rate, this capital and the contents of the first column make it very probable that it began a new martyrdom. The double leaf may easily have been the outer one of a quire of four, but the upper and lower margins having disappeared, no trace of a quire number can be found. If it was the outer leaf of the quire, at least 448 lines and probably more must have intervened between the end of recto 1 and the beginning of verso 2. Viewed thus the illegible side constitutes the first verso and the second recto of the fragment, while the lines here printed are chiefly from the first recto and the second verso.

I *Recto*.

- Κ . . . .  
 καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τῶν εἰδῶλων  
 ἐκβακχεύων καὶ λυμε-  
 νόμενος τὰς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐκκλη-  
 5 σίας, δόγμα ἐκτίθεται εἰς πᾶ-  
 σαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ  
 τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν.  
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὖν ἐτι τ[[ο]]ῶν ἐκκλη-  
 σίων διαγουσῶν καὶ τῶν θε-  
 10 σμῶν συνήθως ἐπιτελουμέ-  
 νων, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει ὁ δι-  
 ωγμός. γραμμάτων γὰρ οὐ[ν]  
 καὶ προσταγμάτων κατ' αὐ-  
 τῶν καταφυττησάντων εἰς  
 15 τὴν οἰκουμένην θαρρῶν  
 τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀρχόν-  
 των δεινότητα ἀπέστειλεν  
 καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλαίων πόλεως

3 ἰ. λυμαίνόμενος.

8 ω written over ο

14 ἰ. καταφυτευσάντων.

18 There is an Ἑλεα mentioned in C. I. G. III. addl. 2561 b, l. 77; but that is a Cretan inscription.

- τὸ δόγμα περιέχων τὴν κέ-  
 20 λευσιν ταύτην· βασιλεὺς με-  
 γας Αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητι-  
 ανὸς παντὸς λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους  
 ἀνθ(ρώπων) φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν  
 δεσπότης πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰνοῖ[κῶ]ς  
 25 διακειμένους περὶ τοὺς ἀητ-  
 τήτους θεούς· χαίρειν. Παρεγ-  
 γνῶ ὑμῖν διὰ παντὸς πάσῃ σπου-  
 δῇ χρῆσασθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν θε-  
 ῶν θεραπείαν καὶ εἰς εὐεργε-  
 30 σίαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ κράτους· ἀνε-  
 γείρειν τε τοὺς τῶν θεῶν  
 θεραπείαν καὶ εἰς εὐεργεσίαν  
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ κράτους ἀνεγείρειν

End of column?

### I *Verso*.

- · · · ·  
 δαττειθ . . . βου . . . λευω τοῦ  
 ζῆν τοὺς ἀπειθομένους τῷ  
 νεύματι τοῦ κράτους [ἐμοῦ]  
 5 ἰς μυριάδας ἀργυρίου ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐμοῦ . . . . . λαμ-  
 βάνειν . . . . .

Traces of 25 lines.

### II *Recto*.

- · · · ·  
 καὶ πρώτη τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν αὐ-  
 τή. ἡρώτα δὲ αὐτοὺς, τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ  
 αὐτῆς καὶ ποίας θρησκείας τυγ-  
 5 χάνουσιν; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

Traces of 27 lines.

### II *Verso*.

- · · · ·  
 πων καὶ ἦλθον ἐν πόλει Δυ[ρ]-  
 ραχίῳ· καὶ εἰσελθόντες τὴν  
 πύλιν τῆς πόλεως, εἶδον τὸν  
 5 ἄγιον Ἀστέιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως κρεμάμε-  
 νον ἐπὶ στ(αυ)ροῦ μέλιτι χρισμέ-  
 νον καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ὑ-  
 πὸ σφικῶν καὶ μυῶν διὰ τὴν

19 l. περιέχων.

21 l. Διοκλητιανός.

32-33 θεραπείαν—ἀνεγείρειν by an error of the eye—homoioteleuton—are repeated from 29-31 above; hence the impossible τοὺς . . . θεραπείαν. Probably 32 should begin with ναοὺς or some such word.

II recto 2 The reference may be to the Church as the Bride of Christ.

- 10 πίστην τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ δοξάσαν-  
τες τὸν θ(εὸ)ν ἑμακάρισαν τὸν  
ἅγιον· πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πόλις εἰδωλικὴν  
ἐορτὴν τοῦ μαροῦ Διονύσου ἐ-  
πετέλει· ἐρωτηθέντες δὲ πα-  
15 ρά τινος ταξ[ε]ώτου οἱ ἅγιοι  
ὡμολόγησαν ἐαυτοὺς Χριστι-  
ανούς εἶναι καὶ κρατήσαντες  
αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύ-  
πατον Ἀγρικολάον· καὶ ἀναγ-  
20 κασθέντες προσκυνῆσαι τῷ  
Διονύσῳ, ὡμολόγησαν τῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ  
πιστεύειν. καὶ τούτων βασι-  
νισθέντων ἐνέβαλον εἰς πλοῖ-  
ον καὶ ἐν τῷ . ασα . . . του . . .  
25 μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου βυθίζουσιν  
αὐτούς. ὡν ἡ θάλασσα τὰ τίμα  
λείψανα ἅμα τοῦ πλοίου ἐκρί-  
ψασι εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον ἄλλο-  
να τοῦ κεραμέως ἐνθα οἱ κακοῦρ-  
30 γοι ἀνηλίσκοντο, κατέχευσεν  
τῇ ψάμμῳ. ἐτῶν δὲ ἐνενή[κο]ν-  
τα παρελθόντων, ἐμφανίζον-  
ται οἱ ἅγιοι τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ ἀρχι-

End of column?

The martyrology, at least in this part of it, evidently dealt with the persecution of Diocletian as experienced in the city of Elia (Aelia? τὴν Ἑλαιοῦν πόλιν); though later the scene shifts to Dyrhachium. The fragment derives a good deal of interest from the fact that it purports to give the opening lines of Diocletian's famous First Edict against the Christians. Our knowledge of this edict, (the one of February 23, A. D. 303, as Lactantius fixes the date) has been confined to notices in Eusebius (H. E. 8 : 2 : 4) and Lactantius, neither of whom undertakes to give the text of the decree. Eusebius, who puts the date of its promulgation a few weeks later than Lactantius (March, H. E. 8 : 2 : 4; April, Mart. Pal. *init.*), gives the substance of the edict as follows: τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προστάττοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους ἀτίμους, τοὺς δὲ ἐν οἰκεταίαις, εἰ ἐπιμύνοιν τῇ τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ προθέσει, ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι προαγορεύοντα.<sup>1</sup>

7 l. κεχρισμένον. 9 l. σφραγῶν. 10 l. πίστιν. 12 ἢ ἐπιβί. Corr. 28 l. ἄλλα.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 8 : 2 : 4.

Now it seems probable, however many leaves intervened between verso I and recto II in the quire, that the same work is being continued; at least that must be the presumption. But on verso II capital punishment is being inflicted upon mere profession of Christianity; a condition not explicitly contemplated until the Fourth Edict of A. D. 304, which made Christianity a *religio illicita*.<sup>1</sup> The martyrdom of Asteius, the bishop, would of course be intelligible enough on the basis of the Second Edict, which prescribed that bishops be thrown into prison and subjected to every possible inducement to offer sacrifice. But the prompt arrest and execution of the band of Christians related in verso II, clearly presupposes the Fourth Edict. It seems probable, then, that the author of this martyrology followed the text of the First Edict with the text or purport of the three succeeding ones, before entering upon the martyrdoms themselves.

Upon the assumption that the two leaves belong to the same work, the closing lines of verso II afford a *terminus a quo* for the determination of its date. The writer seems about to say that the relics of the martyrs were found ninety years after. The martyrdom was then written not earlier than A. D. 394. How much later it is impossible to determine.

But the important problem here is not the date of the work but the authenticity of the edict. To have even the opening lines of Diocletian's missing First Edict against the Christians would be a matter of some importance, and to have the whole text of that edict would almost certainly clear up some obscure matters in Eusebius's report of it. The few lines preserved contain little more than the opening formula and the beginning of the preamble. The formula βασιλεὺς μέγας Αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς παντὸς λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν δεσπότης will afford the safest and most obvious ground for testing the authenticity of the decree. The decrees preserved in Eusebius, H. E. 8: 17: 3—the Revocation Edict of A. D. 311—and 9: 10: 7—the Toleration Edict of Maximin—fairly illustrate the imperial titles employed in such formal documents. The original Latin of the Revocation Edict is preserved in Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, ch. 34. In the Greek of Eusebius it begins thus: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμίνος, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος, Αἰγυπτιακὸς μέγιστος, Θηβαϊκὸς μέγιστος, Σαρματικὸς

<sup>1</sup> McGiffert, Eusebius, pp. 325, 344.



μέγιστος πεντάκις, Περσῶν μέγιστος δις, Καρπῶν μέγιστος ἑξάκις, Ἀρμενίων μέγιστος, Μήδων μέγιστος, Ἀδιαβηνῶν μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ εἰκοστὸν, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἑννεακαίδεκατον, ὕπατος τὸ ὄγδοον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνσταντίνος, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πέμπτον, ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐαλέριος Δικιννιανός, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον, ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, ἐπαρχιώταις ἰδίοις χαίρειν.<sup>1</sup> The second begins more simply: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμίνος, Γερμανικός, Σαρματικός, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός.<sup>2</sup>

It is quite intelligible that in quoting a decree in a literary work, considerable liberties should be taken in the matter of long titular formulas, which, if given *in extenso*, would weary the reader without serving any immediately useful purpose. While it is not impossible that our martyrologist may have given a faithful representation of the substance of the decree while reducing and distorting its opening formula till little of the original but the name of Diocletian remained, the evidence of the decree quoted and in general the whole feeling of the formula in the fragment are against the authenticity of the decree as here given, which rather recalls the oriental decrees quoted in the Old Testament<sup>3</sup> than the more reserved and dignified formulas of Roman state papers. But the most convincing comparison is with the preamble of an edict of Diocletian himself, the famous *De Pretiis Rerum Venalium*. Of the numerous fragmentary copies of this monument, only one preserves the names and titles of the emperors and Caesars who issued it. This is the inscription brought from Egypt to Aix in Provence in 1807. Its opening lines, with the restorations of the editors of the *Corpus*, are as follows:

*Imp. Caesar C. Aurel. Val. Diocletianus p. f. inv. Aug. po||nt.*  
*max. Germ. max. VI Sarm. max. IIII Persic. max. II Britt. max.*  
*Carpic. max. Armen. max. Medic. max. Adiabenic. max. trib. p.*  
*XVIII coss. VII imp. XVIII p. p. procoss. et imp.*  
*Caesar M. Aurel. Val. Maximianus p. f. inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ.*  
*max. V Sarm. || max. IIII Persic. max. II Britt. max. Carpic.*

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 8 : 17 : 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 9 : 10 : 7.

<sup>3</sup> E. g., Daniel 4 : 1.

*max. Medic. max. Adiabenic. max. tri* || b. p. XVII coss. VI  
 imp. XVII p. p. procoss. et Fla. Val. Constantius  
 Germ. max. II Sarm. max. II Persic. max. II Britt. max. *Carpic.*  
 max. Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adiaben. max. trib. p. VIII  
 coss. III nobil. Caes. et G. Val. Maximianus  
 Germ. max. II Sarm. || *max. II Persic. max. II Britt. max.*  
*Carpic. max. Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adia* || b. max. trib.  
 p. VIII coss. III nobil. Caes. dicunt.<sup>1</sup>

The suspicion thus thrown upon the historical character of the decree is increased by the representation in the closing lines, of the saints revealing to some arch[bishop?] the hiding place of the martyrs' relics. Its claims to being considered historical are thus probably no greater than those of the mass of works of that golden age of martyrologists, the fifth to the eighth centuries, and it is among these that the Jerusalem fragment must claim a place.

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<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. III, 802, 824.

## PLATO'S TESTIMONY TO QUANTITY AND ACCENT.<sup>1</sup>

It is commonly held among classical students that word-accent was originally designated by the terms *προσφθία* and *ἁρμονία*, and that, as technical expressions, these words, together with *μήκος* for quantitative *length*, appear first in Plato. In proof of this theory two passages are adduced: Rep. iii. 399 A, and Crat. 416 B.

To begin with Rep. 399 A, after discussing with Glaukon the various *ἁρμονίαι* or modes (keys) of music, Socrates proceeds: οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰς ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰλειπε ἐκείνην τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἣ ἐν τε πολεμικῇ πράξει ὄντος (ὄντως?) ἀνδρείου καὶ ἐν πάσῃ βιαίῳ ἐργασίᾳ πρεπόντως δὲ μιμήσαιο φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφθίας, καὶ ἀποτυχόντος ἢ εἰς τραύματα ἢ εἰς θανάτους ἰόντος ἢ εἰς τινα ἄλλην συμφορὰν πεσόντος, ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις παρατεταγμένως καὶ καρτερούντως ἁμυνομένου τὴν τύχην— which passage is thus Englished: "I know not, said I, the harmonies; only see you leave me that particular harmony which will suitably represent *the tones and accents* of a brave man engaged in a feat of arms or in any violent operation [Jowett: '*the note or accent* which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve']; who, if he fails of success, or encounters wounds and death, or falls into any other calamity: in all such contingencies with unflinching endurance parries the blows of fortune". (D. J. Vaughan).

Now can we ever believe that in classical Greece a brave man, (*ἀνδρείος*), engaged in a hard struggle, really uttered *φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφθίας*, "*tones and accents*", or "*notes and accents*"? The absurdity here lies of course not in the term *φθόγγοι* which means 'sounds', and occurs frequently in Plato, but in *προσφθίας*, which occurs here only in Plato. But *προσφθίας* here cannot be authentic, first on account of the peculiar meaning attached to it and then

<sup>1</sup> In this study the stories on Quantity and Accent, as recorded in Anon. Διάλ. δ' (Frg. Philos. I 550, ed. Mullach), and Pseudo-Sergius iv. 531 f. (ed. Keil) have been left out of account; so further [Arist.] Poet. 20, 4. Categ. 4, 4; Rhet. 3, 1, 4, as being demonstrably and admittedly Byzantine interpolations.

on account of its plural form. For it is well known that *προσφῳδία* as a technical term, *accentus*, is a coinage of later times. There is no doubt that the word *προσφῳδία* originated in connection with 'singing' (ᾠδή), that is music—the mother or forerunner of poetry—and that it denoted an *abstract* notion, a *by-singing*, *cadence* of the voice, *rhythm*, *tone*, in other words the modulation or intonation formed by the rhythmical succession of stress (ictus) and fall. Now as singing and recitation are inseparable from speech, the *προσφῳδία* or intonation connected with verse gradually came to be applied also to the spoken language in the form of tone (not word-accent). Hence Aristotle, our oldest testimony to the term *προσφῳδία* as 'tone' (in the singular!), speaks of it as of a well-known element in speech and so represents it as a safeguard against the quibbling of sophists when they seek to pervert the true sense of written statements. While the sophists, he says, (Elen. Soph. 4, 8;—cp. Poet. 26, 18. Elen. Soph. 20, 3, 21, 1, 23, 3) can often pervert the sense in written composition, by misreading or mispronouncing its words, we can restore the true sense by reversing the reading method of the sophists, that is by using 'distinctness' or clear enunciation (*διαίσεις*) and the proper tone (*προσφῳδία*) where they have resorted to the reverse process (Elen. Soph. 23, 3; also 20, 3). Thus in expressions like τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ἄμβροψ [Ψ 328] and τὸ οὐ καταλύεις, the question whether we should understand "this (wood) decays *there*" (οὐ καταπύθεται) or "this (wood) does *not* decay" (οὐ καταπύθεται), and "*wherein* thou dwellest" (οὐ καταλύεις) or "thou dwellest *not*" (οὐ καταλύεις)—depends upon the tone of the voice (*προσφῳδία*), that is upon whether we utter οὐ in a relaxed (οὐ) or stressed (οὐ) tone. In single or isolated words (παρὰ διαίρεσιν), he proceeds, such quibbling is 'not easy', unless in such cases as *δίδομεν* and *ορος* (Elen. Soph. 4, 8 and 20, 3). Even here, however, the *προσφῳδία* (tone of the voice, vocal accentuation) decides the point: *δίδομεν* (= 'we give') or *διδόμεν* (= *διδόναι* 'to give'), and *ὄρος* 'mountain' (not *δρος* boundary!) or *ὀρός* 'whey'.

The current reading in this passage of Aristotle (Elen. Soph. 20, 3) is: οὐ γὰρ ἔστι διττὸν τὸ παρὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος (argument, quibble) γίνεται διαιρούμενος, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ τὸ ὄρος (D ὁ ὄρος) καὶ δρος τῇ προσφῳδίᾳ λεχθὲν σημαίνει ἕτερον. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ταῦτὸν ὄνομα ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ᾗ καὶ ὡσαύτως—κακεῖ δ' ἤδη παράσχημα ποιοῦνται—τὰ δὲ φθεγγόμενα οὐ ταῦτά. Now as Aristotle wrote *ορος* καὶ *ορος*, the reading of the second *ορος* as *δρος* and the

consequent interpretation of *προσφδία* as referring to the rough breathing is inadmissible. Not only is such a reading irreconcilable with the use of *προσφδία* in the remaining passage of Aristotle; as I have already indicated elsewhere (Histor. Greek Grammar 508 note), such an interpretation is contradicted by the explicit statement of ancient theorists discussing this very passage of Aristotle: Bekk. Anecd. 743 ἀναγινώσκειν δεῖ "κατὰ προσφδίαν", *ἦτοι καθ' ὃν ἔχει τόνον ἢ λέξις*,<sup>1</sup> ὥς μὴ ἀναγνῶναι τὸ *δρος ὀρός* καὶ τὸ *ἀγνός* ὁ καθαρὸς, *ἀγνος*, *κάντευθεν* εἰς *πλάνην* ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ *δρος*, *τυχὸν* ὁ Ὑμηττὸς ἢ τὸ Ταῦγετον ἢ τι ἄλλο, ὁ ρὸν νοῆσαι ἤγουν τὸ ὕδατῶδες τοῦ γάλακτος. This is moreover corroborated by Galen when, referring to the same passage of Aristotle, he says (t. XIV 583, ed. Kühn): *παρὰ δὲ τὴν προσφδίαν (γίνεται τὸ σόφισμα), ὅταν διττὸν γίνηται, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ορος ἔστηκε. τὸ γὰρ διπλοῦν παρὰ τὴν διττὴν προσφδίαν, τιθεμένη κατ' ἀρχὰς ἢ περιαιρουμένην.* So further 592. As to the passage ib. 591 *ἐν μὲν οὖν ὀνόμασιν ἢ προσφδία ποιεῖ τὸ διττόν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκύτερον ἔλκει τοῖνομα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ορος ἔστηκεν [ἢ δασεία?], κατ' ἀρχὰς τεθείσα ἢ μή,*—the statement, if genuine, weighs little against such overwhelming and explicit testimony to the contrary. But, as the text runs, the bracketed term *ἢ δασεία* here cannot be authentic, the subject of *ἔστηκεν* and *τεθείσα* being *αὕτη* (*ἢ προσφδία*).

The above usage in Aristotle of *προσφδία* as *cadence*, *rhythm*, *tone*, seems to have prevailed as late as the close of the second century B. C., seeing that Dionysios of Thrace, our oldest grammarian by profession, represents *προσφδία* (still in the singular!) as an 'art', that is to say as one of the several requisites of the art of delivery or 'trained reading'. In scholarship (*γραμματικὴ*, Schol. *μεγάλη γραμματικὴ*) he says, the first requisite is "trained reading" according to prosody (*ἀνύγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσφδίαν*) which prosody, together with *ὑπόκρισις* (impersonation, Schol. *μίμησις*) and *διαστολή* (distinctness, clear enunciation, the *διαίρεσις* of Aristotle) constitutes the "faultless recitation of poetry". For while *ὑπόκρισις* (impersonation) shows the intrinsic value (*ἀρετὴ*) of the piece, and *διαστολή* (clear enunciation) the sense contained therein, *προσφδία* shows the *τέχνη*, which expression obviously refers to the rhythmical or metrical treatment of the piece recited; so that *προσφδία* would indicate the rhythmical

<sup>1</sup> At the time when this scribe wrote the term *προσφδία* had assumed the meaning of 'accent'; whereas *προσφδία* for 'spiritus asper' (if aspiration can be termed *προσφδία*) is a still later development.

reading or scanning.—It is hardly necessary to add here the well-known fact that when in the course of Alexandrian or Graeco-Roman times, special signs of prosody (σημεία προσφῳδίας) were resorted to, these visible signs along with those invented for accent, breathings, stops, etc., assumed the concrete name of προσφῳδία and gave rise to the *plural* προσφῳδαί, a term which henceforth applies to the eye and is very common among later Greek and Latin grammarians.

The preceding short account makes it clear that Plato's strange expression φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφῳδίας, 'the tones and accents of a brave warrior', cannot be genuine. It is very probable that Plato's earlier MSS read φθόγγους τε καὶ ΠΡΟΣΩΙΔΑΣ or ΠΡΟΣ- <ΓΕ>ΩΙΔΑΣ i. e. πρὸς <γε> ψῳδᾶς: 'the sounds (the ῥχοι) and even songs of a brave warrior, engaged in a feat of arms.'<sup>1</sup>

It would seem, then, that some scribe of the Graeco-Roman or Byzantine period, who was unacquainted with the adverbial use of καὶ πρὸς among the ancients, but was familiar with the grammatical term προσφῳδαί, so common in his time, mistook or misread καιπροσωιδας for καιπροσωιδίας and so tampered with the passage.—At all events the term προσφῳδία cannot be genuine in Plato, because it occurs nowhere else in his writings, because it appears in the plural form, and because it yields no sense.

The other passage in Plato already referred to, is of still greater import, since it is often appealed to as representing Plato's direct testimony to accent and quantity in his time. Crat. 416 B: Hermog. τί δὲ τὸ καλόν;—Socr. τοῦτο χαλεπώτερον κατανοῆσαι· καίτοι λέγει γε (λέγουσί γε GHPd) αὐτὸ ἁρμονίᾳ μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐ παρήκται. Thus referring to this passage in his Pronunciation of Ancient Greek (p. 33 English trans.), Blass says: "Plato in his *Kratylos* (416 B) indicates the difference between καλὸν and καλοῦν simply

<sup>1</sup> That καὶ πρὸς (γε) occurs as an adverbial expression in classical texts, is known to classical students. Compare e. g. Rep. 328 A καὶ πρὸς γε παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν. ib. 466 E κοινῇ στρατεύσονται καὶ πρὸς γε ἄξουσι τῶν παιδῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅσοι ἄδροί. Soph. 234 A. Gorg. 469 B. Men. 90 E ἀλογία καὶ ἀμαθία γε πρὸς. Legg. 746 D.—Arist. El. Soph. 4, 7 τοσούτων καὶ ἐτι πρὸς. Hdt. 3, 6 ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἶνον δις τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστον. 5, 6, 7 τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρησταν καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθρα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖς ἐγέραινον. 6, 125. 7, 157 Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους. ib. 184. Dem. 4, 28 τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν γε πρὸς. Eur. Ph. 610 καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς. Hel. 110. 956 ἀπόδος τε καὶ πρὸς σῶσον. Med. 704 δῶλα καὶ πρὸς γ' ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός.

as one of accent and quantity." The same statement is repeated in his very meritorious edition of Kühner's Ausführliche Griechische Grammatik (vol. i. 318): "Plato (Crat. 416 B) setzt den Unterschied zwischen καλόν und καλοῦν (beides damals ΚΑΛΟΝ geschrieben) ausser in die Quantität [μήκος] auch in die ἁρμονία d. i. den Accent."

This belief—let us at once say this fallacy—which seems to be almost general among modern scholars and critics, can be traced back to Byzantine commentators and scribes who, being aware that the 'beautiful' (τὸ καλόν) is also 'attractive', wished to connect it with καλοῦν i. e. 'inviting'. Thus Hermias of the fifth Christian century commenting on Plato's Phaedrus says (p. 6, ed. Ast): φίλον γὰρ τὸ καλόν, κλητικὸν δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸ καὶ ἐπιτρεπτικόν· διὸ καλὸν λέγεται παρὰ τὸ καλεῖν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τοὺς ἐρώντας. This fanciful etymology seems to have been popular with the scribes and schoolmasters of subsequent times, since we find it repeated in the uncritical Etym. M. s. v. 'καλὸς' παρὰ τὸ καλῶ, ἐκ τοῦ καλεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὡς 'ἀγαθὸν' ἐφ' ὃ ἄγαν θίομεν (!). It is apparently this popular view that the copiers of the codices GHP had in mind when they substituted λέγουσι, 'people say', for λέγει, 'it means.' In agreement with this very notion the scribes of the Bodleian and Venetian, BT, represent Socrates in Crat. 416 C as saying: οὐκοῦν τὸ καλέσαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ταύτῃ ἐστιν; where Stephanus changes καλέσαν to καλοῦν, while modern editors, following Badham, have adopted καλοῦν for καλόν, so that the passage now smoothly reads: οὐκοῦν τὸ καλέσαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ καλοῦν ταύτῃ ἐστιν; τοῦτο διάνοια<sup>1</sup> i. e. "are then that which named things and that which names them identical? is this meaning?" Accordingly καλέσαν and καλοῦν here stand simply for the equally common alternative expressions ὀνομάσαν and ὀνομάζον, and the passage therefore has nothing to do with καλόν.

Let us now return to our particular passage Crat. 416 B and see whether it really speaks of 'accent' and 'quantity'. Hermogenes had just put the question to Socrates what is αἰσχρόν and what is καλόν, two opposed but naturally associated notions. To the question about αἰσχρόν Socrates replies that τὸ ἐμποδίζον καὶ ἴσχον τῆς ῥοῆς τὰ ὄντα λουδορεῖν μοι φαίνεται διὰ παντὸς ὃ τὰ ὀνόματα τιθεῖς, καὶ νῦν τῷ ἀεὶ ἴσχοντι τὸν ῥοῦν τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἔθετο (<τὸ Heindorf)

<sup>1</sup> The common punctuation: ταύτῃ ἐστι τοῦτο, διάνοια; is erroneous, since after τὸ καλέσαν and τὸ καλοῦν we should expect ἢ διάνοια.

ἀεισχόρρουν (B, ἀεισχοροῦν Heindorf): νῦν δὲ συγκροτήσαντες αἰσχροὺν καλοῦσιν, i. e. he who coins the names appears to me to scoff throughout at everything which hinders and checks things from their flow; so he now gave τῷ αἰεῖ ἴσχοντι τὸν ῥοῦν this name: the ἀεισχόρρουν. At present however, people have 'contracted' it and call it αἰσχρόν.

Having received this explanation, Hermogenes proceeds to the second part of his question: τί δὲ τὸ καλόν; 'what then about the Beautiful?' To which question Socrates now replies as follows: τοῦτο χαλεπώτερον κατανοῆσαι. καίτοι λέγει γε (so BDT, λέγουσί γε GHPd, λέγω εἴ γε Schanz) αὐτό· ἁρμονία μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐδ (P, τοῦ οὐ B, τὸ οὐ GHPT, τοῦ οὐ bd) παρῆχεται.—EPM. πῶς δῆ;—"This καλόν is more (rather?) difficult to understand. And yet it tells its own tale: it has been produced only by harmony and by the length of ο.—Herm. 'How so?'"—Stalbaum's translation of καίτοι λέγει γε κτλ. by 'quamquam τὸ καλόν dicit numeri tantum gratia; atque hoc nomen mora syllabae ου est mutatum' is both arbitrary and meaningless. On the other hand Heindorf and Buttmann declare the whole passage to be most obscure and corrupt, which opinion is certainly justified by the ungrammatical and meaningless constitution of the text: καίτοι γε λέγει αὐτὸ ἁρμονία μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐδ παρῆχεται. For—(1) while Hermogenes declares himself unable to understand the alleged etymological explanation given by Socrates and so asks him again: How do you mean that? (πῶς δῆ; πῶς λέγεις;), Socrates calmly proceeds, not however in the attempted etymological method, but in a philosophical speculation about the nature of καλόν; (2) after λέγει γε αὐτὸ we should expect either ὅτι (ὥς) or an infinitive (παρῆχθαι), which latter has already been proposed; (3) adopting the punctuation καίτοι λέγει γε αὐτό· ἁρμονία κτλ. and assuming the reading ἁρμονία παρῆχεται to form an independent clause, epexegetic of λέγει γε αὐτό, there is no subject nominative to παρῆχεται. But apart from these grammatical difficulties, is there any logical connection between the question of Hermogenes and the answer of Socrates? Hermogenes asks, What is καλόν? and Socrates replies that 'it has been produced by accent only and by the length of ο.' But the form and constitution of καλόν prove the very reverse, both syllables in it (κα λῶν) being short. Or are we to believe that to the question, What is καλόν? Socrates gave the trickish answer as to how καλοῦν has been obtained?

However, for this absurdity neither Socrates nor Plato is



chargeable; the responsibility lies with the interpreters and copiers who mistook Plato's words *ἀρμονία* and *παρήκται* for 'accent' and 'derivation', two technical terms quite familiar to the grammarians. But *ἀρμονία* here as elsewhere in Plato, means 'consonance', 'symmetry', 'harmony' and the like, *never* 'accent'. Indeed the term *ἀρμονία* for accent (*τάσις, τόνος*) is a much later usage adopted by the grammarians in Graeco-Roman times. Still less probable is the application of *μήκος* here to metrical or grammatical 'quantity'. As a matter of fact *μήκος* here (if genuine!), as everywhere else, is used in its ordinary meaning of 'longitudinal size', 'length', *longitudo*, a usage confirmed by Plato himself further below in his remark about A and H (427 E): τὸ δ' αὖ ἄλφα τῷ μεγάλῳ (i. e. *μεγA*) ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ μήκει (i. e. *μηKος*) τὸ ἦ, ὅτι μεγάλα τὰ γράμματα. Compare also Phaedros 244 C: οἰονοῖστικὴν ἐπωνόμασαν ἦν νῦν οἰωνιστικὴν τῷ Ω σεμνύνοντες οἱ νόιοι καλοῦσιν.

For these reasons I hold with Heindorf and Buttmann that the passage is corrupt. What the original reading was I do not presume to have discovered. At the same time I believe that a clue to the solution of the question is afforded by the subsequent remarks of Socrates and other parallel passages in Plato referring to the term *καλόν*. In all these places, Plato (or Socrates) avoids all etymological speculation upon the Beautiful, *καλόν*. In the passage under discussion, we are told that the origin and nature of *καλόν* is a rather difficult question (*χαλεπώτερον*). At the same time we learn that the term is 'self-explaining' (*αὐτὸ λέγει*); that 'it is indicative of its own meaning' (*τῆς διανοίας τις ἔοικεν ἐπωνυμία τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα*), and that the term is the proper expression of that wisdom which produces such things as we accept believing them to be *καλά*: ὁρθῶς ἄρα φροήσεως αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἐστίν, τὸ καλόν, τῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπεργαζομένης ἀ δὴ καλὰ φάσκοντες εἶναι ἀσπαζόμεθα.<sup>1</sup>

In striking agreement with these views, Plotinos seeks to define the Beautiful by the following half etymological (*καλόν-καλεῖν*)

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in Phaedo 100 C-E: φαίνεται μοι εἰ τί ἐστιν ἄλλο καλόν, οὐδὲ δι' ἐν ἄλλο καλὸν εἶναι ἢ διότι μετέχει ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ· καὶ πάντα δὴ οὕτω λέγω ... οὐκ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖ αὐτὸ καλὸν ἢ ἡ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ εἴτε παρὸν εἴτε κοινῶν εἴτε ὅπῃ δὴ καὶ ὅπως προσγενομένη (edd.-von)· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καλῷ τὰ καλὰ γίνονται καλὰ. τοῦτο γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἀσφαλέςτατον εἶναι καὶ ἐμαντῷ ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τούτου ἐχόμενος ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε πεσεῖν ἄλλ' ἀσφαλές εἶναι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὅτῳ σὺν ἄλλῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ καλῷ τὰ καλὰ γίνονται καλὰ.

half philosophical speculations (de Pulchr. 50 D, p. 4, ed. Creuzer): τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ κινεῖ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων καὶ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ ἔλκει καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι τῇ θείᾳ ποιεῖ; τοῦτο γὰρ εὐρόντες τάχ' ἂν ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεασαίμεθα. λέγεται μὲν δὴ παρὰ πάντων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὡς συμμετρία τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τό τε τῆς εὐχροίας (εὐχρείας codd.) προστεθὲν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, κάλλος ποιεῖ. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τὸ καλοῖς εἶναι, τὸ συμμετρίους καὶ μεμετρημένοις ὑπάρχειν, κτλ.—and so on passim.

These remarks of Plotinos appear to be very suggestive with reference to our passage: τὸ καλὸν ἁρμονίᾳ παρήκται. For while his concluding words evidently reflect the aesthetic speculations of the ancient philosophers including Plato (λέγεται παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν), the introductory sentences obviously reflect the etymological connection of καλὸν with καλεῖν, popular already in Plotinos' time. Now keeping this theory of καλὸν-καλεῖν in view and remembering that in Plotinos' time ἁρμονία had assumed the meaning 'of accenting', we are warranted, I believe, in considering Plato's commentators and copiers as the source of the mischief: imagining that, like themselves, Plato associated καλὸν with καλεῖν and that he also used ἁρμονία in the sense of accent, they 'emended' the passage and so made Plato say that καλοῦν comes from καλὸν by a mere change of accent and by lengthening ὦ to οῦ. I hold then that in the sentence αὐτὸ ἁρμονίᾳ μόνον [καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὔ] παρήκται the bracketed words are interpolated.

Be this as it may, a careful and critical study of all the Platonic passages alleged to refer to quantity, proves that Plato, though often discussing metrical passages, never indeed alludes to quantity. This is almost as striking as is the parallel phenomenon in him that, although he very often busies himself with the etymological analysis of words, many of which are aspirated, he never refers to aspiration.

On the other hand, *accent* is distinctly mentioned by him and denoted by the very appropriate terms ὀξύτητες, 'degrees of stress', ὀξύτερον 'relatively stressed', βαρύτερον, 'relatively relaxed or subdued', then συλλαβὴ ὀξεῖα, a 'stressed syllable', or συλλαβὴ βαρεία, a 'relaxed (subdued) syllable.' On this point the following passage is decisive beyond all doubt: Crat. 399 A-B: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοιόνδε δεῖ ἐννοῆσαι περὶ ὀνομάτων, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπεμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δ' ἐξαιρούμεν παρ' ὃ βουλόμεθα ὀνομάζοντες καὶ τὰς ὀξύτητας μεταβάλλομεν· οἷον Διὶ φίλος. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀντὶ ῥήματος (phrase) ὄνομα ἡμῖν γένηται, τό τε ἕτερον αὐτόθεν ἰῶτα ἐξείλομεν (i. e. Δι' φίλος or Δι' φίλος) καὶ ἀντὶ ὀξεῖας τῆς

μίσης συλλαβῆς (Διφίλος) βαρεῖαν ἐφθεγγάμεθα (i. e. Διφίλος or Δίφιλος—mark here also the absence of all reference to the quantity of Δι 'contracted' or συγκεκροτημένην from Δι!) ἄλλων δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δὲ βαρύτερα <ὀξύτερα Buttmann> φθεγγόμεθα.

As to Aristotle, the passages, quoted above, p. 76 from him show, abundantly that he not only speaks of *accent* under the name of προσφδία, but that he also indicates the nature of accent or προσφδία; he even adds (see above p. 76) that people had then—in his time—begun to indicate the προσφδία by accentual marks or 'accents': ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται.—That similar graphic marks were occasionally used to indicate also *quantity*, would appear from Poet. 26, 3: ἔστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψωδοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος, καὶ διὰδοντα ὅπερ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος ὁ Ὀπούντιος.

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## NOTE.

### NOTES ON THE COLLATION OF PARISINUS 7900 A.

The following variations from the collation of Parisinus 7900 A found in Keller and Holder's critical edition of the Odes and Epodes of Horace (1899) are the result of a recent reading of the manuscript. As a third edition of this work can not be looked forward to with reason for some years to come, it may be of value to students of Horace to have these variations made public, since they somewhat improve the standing of the manuscript. Such variations as were noted in the Epistles have been sent to the editors.

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| <p>I, 3, 5, navisque A.<br/>           4, 1, favonii, A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           7, du A.<br/>           11, imolare A.<br/>           5, 5, ſeu A.<br/>           7, 1, mitilenae A<sub>1</sub>, mitil-<br/>               enaen A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           17, situ A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           23, timpora A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           10, 4, palestres A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           17, laetis A.<br/>           15, 13, nequi quam A.<br/>           16, nequicquam A.<br/>           16, gravis A.<br/>           24, sthelenus A.<br/>           16, 1, pulchra A.<br/>           18, ultimee A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           17, 18, et fide Teſia A.<br/>           19, 2, Thebaneque A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           23, 10, Gaetulusve A (cf.<br/>               I, 17, 1 : 27, 10).<br/>           26, 3, quis <i>omis.</i> A <i>pr.</i><br/>           28, 15, nox <i>omis.</i> A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           19, nullum <i>omis.</i> A<sub>1</sub>.</p> | <p>I, 18, <i>post</i> 19 A<sub>1</sub>: <i>nota tr.</i><br/>               A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           31, forset (?) A<sub>1</sub>, forsan<br/>               A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           30, 4, aeadem A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           33, 2, glicerae A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           34, 16, hic A.<br/>           35, 7, bithyna A.<br/>           12, mutuunt A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           25, volgus A<sub>1</sub>, vulgus<br/>               A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           36, 13, neu A.<br/>           37, 4, non, <i>supra</i> tempus<br/>               erat A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           31, superbo A.<br/>           II, 1, 12, Cycropio A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           37, relictus A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           2, 2, inimicae A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           2, lamae A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           5, vivet A.<br/>           6, 9, inique A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           7, 5, Pomp A<sub>1</sub>, Pompili<br/>               A<sub>1</sub>.<br/>           8, 22, misereque A.</p> |
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- II, 13, 19, improvisa A.  
 14, 7, Plutonē A.  
 23, preter A.  
 15, *carmen incipit* A.  
 14, cōmune magnum A.  
 17, 3, mecaenas A.  
 11, praeoedes A.  
 13, chimere A<sub>1</sub>, chimerae A.  
 19, 16, exitum A<sub>1</sub> (cf. Editio Prima).  
 16, lygurgi A<sub>1</sub> (cf. Editio Prima).  
 31, caudam A.  
 III, 1, 24, zephiris A (cf. IV, 7, 9).  
 2, 30, neclectus A.  
 3, 22, laumedon A<sub>1</sub>.  
 4, 14, nidum A.  
 77, tytii A<sub>1</sub>, tycii A.  
 80, catene A.  
 5, 56, at A<sub>1</sub>.  
 56, lacaedomonium A.  
 6, *Inscriptio*, Romanum A.  
 4, foeda A (ε=oe, cf. III, 3,66: 4, 4).  
 7, 22, spernit A.  
 11, 9, aequa A.  
 26, poenas A (cf. III, 6, 4).  
 31, impiae A<sub>1</sub>.  
 52, quaerelam A.  
 14, 11, expertae A.  
 26, proterve A<sub>1</sub>.  
 16, 25, contempte A<sub>1</sub>.  
 41, hal ayti A.  
 18, 12, pagus A<sub>1</sub> (pardus A var., *dubie*).  
 19, 8, Paelignis A.  
 III, 20, 4, proelia A (cf. III, 6, 4).  
 21, 2, quaerelas A (cf. III, 11, 52).  
 23, 9, namque A<sub>1</sub>.  
 24, 9, scithe A<sub>1</sub>, scithae A.  
 13, frugis A.  
 38, boree A.  
 39, durateque A.  
 62, improbae A.  
 29, *Inscriptio*, Pareti-cae A.  
 30, *Subscriptio*, Pean A.  
 30, *Subscriptio*, Amix-tione Ë (cf. Editio Prima).  
 IV, 1, 10, odoribus A<sub>1</sub> (cf. Editio Prima).  
 32, tympora A.  
 2, 3, pennis A.  
 15, tremende A<sub>1</sub>.  
 30, nemis A<sub>1</sub>.  
 3, 10, qua A<sub>1</sub>.  
 4, 7, vernique A.  
 23, letaeque A<sub>1</sub>, latae-que A.  
 29, fortibus. et bonis A.  
 68, proelia A.  
 5, 1, romulae A.  
 6, 38, nocti luca A.  
 8, 15, celeres A.  
 31, tindaridae A.  
 9, 16, heleva A.  
 20, sthelemus A.  
 21, proelia A.  
 52, peribit A<sub>1</sub>.  
 13, 24, servat<sup>ur</sup>a A (cf. Editio Prima).

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| <p>IV, 14, 1, quiritium A.<br/>                 3, Augustae A.<br/>             15, 30, Lydiis A.<br/>       Epodes, 1, 16, firmum A.<br/>                 2, 50, magisque A.<br/>                 4, 1, sortio A.<br/>                 5, 19, ova rane A.<br/>                 20, strigis noctur-<br/>                     nae A (cf.<br/>                     Editio Prima).<br/>                 33, mutata A.<br/>                 94, dorum A.<br/>                 7, <i>Inscriptio</i>, ab-<br/>                     stineant A.</p> | <p>IV, 16, perculse A.<br/>             9, 11, ðeheu A.<br/>             18, caesarem A.<br/>         11, 6, Inachi a A.<br/>             15, inestuaet A.<br/>             26, contumelie A.<br/>             28, redonantis A.<br/>         12, 5, aliis A.<br/>             14, Inachiam A.<br/>         C. S. 37, Romae A.<br/>                 38, etrusoum A.<br/>                 38, turme A.<br/>                 53, terraeque A.</p> |
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M. S. SLAUGHTER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**The Works of Thomas Kyd, Edited from the Original Texts with Introduction, Notes, and Facsimiles, by FREDERICK S. BOAS, M. A., Balliol College, Oxford; Professor of History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast: Author of 'Shakspeare and His Predecessors', etc. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, H. Frowde, 1901. Pp. cxvi, 470.)**

It seems rather remarkable that, notwithstanding the interest that has been taken in Kyd during the past twenty odd years, a complete and authoritative edition of his works should not be published till the year just closed. We can congratulate ourselves, however, that if we have waited long, we have been rewarded by having in Prof. Boas's edition a scholarly piece of work. All the early quartos of Kyd's plays and pamphlets have been collated and the later editions have been consulted for their variations from the early texts. In each case the editor has fixed upon the text which as a whole preserves the best reading and he has varied from it only in cases where another quarto has undoubtedly a better reading or where all the quartos are manifestly corrupt. For the 'Spanish Tragedy' he has followed the text of the undated "Allde" Quarto, which is generally believed to be the earliest issue extant, and has collated with this the other nine quartos, besides noting the significant variations in the collections of Dodsley, Hawkins, Reed, and Collier, in Fleischer's 'Bemerkungen ü. T. Kyd's Sp. Tr.', and in Schick's edition of the 'Spanish Tragedy.' Manly's text in his 'Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama' does not seem to have been consulted. Boas's text of the 'Spanish Tragedy' varies only slightly from Schick's—and then usually for the better. He follows the wise plan of keeping as near his original as possible, and by so doing avoids the astounding emendations of earlier editors. He is careful to give credit where due to his predecessors—indeed, I have noted only two cases where in the establishment of the text credit is not properly assigned. In the 'Spanish Tragedy' II. i. 29. Schick, instead of Fleischer, is credited with changing the Qq. reading "these extasies" to "this extasie", and so restoring the rime; and in the same play, III. iv. 56, he fails to note that Fleischer was the first to give a very evident interpretation to the line—

To stand good L and help him in distress—

by making 'L' equal 'Lord' and not 'Lorenzo'—as had been done by the early editors.

Manly's text of the 'Spanish Tragedy' gives the misprints of the "Alde" Quarto, which Boas disregards. Among these Manly notes 'diadome' (I. iii. 83), which Boas prints as a correct spelling; he remarks on the omission of 'Lor.' before Lorenzo's speech (III. xiv. 128), which Boas silently supplies. Of II. i. 126-7—

Which sweet conceits are lim'de with slie deceits,  
Which slie deceits smooth Bel-imperias eares,

Manly says the 1633 Q. omits 'are lim'de with slie deceits, Which slie deceits'; Boas says Qq. 1615-18-23-33 omit l. 126, and have in l. 127 'sweete conceits' for 'slie deceits.' Other places of disagreement in their collations are I. ii. 38, 'ordinance', 83 'waving'; II. i. 16 'Marses'; II. v. 22 'these'; III. xi. 9 'at *the* nine months'. Let those who have access to the original texts decide who is right. In III. xiv. 105 Boas is surely correct in following the Qq. and reading 'Truce,' which Manly emends to 'True.' Balthasar and Bel-imperia were engaged in a thrust and parry dialogue, when the heroine sees her father, and says 'I see my lord, my father,' and Balthasar replies 'Truce, my love, I will go salute him'.

Even if, as Schick says, we are not warranted in calling Kyd with Klein 'den unpersönlichsten aller Dichter', we yet know comparatively little of his life. There are twenty-three years, from 1565 to 1588, which can be filled in only inferentially, and for these Boas has said about all that prudent inference will allow. Nash's invective in his Preface to Greene's 'Menaphon' and the evidences of learning in Kyd's works are the data on which Boas furnishes forth these years in which biography is a blank. We can hardly take exception to the hypothesis that Kyd is the object of Nash's invective. There is no other person whom the cap fits so well as Kyd. Prof. M. W. McCallum<sup>1</sup> argues the case for Shakspeare 'without more casuistry than is considered lawful among literary critics', but this, the strongest case put forth for any one besides Kyd, falls through on the author's admission that he cannot identify Shakspeare with those who 'intermeddle with Italian translations: wherein how poorelie they haue plodded . . . let all indifferent gentlemen that haue trauailed in that tongue discern by their two penie pamphlets: and no meruaile though their home-born mediocritie be such in this matter'. And there are more reasons than this, which here it is not necessary to bring out, for refusing to Shakspeare the doubtful honour of Nash's hatred. Nor do McCallum's arguments weaken Kyd's claims to any appreciable extent.

<sup>1</sup>"The authorship of the Early Hamlet," in *An English Miscellany* presented to Dr. Furnivall.



With Markscheffel,<sup>1</sup> Sarrazin,<sup>2</sup> and Schick,<sup>3</sup> Boas holds to the view that the 'Spanish Tragedy' was written before the Armada. The arguments brought forward by Schröer,<sup>4</sup> Brandl,<sup>5</sup> and Bang<sup>6</sup> seem wholly inconclusive. It seems incredible that, if the play had been written in 1589 or 1590, Kyd should be satisfied to refer to English victories as far back as those of John of Gaunt or that an English audience should see in these obscure events allusions to recent glorious victories. The exact date cannot be fixed by any evidence at present available, but Boas cannot be far wrong in making 1585-7 the period within which the play was written. To assume an earlier date, as Schick ventures, would, I think, be shut out by the fact that there is a passage in the play (I. ii. 22 f.) which is strongly imitative of the messenger's account of the battle of Thapsus in Garnier's 'Cornelie' act v.; it was in 1585 that the collected edition of Garnier's works was published. To assume with Sarrazin that this is a later addition, inserted when Kyd was at work on his translation of 'Cornelie,' seems wholly unnecessary.

In his discussion of the authorship of 'Jeronimo' Boas enters upon the troublesome problem of the establishment of the Kyd canon. We know positively from external evidence that only the 'Spanish Tragedy' and the translation 'Cornelia' are by Kyd; we have no such evidence for 'Jeronimo' or 'Soliman and Perseda.' Our only evidence is internal. Markscheffel,<sup>7</sup> Sarrazin,<sup>8</sup> and Koeppl<sup>9</sup> favour the view that 'Jeronimo' is an early work of Kyd's, while Schröer<sup>10</sup> and Fischer<sup>11</sup> emphatically deny it. It would be greatly to Kyd's credit if the burden of this play could be removed from his shoulders, but that the evidence adduced by Boas exonerates him is doubtful. We know from Henslowe's 'Diary' that there was a play in the nature of a more or less comic introduction to the 'Spanish Tragedy.' Markscheffel's contention need not follow that since the 'Spanish Tragedy' referred to a fore-piece, 'Jeronimo' must have been written before the 'Spanish Tragedy.' The references do not necessarily identify 'Jeronimo' with the fore-piece. Further the 'Diary' shows that this play had a short and feeble stage-life and that it is not mentioned after 1592. That it should be resurrected about 1600 and printed in 1605 is not improbable when regard is had to the history of the plays of this period. (Compare the publication of the 'Famous Victories of Henry V' and of 'King Leir.') That the

<sup>1</sup> Th. Kyd's Tragödien, p. 6 f.

<sup>2</sup> Kyd u. Sein Kreis, p. 50 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. of Sp. Tr. p. xxi f.

<sup>4</sup> Über Titus Andronicus (only accessible to me in the reviews).

<sup>5</sup> Gott. Gel. Anz. 1891, p. 725.

<sup>6</sup> Eng. Stud. XXVIII, p. 229 f.

<sup>7</sup> Kyd's Trag., p. 13 f.

<sup>8</sup> Kyd &c., p. 54 f.

<sup>9</sup> Eng. Stud. XVIII, 125 f.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Zur Kunstentwicklung d. Eng. Tragödie, p. 100 f.

'First Part' was acted by the Children of the Chapel is manifest from the references to the size of the hero in the play itself; these references would hardly be suggested by the Children's performance of the 'Spanish Tragedy', as Boas maintains. According to the Induction to Marston's 'Malcontent' the Children misappropriated Kyd's play, which, as follows from the argument just adduced, must be the 'First Part', and in revenge the King's company acted the 'Malcontent.' His conclusion, now, Boas seeks to support by purely internal tests. Thus in the matter of characterization there are fundamental differences. The characters of Bel-imperia, Lorenzo, Balthasar, and, most of all, of Hieronimo vary beyond reconciliation in the two plays. Sarrazin's endeavour to account for the change from the buffoon Jeronimo in the fore-piece to the tragic figure of Hieronimo in the 'Spanish Tragedy' as developmental surely fails. The resemblances between the two plays of which Markscheffel made so much are mostly conventional and accidental. On the other hand, there are inconsistencies between the fore-piece and the main play which, both Fischer and Boas maintain, are much more like the botching of a clumsy imitator than the forgetfulness or indifference of an author in regard to his earlier work. These differences and inconsistencies may be partly accounted for by the alterations made in adapting the play for the Children. Again, we need not assume that Kyd's intentions in the 'First Part' were the same as in the 'Spanish Tragedy.'

The presumptive evidence in favour of Kyd's authorship of 'Soliman and Perseda' is only this, that the story was used by him as the subject of the inner play in the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and that, as he first made use of a bit of description in Garnier's 'Cornelie' for his 'Spanish Tragedy' and later translated the whole play, so here he may have used Wotton's story as the subject of a complete tragedy, which before had furnished forth but a dramatic incident. The same ground for supposing an anonymous imitator to be the author does not exist as in the case of 'Jeronimo,' since Kyd's reputation was not so great nor the 'Spanish Tragedy' so famous in 1588-9 as in 1602-5. Unfortunately we have no source for the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and are therefore unable to compare the treatment of the original in that play with the handling of the source in 'Soliman and Perseda.' We are thus shut off from what would most probably be a satisfactory means of determining Kyd's authorship. About all that is left to us is a consideration of the original matter in the play. And it is principally on this that Boas bases his argument in favour of Kyd's authorship. A mere imitator of Kyd—and I cannot see why the author of this play should feel any need of imitating Kyd—would not likely imitate him in details more or less inconsequent to the action. So Boas does well in calling attention to 'Soliman and Perseda' I. iii., where the Prince of Cipris questions the knights about their exploits and mottoes and

they reply, as parallel to 'Spanish Tragedy' I. v., where the king questions Hieronimo concerning the knights and their scutcheons in the masque. Still more striking, as pointing to common authorship, is the scene (I. v.) where "Soliman is introduced with his two brothers Amurath and Haleb, of whom the former kills the latter as a traitor for protesting against an attack on Rhodes and is slain in retribution by Soliman himself". This is parallel to just as inconsequent a scene in the 'Spanish Tragedy' (I. iii.) where the "Viceroy appears between two lords, one of whom by a charge of treachery nearly brings the other to his doom". Further, as Boas points out, these scenes preserve a balance of location, in one case between Spain and Portugal, in the other between Rhodes and Constantinople. The mingling of the serious and the comic, which is not found in the novel, is in the manner of Kyd, as shown in the 'hangman' scenes in the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and certainly should not be used as an argument against his authorship. The highly comic character of Basilisco is a dramatic type with which Kyd must have been familiar. Indeed such scenes as these justify Ben Jonson's punning allusion to 'Sporting Kyd'. Some of Boas's other parallels are not so convincing, since in the case of 'Soliman and Perseda' the paralleled incidents are taken directly from the novel. The unnatural wavering of Soliman, which has been objected to as not in Kyd's manner, is also found in the source. The cheating of Lucina by Perseda by means of false dice is strikingly like the cheating of Pedringano with the false pardon, and is the author's own invention. The unfortunate means by which Perseda kills Soliman are not more melodramatic than Hieronimo's conduct in the close of the 'Spanish Tragedy.' We cannot venture beyond probabilities in this question, but these are in favour of Kyd's authorship.

The most convincing evidence we have of Kyd's authorship of the 'Ur-Hamlet' is in Nash's Preface, which we may almost with certainty regard as directed against Kyd; here Nash says—"and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches." If it were proved beyond a doubt that Nash was attacking some one else, I do not believe that the internal evidence, brought forward by Boas and others, would establish Kyd's authorship. However, so long as this external evidence points to his authorship, it is worth while to examine the corroborative internal evidence. The evidence consists of resemblances in technique and diction. Just as in 'Soliman and Perseda' there were variations from its source, so the 1603 Quarto of 'Hamlet,' which is our nearest approach to the 'Ur-Hamlet,' shows marked variations from its ultimate source in Belleforest's novel. And in 'Hamlet' the variations are more after Kyd's manner than those in 'Soliman and Perseda.' As Boas points out, we have a tripartite plot—personal revenge, political intrigue, and love romance—in the

'Spanish Tragedy' and in 'Hamlet.' The love element is barely suggested by Belleforest. The tripartite plot is also found in 'Soliman and Perseda.' In the 'Spanish Tragedy' and in 'Soliman and Perseda' Kyd is concerned to fix our attention on two separate scenes of action—Spain and Portugal, Constantinople and Rhodes; so in Hamlet, but not in the novel, ambassadors pass between Denmark and Norway. Ophelia's brother Leartes is parallel to Bel-imperia's Lorenzo, and in both cases the brothers clash with the lovers with death as the consequence. Again, the madness of Ophelia touches closely her lover Hamlet and the madness of Isabella affects most deeply her husband Hieronimo. And this matter dealing with Ophelia is the dramatist's own. The play scene as a means in the working out of the hero's revenge is an important factor in the 'Spanish Tragedy' and 'Hamlet,' and is also no part of Belleforest. It is in these broad lines where the play departs from the novel that the traces of Kyd are of some importance, and not in the more insignificant resemblances between the two plays, which Boas also adduces. Thus very little weight should be attached to the fact that Leartes and Lorenzo had both been in Paris.

If now the 1603 Quarto is a reworking of the 'Ur-Hamlet,' we should expect with Boas to find in it certain traces of Kyd's diction. The last three acts, our editor is convinced, are "almost entirely pre-Shakspearean", and he brings forward some three pages of parallels between the 1603 Quarto and the known works of Kyd. These parallels are correspondent in phrasing and are evidently reminiscent of the earlier play—whether conscious or unconscious, it matters little. For that very reason we are not justified in regarding them with Boas as "practically irresistible internal tests" of Kyd's authorship of the 'Ur-Hamlet.' Standing alone they are just as good evidence of imitation of Kyd's phrases as of his common authorship of these plays. In fact Sarrazin<sup>1</sup> points out parallels between 'Soliman and Perseda' and 'Hamlet,' Q. 1604, which we refuse to admit as proving a common authorship of these passages or as indicating that the passages in the 1604 Quarto, which, too, are not in the 1603 Quarto, are a survival from the 'Ur-Hamlet.' Moreover Boas himself in discussing the relation of 'Titus Andronicus' to Kyd disregards correspondence in phrase and dramatic technique with his known works as of sufficient weight to be a test of common authorship.

Further when Boas finds evidence of Kyd's hand in the fact that there is a marked objection to second marriages in the "inner play" of the 1603 Quarto, in 'Cornelia,' and in the 'Householder's Philosophy,' and infers, from there not being any such objection in Shakspeare's authenticated works, that the passage in the 1603 Quarto is a survival from the 'Ur-Hamlet' and is the

<sup>1</sup> Kyd &c., p. 106 f.

expression of Kyd's personal opinion, we cannot admit it as having weight. There is in the "inner play" a special reason for the duchess to express her abhorrence of second marriages. I have not the originals of Kyd's translations and cannot say whether he was gratuitously inserting in the works mentioned an expression of his personal disapproval of second marriages or not.

The last three sections of Boas's Introduction treat of Kyd's translations and last years, his influence and reputation, and the modern editions of his works.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

JAMES W. TUPPER.

## REPORTS.

### PHILOLOGUS, LVII (1898).

I, pp. 1-7. C. Wunderer. Der Faustkämpfer im Museo delle Terme. This bronze may perhaps be taken to represent Kleitomachos of Thebes, the boxer described in Polyb. 27, 9, 7-13 (ed. Hultsch).

II, pp. 8-41. K. Zacher. Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung. 1. ἔλεγος. Aristophanes and Euripides understand by ἔλεγος a dirge for the dead, without flute accompaniment, = οἰκτρος, θρήνος, it is also called νόμος or ὕμνος (Ἀσιίτας and βάρβαρος. The ἐλεγείον was not a dirge and the term must have been derived from ἔλεγος not from any similarity of content but on account of the characteristic distich-form. The word ἔλεγος is onomatopoeitic (cf. ἐλεεῖν): it would correspond to old German welaga if we assume that the Greeks borrowed the word along with the practice from the Phrygians. 2. ἀγκυλοχείλης or ἀγκυλοχήλης? The latter reading for Aristoph. Eq. 197 better suits vs. 205. Then Aristoph. must have read -χήλης in Homer, into whose text -χείλης crept sometime before Aristarchus.

III, pp. 42-63. R. Reitzenstein. Litterarhistorische Kleinigkeiten. 1. Das Trostgedicht des Semonides. The fragments (Bergk II, pp. 443 fr. 1-5), probably belong to one poem whose beginning is preserved in fr. 1. The nearest parallel is Archilochos πρὸς Περικλέα. It is curious that later in Amorgos λόγοι παραμυθητικοί were quite often officially voted. 2. Eine ionische Quelle Herodots. The passage on constitutions III 82 and Theognis V 43-52, seem to have an Ionic source. 3. Zur Alkestis des Laevius. The description of the father of Admetos is a translation of Phrynichos (s. 702 N') in the same meter. 4. Das Gastmahl des Cicero. A better text is given (from cod. Cavensis 3 (C) saec. XI) of this collection of proverbs, which should be called the Symposium of Metellus and which is an excerpt of not later than the third or fourth century A. D. 5. A. Cornelius Celsus und Quintilian. Severianus c. 7 is abridged from Celsus; Quintilian is not used. Note on a different recension of Sev. known to Amerbach and others.

IV, pp. 64-102. E. Weber. Ueber den Dialect der sogenannten Dialaxeis und die Handschriften des Sextus Empiricus. Supplements his edition of the Dialaxeis published in the Festschrift für Curt Wachsmuth. The MSS are discussed. Stemma on p. 100.

V, pp. 103-122. P. Wendland. Zu Theophrasts Charakteren. I. MS transmission. II. Exegetical notes.

VI, pp. 123-133. W. Kroll. Astrologisches. Gleanings from cod. Laurent. 28, 34 saec. XI with a survey of the contents. The authors are sometimes mentioned and in some cases can be identified.

VII, pp. 134-149. W. Nestle. Die Legenden vom Tode des Euripides. I. The traditions (1) that he was slain by women (2) by dogs. II. Criticism of the traditions. Both forms of the legend may be traced to the myth of Pentheus treated in his last drama, the Bacchae. III. His grave. Discussion of the legends that his grave was struck by lightning and that near it two streams, one of good, the other of poisonous water, joined their courses.

VIII, pp. 150-183. O. Crusius. Aus den Dichtungen des Bakchylides. Interpretations of and critical notes on B., with remarks on Kenyon's ed. princ.

Miscellen.—Pp. 184-192. 1, pp. 184-5. F. W. Münscher: Zu Livius XXIV 24, 6-9. For posuit. et he reads posuisset—2, pp. 186-8. O. E. Schmidt. Caesar und Brutus. Caesar's opinion of Brutus' character quoted by Matus ap. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1, 2 is not spoken ironically but refers to Brutus' strength of will which would make him a useful political tool.—3, pp. 189-191. J. Ziehen. Sullas Phthiriasis. The account of Sulla's death may perhaps be traced back to a fable about the plowman and the *φθίριος* (Appian. I 101) which Sulla used in a public speech just before his death.—4, pp. 191-2. M. Petschenig. Zur Kritik der Schrift de Mortibus Persecutorum.—P. 192. Addenda to pp. 105, 107, 112, 140.

IX, pp. 193-212. O. Immisch. Ueber Theophrasts Charaktere. The work of an Aristotelian, composed about 319 B. C. The Athens is the Athens of the time of Th., and the contents would suggest him as the author. According to the common opinion the form of the collection would be unfavorable to this hypothesis. The Characters are not mere pictures. The arrangement in the archetype of the MSS was original and intentional. We have no means of knowing whether we have the work entire. The leading motive of the author was aesthetical. The preservation of the work was due to the rhetoricians. There is no small probability that the little book is to be considered as a parergon to Theophrastus' works on rhetoric, devoted to the practical side, and at the same time designed to supplement and enliven the theoretical.

X, pp. 213-219. W. H. Roscher. Die Beziehungen des Pfaus zur Neumondfeier und Theophrastus Char. 4, 15. R. reads for *ὁ ἀγών, ὁ ταῖον*. The *ἄγρικός* asks whether "the peacock was celebrating the feast of the new moon". This bird was an impor-

tation ἐκ βαρβάρων (Ael. de nat. an. 5, 21) and during the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. was exhibited for a fee at feasts of the new moon. It was sacred to Hera whose chief festivals came on those days. The countryman knows the peacock from hearsay and considers it endowed with sense and as celebrating the feast of the new moon.

XI, pp. 220-230. L. Radermacher. Zu den Fröschen des Aristophanes. Seven critical and exegetical notes.

XII, pp. 231-247. H. Weber. Plautusstudien. I. Zu den Bacchides. 1. On act II, scene I. Changes in the text have been based on a wrong interpretation of the context. 2. Act IV, sc. 8. No contradiction in the action as Langen PL. ST. s. 264 assumed. II. Zum Epidicus, vs. 9-10, and 721.

XIII, pp. 248-288. P. Wendland. Zu Philos Schrift de posteritate Caini. Nebst Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion der Septuaginta. Interprets and emends several passages, and mentions many peculiarities of Philo's style and his importance for the revision of the Sept.

XIV, pp. 289-306. H. Jurenka. Zur Würdigung der Römeroden des Horaz. J. holds that in long lyrics, odes in the narrower sense, a fundamental thought does not necessarily run through the whole. The poet easily digresses and we must follow his course of thought step by step. Odes III 1-6 are analysed.

XV, pp. 307-317. R. Reitzenstein. Zur Textgeschichte der Germania. Discussion with partial collation of a MS of the Germania hitherto unknown, in the Bibl. Gambalunga at Rimini. The date is 1476. The recension is independent of the classes AB and CD and has a common ancestor with Rd. (Vat. 2964) and Re (Ottob. 1795).

P. 317. R. Reitzenstein. Zu Oppian und Columella. The oldest MS tradition of Opp. Halieutica appears to be in some palimpsest leaves of Laurent. 57, 26, saec. X/XI. Besides the Sangermanensis of Columella there must have existed an old MS at or near St. Gall.

XVI, pp. 318-333. F. Susemihl. Beiträge zur Alexandrinischen Litteraturgeschichte. 1. Ktesibios und die Wasserorgel. Die Zeit des Musikers Aristokles. The barber Kt. and the mechanician Kt. are different individuals. The former lived under Physkon and improved the hydraulic organ, as may be gathered by a comparison of the descriptions in Philon of Byzantium and Aristokles. The latter lived after the time of Physkon, and his writing *περὶ χυρῶν* was not composed until 75 B. C. 2. Zum Leben des Erasistratos. Refutation of R. Fuchs, "Lebte E. in Alexandreia?" Rh. Mus. LII 1897, s. 377-390. Unless it can be proved that he must have used vivi-



section, it cannot be asserted positively that he lived in Alexandria.  
 3. Die Geburtzeit des Theokritos. About B. C. 315. He argues against Helm, Jahrb. f. Philol. CLV 1897, s. 389-396 who proposed 305-301. 4. Der Peripatetiker Boethos. Strab. XVI 757 may mean either that B. was his fellow-pupil or that he was his teacher. The latter, Zeller's opinion, seems probable.

Miscellen.—Pp. 334-352. 5, p. 334. R. Peppmüller. Oracula Sybillina III 29 ff. emends vs. 33 to *τηρεῖν' ὁ τόν* etc.—6, p. 335-7. W. Weinberger. Zur Philostrat-Frage. There were four of the name, 1. Ph. the son of Verus. 2. Ph. the Athenian (cf. pp. 503-4.) 3. Ph. the Lemnian, 4. The grandson of (2) or (3).—7, p. 337-8. G. Lehnert. Nachträgliches zu Lysanias. Remarks on his grammatical studies, supplementary to Baumstark, Philol. 53, 708 ff.—8, p. 338-9. G. Knaack. Ein angebliches Gemälde des Apelles. The statement of Domitius Calderinus (ob. 1478) rested on a false reading of Plin. N. H. XXXV 94.—9, p. 340-3. C. Bulle. Die Archytas-Ode und der Mons Matinus. Really two odes. The litus Matinum is put near Tarentum.—10, pp. 343-4. H. Deiter. Zu Statius. 6 emendations.—11, pp. 345-6. W. Soltau. Fabius Pictor und Livius. Reply to Luterbacher's review of his Livius Geschichtswerk, in Deutsch. Literaturz. 1897. Nr. 50, s. 1968.—12, pp. 346-8. H. Deiter. Kritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften II. —13, p. 349. A. Funck. Zur Charakteristik Hannibals bei Livius 21, 4, 9.—Nullus deum metus etc., is a variation of the preceding perfidia plusquam Punica, and not to be taken as general.—14, pp. 350-1. H. Lewy. Sabbe-Sambethe. The name of the Chaldaean Sibyl means "grandmother". The Greek *σιβυλλα* may have the same root.—15, pp. 351-2. H. Rabe. Handschriftliches zu Cleomedes.—P. 352. Cr. Corrigenda and Addenda to pp. 150-161.

XVII, pp. 353-367. L. Cohn. Der Atticist Philemon. On the fragments in Vindob. phil. gr. 172, Laurent. 91 super. 10 and in Thomas Magister. Philemon lived before Porphyrios and after Alexander of Kotyaeion, the teacher of M. Antoninus. Besides the treatise *περὶ Ἀττικῆς ἀντιλογίας* he wrote a larger work, *Σύμμικτα* in which a variety of questions of grammar etc. are discussed.

XVIII, pp. 368-391. R. Peppmüller. Textkritisches zur Theogonie Hesiods. 1. Cases of double recension. 2. Discussion of readings handled by Rzach (Wiener Stud. vol. 19, 1897, Heft 1). 3. Nine conjectures based on easy changes.

XIX, pp. 392-7. H. Weber. Aeschylea. Ag. 444, Choeph. 67, 74, 75.

XX, pp. 398-408. L. Gurlitt. Ciceroniana. 1. Der Epikureer Phaedrus als Quelle in Ciceros philosophischen Schriften. Emends ad Att. XIII 39 fin., το *Φαίδρου περὶ θεῶν* et παντός. These

treatises were used in *de nat. deor.* and the fragmentary *Timaeus* whose subtitle *de universo* is thus supported. Both may have been sketched in the fall of B. C. 45 on his Tusculan estate.  
2. Des Atticus Kritik an Ciceros *Philippica* II. *Ad Att.* XVI 11, 1.

XXI, pp. 409-417. J. Ziehen. Zu lateinischen Dichtern.  
1. Emends vs. 8 of c. 399 cod. Vossianus Q 86 to 'letum ipsum.'  
2. Emends the title of c. 431 to 'excusatio exilioris materiae.'  
3. 10 critical notes on other epigrams of this cod. 4. Note on Ausonius' *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*. 5. In a dedicatory poem of a copy of Sedulius intended for the emperor Arcadius, in the tenth miracle he emends to 'fructu famulare iugum.' 6. In c. 744 (Riese) he holds to 'in pluvia' or '-am.' 7. In Dracontius' *Medea* V 5, he defends 'pendere.'

XXII, pp. 418-421. Robinson Ellis. *Ad Ciceronis epistulas quae in Tyrrelli vol. V continentur.* Critical and exegetical notes.

XXIII, pp. 422-427. E. Thomas. Ueber ein Schreiben des Marcus Antonius. In *Br. Mus. Pap.* 137, described by C. G. Brandis in *Hermes*, XXXII (1897) s. 509 f. Report of the triumvir in 33/32 B. C. to the κοινὸν Ἀσίας of privileges which Antonius the σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τεχνιτῶν καὶ στεφανειτῶν partly confirms, partly guarantees anew, and allows to be recorded on a bronze tablet. Acc. to the writer, with the exception of the greetings, the whole forms one long overloaded sentence. Critical notes follow.

XXIV, pp. 428-435. T. Büttner-Wobst. Eine Episode aus der Belagerung von Ambrakia im J. 189 v. Chr. The account in Polyb. XXI 28 (XXII 11) 4 ff. was misunderstood by Livy XXXVIII 7, 7 and Polyaen. VI 17. The inhabitants smoked out the Romans from a mine which they had directed towards the walls, by inserting a πίθος full of burning feathers. A πίθος of 39.3 amphorae would fit into a mine of the calculated dimensions and leave sufficient room for the egress of armed men who might have preceded it.

XXV, pp. 436-500. E. Lange. Die Arbeiten zu Thukydides seit 1890.—Pp. 436-464. Editions and translations.—Pp. 465-500. Life and work. List of passages referred to. (Addendum on p. 658).

Miscellen.—Pp. 501-512. 16, pp. 501. O. Crusius. Römische Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtererklärungen bei Johannes Laurentius Lydus. In *de mens.* IV 36, p. 71, Bonn. 198 R, there is an allusion to the beating of the puppet of Mamurius *διαγελῶντές φασιν ὡς τὸν Μαμούριον αὐτῷ παίζοιεν οἱ τύπτοντες*. The Roman form might have been: Mamurium ei ludunt. Other proverbial allusions are to be found in Lydus.—17, pp. 503-504. W. Schmid. Die Heimat

des Zweiten Philostratus. W. Weinberg (cf. Philol. 57, 335) is wrong with Christ if he traces the reference to the second Philostratus, the author of the *Vita Apollonii* and *Vitae Sophistar*. as a Lemnian to a misunderstanding of Synesios and Eunapios. Cf. *Vita Ap.* VI 27.—18, pp. 504-7. K. Praechter. Zur kynischen Polemik gegen die Bräuche bei Totenbestattung und Totenklage. Lucian de luctu 21 ff., is compared with Teles p. 22, 1 ff. Hense. Lucian's tract is an example of a cynic diatribe against the prevailing mode of mourning for the dead.—19, pp. 508-9. P. Weizsäcker. Zu Hygin. Poet. Astr. 2, 16.—20, p. 509. P. de Winterfeld. Fulgentianum.—21, pp. 510-11. F. Luterbacher. Fabius und Piso als Quellen des Livius. Reply to W. Soltau, Philol. LVII 2, s. 345.—22, pp. 511-12. J. Hirschberg. Eine lexikalische Kleinigkeit, reflection of light, ἀνάκλασις (first by Cleomedes) κατάκλασις refraction, later in Damian διάκλασις.

XXVI, pp. 513-18. J. Boehlau. Schlangenleibige Nymphen. Discussion of an Attic black-figured kylix. These nymphs are relatives of Kekrops, Eurynome and Triton. They were divinities of the most ancient faith, but gave way before the Homeric Olympians and appear chiefly in fable.

XXVII, pp. 519-23. P. Weizsäcker. Ueber das Gemälde des Mikon im Anakeion zu Athen. Note on Paus. 1, 18, 1. Two paintings are referred to. One on the rear-wall showed the Dioskuri and their sons; one of those on the long side-wall represented them as present at the rape of the Leucippides, and the other as accompanying Jason and the Argonauts.

XXVIII, pp. 524-63. H. Pomtow. Die Delphischen Buleuten. *Fasti Delphici* III 1. Continuation of N. Jahrb. f. Philol. 1889 s. 513-578, die Priesterzeiten; 1894 s. 497-558; 657-704; 825-882, (II 1, die Archontate der Amphiktyonendecrete des III Jdhts. v. Chr. erster, epigraphischer Theil); Jahrg. 1897 s. 737-765; 785-848 (II, 2; zweiter, historischer Theil).

XXIX, pp. 564-577. M. Rostowzew. Die kaiserliche Patrimonialverwaltung in Aegypten. Even under the Ptolemies the public revenues were kept distinct from the revenues of the royal estates. The distinction was observed by the Romans until after Diocletian. From the papyri names of such confiscated or inherited estates may be gathered, mostly recorded under the names of their former owners. Each estate was in charge of an imperial vilicus or actor, and several were united under a procurator patrimonii, all under the jurisdiction of the idiologus.

XXX, pp. 578-595. W. Scheel. Die Bildung und Ueberlieferung dergermanischen Völkernamen auf -ones. These names probably have a Greek origin. We should not divide Lingon-as but Ling-on-as etc. In the ending we have not merely the

remnant of the weak Germanic declension but an evidence that the Greek ear caught and recorded the sounds and gave them the form which was generally current at the time.

XXXI, pp. 596-602. K. Ohlert. Zur antiken Räthselpoesie. Discussion of examples.

XXXII, pp. 603-641. T. Birt. Zum Aetna. Supplementary to Sudhaus' ed.

XXXIII, pp. 642-647. O. Crusius. Accius in Praxidico. (Plin. N. H. XVIII 59, 200). Accius worked over, most likely in verse, an astrological treatise, resting on the authority of an alleged Praxidikos. Accius in Praxidico stands on the same footing as Ennius in Sota, in Euhemero, in Epicharmo.

Miscellen.—Pp. 648-658. 23, pp. 648-9. H. Pomtow. Kyllon des Kyllon Sohn aus Elis. The murderer of the tyrant Aristotimos. The correct spelling appears in an inscription pub. in Bull. d. c. h. VII (1883) s. 426.—24, pp. 649-51. C. Wunderer. Zu der Faustkämpferstatue im Thermenmuseum Suppl. to Phil. LVII s. 1 ff.—25, pp. 651-3. A. Müller. Militaria. On some sculptured representations of phalerae at Athens.—26, pp. 653-6. K. Ohlert. Petroniana.—27, pp. 656-8. F. Hertlein. Zu Tac. Germ. 3. Reads sunt illius instead of illis.—28, pp. 658. C. E. Gleye. Zu Polyaen. reads Σπιτάκου for Πιττακού, in Strateg. IV 3, 21.—P. 658. Corrigendum to p. 449 by E. Lange (Die Arbeiten zu Thukydiden seit 1890).—Indices etc.

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ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, herausgegeben von EUGEN KÖLBING.  
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I.—A. B. Grosart, Literary Finds in Trinity College, Dublin, and Elsewhere. The finds are chiefly poems of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods, preserved in two MSS, and including hitherto unrecognized work by Massinger, Beaumont, Tourneur, Randolph, Corbet, Strode, Townshend, and others, together with much that is anonymous. The chief MS is about one hundred years old. Grosart prints as specimens six poems by Massinger, Beaumont, and Randolph. They indicate that the recovered pieces are of small value.

H. B. Baildon, Robert Louis Stevenson, II.—Continued from volume XXV. It is the purpose of the article to introduce the novelist to German readers. This installment contains a discussion of Stevenson's published acknowledgments of the many and various literary influences to which he had been subject. It deals also with certain of his works in detail.

W. Sattler, The Verb *to dare* once more. Discussions of the verb *to dare* followed by the infinitive with, or without, *to* have appeared from time to time in *Englische Studien*. The present article adds numerous instances to those already cited, and draws the conclusion that the tendency of the language is to omit *to* after *dare* in the weaker auxiliary sense of *may*, *can*, or *will*, and to use it with *dare* in the transitive sense of *risk* or *challenge*. But in present usage exceptions are so numerous, and distinction between the two meanings so difficult, that the matter does not admit of a fixed rule.

Reviews.—Jantzen condemns such a book as Sweet's *First Steps in Anglo-Saxon* as unnecessary. It is another example of the mistaken desire for excessive simplification.—Several books of interest to the student and reader of Byron are reviewed by Kölbing. Wülker's *Ueber Gedichte Lord Byron's* deals chiefly with the editions of spurious poems of Byron, issued by Johnston and Hone in 1816, immediately after the poet's departure from England. The impostures in some cases went through several editions. Kölbing inserts a few notes on these forgeries, especially concerning the history of the poem, *The Curse of Minerva*. The new edition of Byron's poems by Coleridge contains much material hitherto unpublished, but beyond the construction of a critical text it attempts little. A companion volume of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, edited by Prothero, is more complete than its predecessors. Germany's present interest in Byron is sufficient to call forth a second edition of von der Linden's translation of *Medwin's Conversations with Byron*.—Gosse's *Short History of Modern English Literature* is overestimated by Schnabel.—Krummacker finds *Morris's Dictionary of Austral-English* better in its scientific method than the majority of dialect dictionaries.—The first three of the forty-eight sections to comprise the *German-English part of Muret-Sanders' Encyclopädisches Wörterbuch* are reviewed by Heymann. In compass it will surpass *Flügel*, as *Flügel* surpasses *Lucas*. It is defective at times in its indication of stress in English words.

Miscellanea.—A. E. H. Swaen prints the first of several proposed contributions to *Old English Lexicography* in which he deals with above seventy words and expressions, most of them to be found in Sweet, and the remainder in Bosworth-Toller. He amplifies the comments of other lexicographers, and adds a considerable number of illustrative quotations. Wülfing in turn corrects and extends Swaen's remarks, on pages 449-455 of this volume.—Certain reminiscent statements by Jane Clermont recorded in the *Nineteenth Century*, volumes XXXIV and XXXV, are refuted by von Westenholz. Miss Clermont was mistaken in her assertion that a meeting between Shelley and

Byron took place just before the latter left England in 1816.—A question of plagiarism in connection with one of Shelley's juvenilia is investigated by H. Richter. He finds no foundation for the charge except a resemblance in matter and diction between Shelley's *Ghast* and parts of Lewis's *Wandering Jew*.—Stoffel ventures to explain the origin of the intensive and deprecativ functions of *any*.

II.—A. Schade, On the Relation of Pope's January and May, and Wife of Bath, her Prologue, to the corresponding portions of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. A continuation of an article in volume XXV. The writer toils through sixty-seven pages to reach the obvious conclusion that Pope's *Wife of Bath* is 'eine wertlose Production.'

G. Sarrazin, The Origin of the Modern English Diphthongs, *ai* and *au*. The tendency of *i* and *u* to pass into diphthongs appears first among the scribes about 1400 in the northwest Midlands, and as in German, it is first observed in stems ending in a vowel, as *by*, *thy*, *cry*. The predominance of the London dialect after 1400 increases the difficulty of investigation, but the author finds traces of the diphthong *ai* in Wiltshire by 1420. Even in Chaucer there are traces of it in such words as *yē*, *lyen*. Of the diphthong *au* traces are discoverable as early as 1400 in west Midlands, and its history is similar to that of *ai*. The author's evidence is somewhat scanty, and he is too confident in his theory that by reason of the Black Death and other troubles which depopulated the east Midlands, the influence of the west Midlands upon English pronunciation was very great for upwards of one hundred years.

J. Ziehen, For a Programme of Subjects to be used as the Basis of Oral Exercises in the Three Upper Classes of the Realgymnasium. There are serious objections to the present use for this purpose of pictures, commonplaces, or even the subject-matter of the reading-book. For these the writer would substitute topics drawn from the study of English history, literature, or geography of the preceding term. The work should be made interesting and not difficult. With the immediate advantage of review and lively practice in conversation for ten minutes of the hour, the student may, with proper teaching, acquire a wider culture and a deeper interest in these subjects.

J. Ellinger, Contributions to English Grammar. A few notes on modern idioms surviving from Old and Middle English. Among others are the use of the appositive substantive instead of the qualifying genitive, the adjective in apposition, and the use, with the definite article, of the gerundive and its object. The article is deficient in illustrations from Old and Middle English.

Wendt's Theses. At a meeting of the German teachers of modern languages in Vienna, 1898, Wendt brought forward for discussion twelve theses or proposals defining the methods in favor with the more radical teachers of French and English in the German schools. The editor reprints the theses and invites discussion of them in his pages. They are criticized by Mangold, and again by Koch (pp. 369-387), for their restrictive and utilitarian character. Koch incidentally commends this method of printed discussion, as preferable to the prolix and profitless oral discussion in conventions.

Reviews.—In Kellner's opinion the great abundance of even obvious material in Wülfing's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfred's des Grossen* is bound to prove valuable to many students, even though it make the book an inconvenient one for ordinary use.—Luick, in a careful review of Bauermeister's book on rhymes in the *Faerie Queen*, and of Dierberger's *John Dryden's Reime*, says that the study of rhyme in modern English poets is governed by considerations which do not enter into the study of Middle English rhymes. The student must discriminate carefully between traditional rhymes and those of modern origin. He should also remember that all evidence drawn from modern rhymes should be subject to modification by evidence of more direct character handed down by contemporary observers, chiefly the grammarians, whose testimony it ought only to supplement.—Hoops considers the Centenary Edition of Burns, issued by Henley and Henderson in four volumes, to be the best critical edition of the poet.—In the reviews pertaining to English 'Realien' there is little to interest the American reader. Perhaps M. Förster's review of Klöpfer's *Englisches Real-Lexicon* deserves mention. The book had been praised by superficial reviewers. Förster exposes it as a deliberate and unconfessed steal from Brewer's *Phrase and Fable* and others.

Miscellanea.—Bang attempts to solve the crux, *viriltoot*, *Canterbury Tales* A 3771, by reading *upon the verray lot*, an imitation of the French idiom, *sur le lot*.

III.—G. L. Kittredge, Chaucer and Froissart. Certain points of identity between *The Book of the Duchesse* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, especially in the opening passages of each, are well known, but opinions differ as to which poet imitated the other. *The Book of the Duchesse* was written in 1369. Everything points to the fact that the *Paradys d'Amours* was written some years before 1369 except four lines in the *Paradys* which refer without question to Froissart's long Arthurian romance, *Méliador*. Now there are two versions of the *Méliador*. The writer shows with convincing evidence, both external and internal, that even the earlier of these two versions could not have been begun before 1373, nor completed before 1384. It

would therefore seem necessary, he says, 'either to push the Méliador back to 1366-1369 (against much evidence), or to push the Paradys forward to 1384 (against all probability).' The solution of the dilemma he finds in the fact that the Paradys, though finished by 1369, was later revised (in 1393 or 1394), and the allusion to the Méliador then inserted. Thus it would seem that Chaucer was the borrower, not Froissart. An ingenious part of the article is the writer's proof that of the two versions of the Méliador, A was written first, and is the one composed at the request of Duke Wencelas of Luxembourg. Its clearness and condensation should recommend the article to many an investigator.

A. L. Stiefel, *Lemercier as a Plagiarist of Shakespeare*. Lacroix, in his *Histoire de l'Influence de Shakespeare sur le Théâtre Français*, 1856, has overlooked certain minor figures such as Lemercier, dramatist of the Revolution and the Empire. Lemercier, who imitated Shakespeare rather than the French dramatists, wrote a comedy called *Le Frère et la Sœur Jumeaux*, of which the substance is the Viola-Sebastian-Olivia story from *Twelfth Night*. He has stripped the story of every artistic virtue which Shakespeare gave it, and though he transfers many a speech literally, he has produced only 'eine platte parodie.'

R. Boyle, *Daborne's Share in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays*. Two plays by Daborne—*A Christian Turned Turk* and *a Poor Man's Comfort*—have been reprinted by Swaen in *Anglia* (volumes XX and XXI), and they confirm the opinion of Boyle that Daborne collaborated with Fletcher and Massinger in *Thierry and Theodore*, and with Massinger, Fletcher, and Field in *The Bloody Brother*. Incidentally certain points of resemblance between the style of Wilkins and that of Daborne are discussed with the purpose of illustrating the influence of Wilkins upon Daborne. The article is obscure throughout both in arrangement and argument.

Reviews.—Binz says of Trautmann's *Kynewulf, der Bischof und Dichter*, that the author is unwarranted in clinging to the theory that Cynewulf was identical with Bishop Cynewulf of Lindisfarne.—In his note on Miss Weston's modernized *Sir Gawain*, Kölbing heartily approves of the endeavor to popularize the results of scholarship and make them available for purposes of general culture.

Miscellanea.—M. Förster calls attention to the confused arrangement of the earlier poems of Byron in the recent edition by E. H. Coleridge, and in other editions published since 1830. It is traceable to the fact that in that year Moore published an edition which he called *Hours of Idleness*, but of the seventy poems



which it contained only thirty-nine were taken from the original *Hours of Idleness* published in 1807. The others were taken from various early editions, and the resultant mistakes in chronology have never been fully corrected. Other notes on Byron are from Förster (on *Pseudo-Byronic Literature*), Bang (on *The Siege of Corinth*), and Weyrauch (on *the Prisoner of Chillon*).

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## BRIEF MENTION.

Ever since Georg Curtius popularized the distinction between *Zeitstufe* and *Zeilar*, as he did in his *Schulgrammatik* of fifty years syne, both teachers and makers of school grammars have repeatedly rebelled against the traditional nomenclature. What sense is there in a present imperative when the imperative is future, what sense in a present subjunctive when the subjunctive is a future? Some grammarians, moved by the devil, who is the author of all confusion, have actually used present and past imperfect; Aken, on the other hand, proposed to use Verbum Imperfectum, Aoristum, Perfectum throughout. But if anything is clear, it is clear that it is necessary to keep away from the inevitable associations with the indicative tenses. Now I am not enamored of new terminology and am disposed to leave all these inventions to the gentlemen who are manufacturing spectrum gratings for the Latin subjunctive. But, if we are to have a new set of words for the relations that are common to all the moods, indicative included, it seems to me better that we should take refuge in Greek. 'Durative' is not perfectly satisfactory, as Professor Miller has pointed out in this Journal (XVI 143). 'Complexive' does not exhaust the significance of the aoristic tenses; neither does 'ingressive.' Now the Greek παρατατικός is an infinitely better word than the Latin *imperfectum*, and the only objection to it is the danger of confounding 'paratatic' with 'paratactic.' 'Aoristic' is not very satisfactory. 'Apobatic' is much better; and the use of ἀπέβη in the 'gnomic aorist' seems to encourage the adoption of the word. Cf. Plato, Conv. 181 A : ἐν τῇ πράξει, ὡς ἂν παρὰ θῆ, τοιοῦτον ἀπέβη. 197 A : οὐ μὲν ἂν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος διδάσκαλος γένηται, ἐλλόγιμος καὶ φανὸς ἀπέβη. Hdt. 3, 82 : ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μοναρχίην. Finally, the perfect relation might be expressed by 'syntelic' (Gr. συντελικός); and the series would be complete. Present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect and aorist might be left for the indicative. To be sure, I am not all enthusiastic about the suggestion, which may even lack the merit of novelty; for any one who has read long and read widely cannot always put his finger on the source of notions, whether the scratched poll and the gnawed nails or the morass of what is called 'grammatical literature.' But who can tell whether shall prosper, either this or that, in grammatical nomenclature? Who could have dreamed of the rivalry for the credit of 'prospective'?

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Among the new books, the number and variety of which bewilder the unfortunate editor of this Journal, I notice an ele-

mentary grammar of the Hebrew tongue by a Dutch scholar, J. D. WIJNKOOP, *Handleiding tot de kennis der hebreewusche taal, Tweede Stuk* (Brill, Leiden); and this second Part (*Wortvoeging*) reminds me that AKEN, just mentioned, is one of the few Greek scholars to make use of the Hebrew verb in elucidation of the Greek (*Tempus u. Modus*, § 14). AKEN'S *Tempus u. Modus* was published in 1861, when Americans of my latitude had scant access to any foreign literature, including that of the United States; but even before 1861 I had noticed for myself the importance of that 'höchst alterthümliche und daher syntactisch nicht unwichtige Sprache.' The Hebrew Imperfect, once called the future, is 'paratatic,' the Hebrew Perfect is 'apobatic,' and with these two tenses, the 'Holy Tongue' gets on very comfortably. It is a pity that classical scholars do not take an occasional run outside of their own palings. It would strengthen their muscles indefinitely. So, for instance, the problems of the Greek accusative are child's play by the side of the Hebrew accusative, or better perhaps the so-called accusative. Everything is 'so-called' nowadays. And when I am saddened by the present development of psychological syntax and ask with Professor Hale 'Whether there is still a Latin Potential?' I take down my precious Mpongwe Grammar and comfort me with 'affirmative and negative Potentials,' that flourish or flourished on the banks of the Gaboon River.

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Seriously speaking, the chief trouble about 'potential,' as about many terms that are bandied about in the 'ping-pong' sport of recent grammarians, lies in the want of clear definition, of sharp synonymical distinction. 'Potential' is not 'possible' merely, 'potentiality' is not 'possibility' merely. No one who uses modern English carefully ought to confound the two for a moment. When Mr. Tyndall in his famous Belfast address said that he discerned in matter 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial life,' 'promise' explains 'potency.' We are not in the region of foot-pounds. We are in a moral region. The 'potential chick' is something more than 'a possible chick,' and even if those who invented the term 'potential mood' had no such sharp distinction in their minds, it matters not. Both 'possibility' and 'potentiality' lie in the word *posse*, lie in the word δύνασθαι. But δύνασθαι splits itself into οἶον εἶναι and οἶόν τ' εἶναι: and ἡ δύναμις and τὸ δυνατόν are not the same. ἡ δύναμις belongs to the sphere of potentiality (φύσις); τὸ δυνατόν to the sphere of 'possibility' (τύχη), (A. J. P. XIX 231), just as οἶος is used of character in the Characters of Theophrastus, while οἷός τε is used of 'position,' merely. (A. J. P. VII 165.) These distinctions were present to the minds of the Greeks, and are therefore worth much more than modern analyses, which can go on refining and

refining without aiding the student in the least to get the antique point of view—the all-important thing to him who wishes to master the secrets of antique expression. But I have hammered at this before (A. J. P. XIX 231).

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Professor BRUGMANN is doing a memorable service to the cause of comparative grammar in bringing out an abridged edition of his great work, under the title *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, K. J. Trübner), the first part of which is to be followed speedily by the others, so that the whole work will be in the hands of the student in the early part of 1903. To the ethnic grammarian the half is more than the whole, and many a classical philologist will be won by this concession to the needs of a busy guild: although I imagine that classical philologists are not generally such strangers to the processes of scientific linguistics as Professor BRUGMANN seems to think. WHITNEY and PAUL, whom he commends to our attention, are familiar to us all, and OERTEL's new book, *Study of Language*, will occupy a shelf of easy access, even to us. All philological thinking, all philological teaching, is profoundly influenced by the methods of comparative grammar: and the μένος' ἀπιστεῖν that prevents the incorporation of every new theory into the body of grammatical doctrine is not to be mistaken for ignorance. If, for instance, I were writing on the genitive for students of Greek syntax, I should not proceed to reverse the old tenet, which represents the genitive as dependent on the verbal element of the noun rather than on the nominal element of the verb. Why not? First, because I think it can be shown that this was the Greek conception, not necessarily the original conception, but the popular conception; and for me the Greek conception is decisive; decisive for the line of development, decisive for artistic expression. And then if we go back to the original conception the noun has all the rights of the verb. The noun is a verb at rest. The verb is a noun in motion. Quicken the noun, you have a verb. Freeze a verb, you have a noun. The question of priority is naught. When Noun and Verb, which we are as apt to personify as was the author of the *Bellum grammaticale*—when Noun and Verb were born into the world, there was no midwife to tie a scarlet thread on the hand of the twin that came out first. (Gen. xxxviii: 28.) And I note with great interest that while Brugmann in his *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>3</sup> p. 392, accepts Delbrück's position, he adds a caution against the sharp distinction between the adnominal and the adverbial genitive and urges with a great deal of force the bias of the Teutonic mind, due to the use of the German genitive, and emphasizes the importance of considering also the *von* periphrasis of the genitive. In English our genitive

has shrunk into a possessive, except in an occasional adverbial phrase; and though the genitive and the *of* periphrases are not absolutely interchangeable and though there is, I believe, an extensive literature on the difference between an 'ass's head' and 'the head of an ass,' still the *of* side, the ablative side, the 'adverbial' side, is not clearly felt. In short, our mixed case presents to our consciousness a fusion that is not un instructive. Think of such an expression as 'admitted *of* the Order of St. Patrick.' As *of* therefore does not carry with it the full ablative signification, so the ablative genitive in Greek calls for prepositional reinforcement; and the whence-case uses of the genitive so often cited from Sophokles are artificial, are hyper-epic and recur again only in Greek that has no contact with the real life of the people.

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As a matter of fact, the theory of the cases is the opprobrium of syntax to this day and it will continue to be so. Of the twins, if I dare keep up the figure, the Verb is Valentine and the Noun is Orson. The verb—I speak of the Greek verb—is to a certain extent calculable and we can talk of categories, whereas the case constructions are not to be counted on. And while we must not despair, must not do as Hübschmann has done and content ourselves with giving a list of the verbs that take the accusative, still the cases keep us guessing; and the mixed case business, which was not new in the time of Quintilian, will continue to plague the student of language for aeons of Delbrücks to come.

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In an ungracious review of GOODWIN'S *Demosthenes de Corona*, published in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for Jan. 25, 1902, Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP says that it is inexcusable in GOODWIN not to have made use of the reviewer's *Antike Demosthenesausgaben*, which came out as early as 1899. GOODWIN'S preface is dated Nov. 15, 1900, and the complete MS had doubtless been in the hands of the printer months and months before, so that he could not well have availed himself of Herr DRERUP'S illuminating performance. But Professor GOODWIN can take care of himself and an explanation will doubtless be forthcoming in due time. One thing, however, I will mention by way of illustrating the spirit of so much German criticism of American work. In order to punish Professor GOODWIN for his sin of omission Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP has characterized the veteran scholar as one 'der in seiner Heimath als griechischer Grammatiker bekannt ist.' This is assuredly faint praise of a man whose syntactical work is regarded in England with a reverence that is dangerously near to superstition (A. J. P. XII 388; XIV 126; XVII 516), and whose name had been familiar

to German scholars long before Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP was 'dry behind the ears.' If GOODWIN is to blame for not knowing DRERUP's work, which, I grant, has attracted much attention, what is one to say of DRERUP, who ought to be familiar with REHDANTZ'S *Indices*, in the third ed. of which (1874) GOODWIN is repeatedly cited? But in view of the fact that we Americans have done so much work in the grammatical line, DRERUP's sneer may in the course of time come to be a high compliment.

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*The Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (N. Y., Henry Frowde), the first numbers of which were welcomed by the Journal, is speeding on its way. The latest issues at the time of writing (April, 1902) are MONRO and ALLEN'S *Iliad* and BURNET'S *Republic of Plato*. Those who have to teach and study Plato in his entirety are especially to be congratulated on the prospect of having so good a text as BURNET'S complete within a reasonable time. A word of warning, however, to the intending purchaser. The recent numbers have come to the Journal in paper covers and it is but right to say that the books fall to pieces with the fatal facility of the German editions; and the trifling additional expense of a sixpence or at most a shilling for bound copies ought to be cheerfully borne by those who use the books. There is also an edition of the Republic on India paper at 7s. (\$1.75) and another on 4to paper for marginal notes at 10s. 6d. (\$2.60).

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In Professor GILBERT MURRAY'S text edition of *Euripides* which belongs to the same Oxford series, I am sorry to see that the editor with the same lightheartedness that characterizes his History of Greek Literature has followed what he takes to be the chronological order of the plays. Only special students will read Euripides in that way; and for ready reference the alphabetical order of which NAUCK has set the example is much better.

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The *Archiv für Stenographie* (Berlin, Thormann u. Goetsch) gives up a large part of its space to the subject of ancient tachygraphy, and deserves to be better known by students of palaeography. The last number that has reached the Journal has an interesting article by the well-known palaeographer WESSELY and a review of Foat's article in the Hellenic Studies by the Viennese scholar GITLBAUER. This is a field of research that ought to be especially congenial to Americans.

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My acquaintance with Goethe goes back to the beginning of my Teutonomania period in 1847, and I doubt whether any

boy of my age ever devoured so much of Goethe in so short a time. There was not much that I left unread from Goetz von Berlichingen to the Second Part of Faust. His lyrics were my delight and I learned many of his 'Sprüche' by heart. But while I enjoyed the light and the warmth of my luminary, I did not inquire too curiously in what sign of the zodiac my sun was standing, or whose star, not to say petticoat, was in the ascendant, Friederike's, Frau von Stein's, or Ulrike von Levetzow's. Since that far-off time every recess of Goethe's life has been explored and every sinuosity of his long career has been lighted up, and in his edition of *Goethe's Poems* (Holt) Professor GOEBEL assumes, and assumes justly, a knowledge of Goethe's biography as a prerequisite for the study of the specimens he has selected. Many of my old favorites are there and as I re-read them under Professor GOEBEL's sympathetic guidance I feel how much I lost for the appreciation of the great master himself in the days when I appropriated all that my eager boyish intellect could take in. Whether the ethical influence would have been as potent, if I had known as much of Goethe's moods as I could have learned from such a book as Professor GOEBEL's, is another matter. I do not know; and if I am to follow Goethe still, I ought not to care.

Willst du dir ein hübsch Leben zimmern,  
Musst ums Vergangene dich nicht bekümmern.

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Under the title of the *Ancient East* Mr. David Nutt (London) has been publishing a series of small books on great subjects by eminent authors. By their popular character these 'shilling shockers', as they may well be called by the ultra-orthodox, withdraw themselves from the critical appreciation of a journal like this. The latest number (IV) is JEREMIAS, *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, which has had as its predecessors WIEDEMANN'S *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, NIEBUHR'S *Tell El Amarna Period* and ZIMMERN'S *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*.

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The great theme that was attacked with airy donnishness by Mr. VERRALL in his *Euripides the Rationalist*, by M. DECHARME with French elegance in his *Euripides et l'esprit de son théâtre*, has been handled with German thoroughness by WILHELM NESTLE in his *Euripides der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer). Of the insight shown in the 368 pages of text, of the learning exhibited in the nearly 200 pages of 'Anmerkungen', the limits of *Brief Mention* forbid me to write. And as for a longer review, reams of my performances in that line already await the dust-bin. At the same time I must say frankly that the vast bulk of modern 'appreciations' sometimes make me

sigh for earlier and shorter methods, and that as I contemplate Herr JOËL'S well nigh 2000 pages of lucubrations on *Der etymologische Ursprung der griechischen Wörter* und der *Xenophontische Sokrates*, I wonder whether there will ever be another Quintilian to write an encyclopaedia of Greek and Roman literature in one chapter, and that when I turn over 1000 pages of NESTLE, my thoughts revert to Nauck's admirable introduction to his Euripides. Give that to your class in Euripides with the proof texts. Macerate it, if you choose, for the feeble digestions, but the root of the matter is there.

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To pronounce on the merits of a dictionary without actual use is a *lèse-critique*; and I have refrained for many months from saying anything in commendation of HARDER'S *Schulwörterbuch zur Homers Iliad und Odyssee* (Leipzig, Freytag), despite seductions of large, fair type, up-to-date illustrations, and a reasonable price. Lately, however, I took the book with me on a voyage through Iliad and Odyssey, and found that it answered admirably to repeated tests. La Roche, a high authority, has in a recent review (*Z. ö. G.* 1902, p. 36) made himself responsible for the completeness of the book and, when one recalls the absences and omissions of so many pretentious lexicographical works, that is a great point gained. Of course, in an Homeric dictionary intended for schools a certain dogmatism is necessary. So αἰγίλιος will appear in the larger lexica is the haunt of etymological storms, appearing in AUTENRIETH, as I ought to have mentioned in my discussion of the word (*A. J. P.* XVI 261) and in HARDER, with the interpretation, which I advocated there and no variant is given. But the business of the teacher or the commentary to supplement the school dictionary, and, fortunately or unfortunately, almost all the disputed Homeric words are still as doubtful as they were in the days when Chapman, our 'English Lucan', gave his translation to the world. It comforts one to think that Pindar did not have any clear notion of what ἡλίβατος meant (*O.* 6, 4) and he could not have stood a better examination in ἀμαιμάκετος than did the fellow in the *Δαιταλῆς* on ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα. But remember like this will be set down to the 'miching mallecho' of the introduction of *Brief Mention*.

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C. J.: MACLEAN'S *Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac as spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, &c.* (Oxford, Atterbury, Clarendon Press), is intended as a companion volume to the author's *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (Cambridge, 1895), which treats of the language spoken by the Eastern Syrian Christians, also called Nestorians or Chaldeans, dwelling upon the borders of Turkey and Persia. A large part of



material was gathered by the author during his five years' residence in the country as head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission, a position which gave him exceptional opportunities. He also had the assistance of several manuscript vocabularies, and has drawn to some extent from the works of Sachau, Socin, Lidzbarski and others, but practically all the material, from whatever source derived, has been carefully revised in the light of his own personal observation. A most useful feature of the work lies in the fact that the pronunciation of each word is given in Roman letters in accordance with a clear and simple system of transliteration. The introduction contains a classification of the various dialects spoken by the Eastern Syrians, with brief notes as to their chief peculiarities and some general remarks upon their pronunciation. The typography of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

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E. G. S.: H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT's recent edition of *Cicero's First Philippic* (Paris, Klincksieck) is voluminous and industrious; it is the first, by the by, since Lemaire's general edition of 1830. Latin courses in France, we believe, are largely ordained by central authorities. There is a preponderance of verbal exegesis which seems to run largely towards etymologizing notes. To DE MIRMONT Cicero is the illustrious figure of Roman oratory and republican consistency; and his views are not deflected by the labored vituperation of Drumann, or by the Caesar worship of Mommsen. There are one or two references to Plutarch, while Appian and Dio, repositories in great measure of Asinius Pollio and of Livy, are left unmentioned. Nor do we see any acknowledgment of the obligations under which Merguet has placed all students of Cicero. Causeret's study of Cicero's technology and criticism of literature (1886) is accurate and painstaking, and while not adding anything to Ernesti and Volkman, would seem to show that this aspect of the study of Cicero is not neglected in France. DE MIRMONT pays no attention to such technical analysis, which, however, is a postulate for closer approach to the art of Cicero, so eminently a conscious master of *τέχνη*.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

*Sir*.—I have to thank Mr. E. Fitch for his courteous and valuable criticism of my edition of the text of Apollonius Rhodius in the Amer. Journ. Phil. of July last (which I have only recently seen), and particularly for his recognition that my edition is independent of Merkel's. Mr. Fitch charges me with a want of scientific precision in the formation of my apparatus criticus because I have not in all cases noticed the readings of L and G, the principal MSS, also because I have used the sign "vulg.", the result being a certain inconsistency between the preface and the critical notes. I admit the facts and I admit the inconsistency. My defence must take the form of a plea of "confession and avoidance". In the preface I thought it right to set out the state of the text, showing the relations of the manuscripts, but at the same time (after deliberation) I came to the conclusion that the conditions imposed upon me did not allow of my stating all the different readings of L and G but only the more important differences, and this I maintain that I have done. Thus, to take one case referred to, the impossible *δερκομένη* of L in IV 170, I did not quote it because it was an impossible reading, and because it was of no value as a guide. Mr. Fitch says "the readings of a manuscript like L are worth knowing, even when they are palpably wrong, for they may contain a hint of the truth." If for the words *for they may contain* we substitute *if in that case they contain*, I would accept the statement as representing my practice. I may of course have made mistakes in detail and Mr. Fitch has pointed out some corrections that are needed, but I do not wish to seem unintentionally inconsistent.

With regard to "vulg." I admit that it is unscientific, but it is a convenient mark to express the agreement of most codd. and edd. where an exhaustive critical apparatus is not feasible. I dislike it, however, as much as Mr. Fitch does.

With regard to other matters, a slight inconsistency between a remark in the preface and a reading in the text is due to a final alteration in the text without the consequential alteration having been made in the preface—a slip for which of course I must bear the blame. I have often wondered whether any one would point it out. In IV 289, *δεχῆ* should read *δεχῆ*; somehow the mistake escaped correction in proof.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, LONDON,  
May 28, 1902.

R. C. SEATON.

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EDITED BY  
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—PROBLEMS IN GREEK SYNTAX.

### II.

#### THE ARTICLE.

In its day Middleton's book, 'The Doctrine of the Greek Article', was a wonder for its ample treatment of a minute subject and was playfully cited in somewhat the same tone as the mythical three volumes on *-di -do -dum*. But nowadays grammatical treatises of similar bulk weigh down the domain of language everywhere like the mortgage pillars, of which Solon tells us, and a whole volume would be needed for a mere digest of the 'literature' on the subject of the Greek article. And yet, as we have seen under the head of the articular proper noun,<sup>1</sup> the subject has not been exhausted, and even pressing practical problems have hardly been touched with the tips of the fingers. To be sure, every school grammar teaches the gradual evolution of the article from the demonstrative. Every beginner is warned to expect a different article in Homer from the article as it is found in Attic. Every novice knows the difference between the particular article and the generic. And yet the story is not always taught in the organic way, and the relation of the articular noun to the anarthrous noun is not always brought home to the feeling. With the genesis of the terminations of the noun this essay has nothing to do. To call *-s* in *ἡρώε-ς* pronominal may or may not be a rank heresy. This, however, is true: the article is the explicit expression of what lies implicit in the

<sup>1</sup>A. J. P. XXIII 9.

noun; ἵππος is not 'a horse' but 'the horse', and the particular article reinforces whatever it is in the termination that fixes the floating action or quality in an individual.<sup>1</sup> The particular article is felt to be more and more a necessity, and not, as Julius Caesar Scaliger called it, a *flabellum loquacissimae gentis*. But the generic article, the article that picks out an individual and holds it up as a model, a type, a standard, never becomes a necessity, and the differences which the grammars make between abstracts with and without the article not only lack practical warrant in the every-day language, but fail to work in the field in which they are most needed; and he who tries to distinguish between σοφία and ἡ σοφία, ἀρετή and ἡ ἀρετή everywhere in Plato is not wise. The differences that Plato himself makes, Plato himself unmakes. How can we distinguish between οὐσία and ἡ οὐσία when the introduction of an articular infinitive and an oblique case destroys the possibility of distinction? You may say οὐσίας or τῆς οὐσίας, you must say τοῦ εἶναι, you must say τοῦ μὴ εἶναι. Flat and unscientific as it may seem, the addition and the omission of the article are often due to rhythm. Flat and unscientific as it may seem, the addition and the omission of the article are often suggested by nothing more serious than the practical necessity of distinguishing between predicate and subject,<sup>2</sup> or the artistic need of amplitude on the one hand, of condensation on the other.

The oldest use of the article anticipates the youngest, the youngest use is rooted in the oldest, so that the article is alive throughout the whole history of the language. It is the degree

<sup>1</sup>In 1893 I had rashly written 'the swift one', but I have learned to be more cautious. In his recently published work, 'Lectures on the Study of Language' (N. Y., 1902), Professor Oertel says (p. 306): 'To me it would seem much more likely that a sound complex first attached itself to the compound percept of an object, and that only later it came to signify also a prominent element of this compound; so that the Indo-European word for "horse" did not originally mean "swift" and was then used for the "horse", but that it originally meant "horse", and the meaning "swift" was a later development, the quality being expressed by the word for the object which possessed the quality in a marked degree.' And in support of this view he cites a number of authorities. The trouble is that 'horse' in compounds is used in so many ways that the notion 'swift' does not come out inevitably. In popular parlance it is said that a fence ought to be 'horse-high, bull-strong and pig-tight'. Here reference is had to the horse's jumping power, and in most of the compounds with 'horse' far other qualities are prominent than swiftness. No more fascinating field than semantics, none more dangerous.

<sup>2</sup>Plato, Theaet. 188 B: ὥς ὁ Σωκράτης Θεαίτητος ἢ ὁ Θεαίτητος Σωκράτης.

of life, the manifestation of life, that interests the student of style; and nothing can bring this life more directly to the consciousness than the comparison of Latin, which has only what we have called the implicit article. It is this absence of the article that gives Latin its lapidary style. This lapidary style the Greek can take on, but it does not continue long in that stay. It is only a temporary pose. Homer is too rich and varied to dispense with the article which abounds in him as a demonstrative and prefigures largely its later use. It is in the higher lyric that the scarceness of the article makes itself felt; for we see that the resources of the later article are at hand and yet remain unused. Here and there the article has an un-Homeric extension, so that we note the conscious abstinence of art and pass almost with a feeling of relief from the rare atmosphere of higher lyric to the lower levels of dramatic dialogue and to the broad campaign of prose; and in certain moods we are ready to welcome the hearty multiplication of the article which is said to have characterized the Doric dialect.<sup>1</sup> We come down from Pindar's Olympian heights, from the lonely crag which the Theban eagle 'clasps with hookéd hands' to the meadows in which Aristophanes disports himself, and where the Laconian guests of Lysistrata (1247-1261) foot it so featly. There is no hyperaesthesia here. A little training, and the feeling is soon disciplined, and, once disciplined, becomes an unfailing source of pleasure—in the classic regions. Of course one must pay for it as soon as one comes into the vulgarities of the perpetually articular proper noun. But one accepts vulgarities in certain strata of language as in certain strata of society, with mild resignation.

Among the fellow demonstratives of the article, *οὗτος*, a manner of reduplicated article, is nearest of kin, and stands to the article as the article does to the termination, if, indeed, the termination is a demonstrative. *ὁ*, *οὗτος* and *ὅς* form a group most closely associated from the beginning of our record, and the familiar shift from one to the other gives an antique coloring to style. 'Them that', 'those that', 'those who', and the provincial 'them as' may serve as illustrations of similar feeling in English. Of this primitive state of things there are traces enough in the standard language; but while the grammars expand on *ὁ μέν*, *ὁ δέ*, on *τὸ δ*, *τὰ δ*, *πρὸ τοῦ* and the like, one of the most important

<sup>1</sup> Müller, Dor. II, 504. Blaydes on Ar. Lys., 1247. Read Alkman's Partheneion, and comp. A. J. P. XXI 352.

syntactical survivals of the whole group is not emphasized or not emphasized in the right place, and that is the use of *οὗτος* without a conjunction at the head of a sentence. This is not asyndeton. *οὗτος* at the head of a sentence without a conjunction is no more asyndetic than is the relative. *οὗτος* is the universal demonstrative; the others are all particular; it is the regular antecedent of the relative, and with it the relative is 'that'. With the others, *ὅδε* and *ἐκεῖνος*, it is rather 'who' or 'which'. In practical use, *ὅδε* sets up an opposition to *οὗτος*, gets to itself the connotation of the important first person, but it is only in dramatic style that *ὅδε* can make head against *οὗτος*; and it is the large use of *ὅδε* that gives so much of the conversational tone to the discourse of Herodotos. To be sure, *ἐκεῖνος* gives bulk, gives weight, but it lacks precision. It is a 'yon', which is as vague as the next world, to which it is always assigned, and great hulking demonstrative as it is, it needs the guidance of *ὅδε* and *οὗτος*. *οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐγώ*. All these are the commonplaces of grammar. But, of late, scholars have thought it worth while to watch the usage of so familiar a pronoun as *οὗτος* in the Attic orators, and have formulated delicate regularities unformulated before;<sup>1</sup> and a theory as to the composition of the work of Thukydides has been based on the shifting position of *ὅδε*, on *ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε* and *ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος*.<sup>2</sup> 'This' and 'that' in English are not so simple as might be supposed. Foreigners do not always master them perfectly; a German friend of mine always said 'one of those days', and the use of *este* and *ese* is said to be the Spanish shibboleth. No one, however blunt his senses, is indifferent to the final *ι* in *ὅδι* and *οὐτοσί*, and it is not unprofitable to train the perceptions to catch finer differences.

#### THE VERB.

The domain of the voices is variously distributed in various languages, as we have incidentally seen. Active, passive, reflexive are used in differing proportions. In  
**Voices.** French and German the reflexive is much more freely used than in English, which, in its turn, uses the passive with an un-Germanic freedom suggestive of Biblical Latinity, as Biblical Latinity is suggestive of Greek influences. Doubtless

<sup>1</sup> See Blass, *Rh. Mus.*, Vol. XLIV, A. J. P. XI 107.

<sup>2</sup> See Herbst as summarized in A. J. P. I 241.

the predominance of one of these forms of expression over another would be a matter of stylistic interest, but so far, only a few sporadic observations have been made. A digest of the actual usage is still lacking and impressions are not to be trusted. How the elements of active, passive and middle may lie undifferentiated in the same form we can see by the verbal noun, we can see by the so-called active infinitive, we can see by the so-called passive participle in *-τος*.<sup>1</sup> *ἄξιος θαυμάσαι* is the more primitive form, and yields grudgingly to *ἄξιος θαυμασθήναι*. The passive *-τος* sets up active and middle meanings. The finite verb is clearer but not overclear. Our record begins before the voices had clarified themselves, and in fact middle and passive continue throughout the language undifferentiated in the tenses of continuance and completion. It is only in the tense of attainment, where clearness seems to be absolutely necessary, that middle and passive go apart. Even there we find an occasional aorist middle that serves as a passive; and the so-called deponent passives, while ultimately explained as intransitive actives, remind one of the passives which the modern Greek uses as middles, nay, even as direct reflexives.<sup>2</sup> The *-θησομαι* future is late. It is an evolution that may be due to the desire of marking the ingressive, the complexive character of the future more distinctly,<sup>3</sup> and the emergence of the form is an interesting sign of grammatical consciousness such as we see in the persistent spread of such locutions as 'is being built' in English. All such new formations are in a large sense stylistic. We are no longer in an Homeric world, a Pindaric world; we are among the sophists, the sophists on the stage as well as the sophists in the forum. But for most of the phenomena of the voices mentioned in the grammars there is no history given, although there must be a history; there is no stylistic meaning given, though there must be a stylistic meaning. Instead of that we have much discourse about the distinction between transitive and intransitive, a distinction which, from a higher point of view, is futile. Call a verb that has a

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Bishop, Verbals in *-τος* in Sophokles, A. J. P. XIII 171-99; 329-42; 449-62.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *ἐφονεύθη*, 'he killed himself'. Vincent and Dixon (p. 315) cite *ἐσκεφθη*, 'he considered', *ἐστοχάσθη*, 'he perceived', *ἐπλύθη*, 'he washed', *ἐνίφθη*, 'he washed his hands', *ἐκρεμάσθη*, 'he hanged himself,' not only 'he was hanged'.

<sup>3</sup> See my Syntax, § 168.

passive a transitive verb, a verb that does not form a passive an intransitive verb. That is well enough. But this passing over to an object business is elusive. Any verb may be transitive to the extent of taking an inner object. Any verb may be intransitive when the object is involved, i. e., when it merely expresses an action. 'Thou shalt not kill' is intransitive. It means 'thou shalt do no murder'. So far theory. But practice is another matter, and habits need watching in English and in Greek. "Only in America, I believe", says Mr. Fitzedward Hall in the Academy, March 25, 1893, "is the verb *empty*, except as meaning 'become empty', any longer intransitive: the humblest rustic in my parish would say, 'the Ore *empties itself* into the Alde.'" I must confess that as an American I am not ashamed of an obsolescence that I share with Sir Thomas Browne, and when Mr. Eugene Field tells us that the intransitive use of 'weary' is wrong,—well, most students of English would prefer the taste of Tennyson to the taste of the Chicago poet. For all that, we should like to know which of the Greeks does these things, which of them uses the language to its legitimate or illegitimate stretch, whether those genial sinners, the poets, or the self-willed Thukydides with his *αὐτόγνωτος ὀργά*, or the *condottiere* Xenophon, *πολυπλάνητος κάρτα* (Hdt. 1, 56), like the Dorians whom he admired so much. *βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας* has a common sound, but *εἰσβάλλει* is perfectly acceptable, as acceptable as 'empty' would have been to an American until Mr. Fitzedward Hall uttered his dreadful note of warning.

The moods are the keys of the music of language, and the Latin *modus*, however meant, is a happier name than the Greek

**Moods.** *ἔγκλισις*. Indeed, the moods of the Greek verb have a certain analogy with the moods in Greek music. The direct and manly Dorian reminds one of the indicative, the martial Aeolian of the imperative, the longing Lydian yearns with the optative. It is said of the Fourth Olympian of Pindar that the lively Aeolian mood is tempered by the plaintive Lydian. If so, *θεὸς εὐφρων εἴη λοιπαῖς εὐχαῖς* would correspond to the plaintive Lydian strain, *οὐλυμπιονίκαν δέκευ Χαρίτων ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον* to the Aeolian element. But if this especial illustration be fancy, as it is, the general analogy holds good; and like the moods in music, the moods of the verb represent the states of the soul, *τὰς διαθέσεις τῆς ψυχῆς*; and so the English 'mood' gains an additional fitness and is not to be discarded for 'mode', as the

manner of some is. Here, if anywhere else, sympathy is necessary to understanding, and yet we are not to leave everything to sympathy; we are not to renounce definition, to renounce analysis. The transfer of moods from one language to another may be impossible, the transfer of feeling may be made, and analysis may aid in the transfer. It will not do to say that this or that turn makes no difference to us, that to us *ὅπως* and *ὅπως ἄν* are all one.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as it must have made a difference to *them*, we must learn to feel after the difference, if haply we may find it. Orderly research has brought many apparent vagaries of language under the dominion of law; and where analysis fails, atmosphere helps. The construction is known by its fellows, by the company it keeps, whether it haunts the courts or wrangles in the mart or hides in the study. It is well to emphasize these principles at this point, for the range of the moods differs so much in different languages, there is so much overlapping, so much crossing that, apart from certain rough and ready criteria, the beginner is tempted to give up the whole domain to the sway of chaos; but Chaos and Old Night are not our rulers and we need not surrender everything to *ἄλογος ἀσθησις*. *Nil tam difficile est quin quaerendo investigari possiet.*

In studying the elements of the problems of the moods, we have to consider time as well as feeling. Moods are temporal, tenses are modal. The attitude of mind is largely concerned with that which is not yet, that which is no longer, with the future, with the past. In fact, so much has mood to do with time, that future relations are expressed modally. The Greek future is a mood, the Latin future is a mood, the English future so far as it is differentiated from the present is distinctly modal, is imperative, is optative, that is if 'shall' and 'will' are imperative and optative. The sphere of present and past is occupied by the indicative. The other moods divide out the future. Imperative, subjunctive, optative are all future. *δός, δίδου, δῶ, δίδῳ, δοίην, διδοίην, δάσω* are all modal and all future. But present indicative and imperfect indicative may also reach forward, each into its future; the one into the future of the present, the other into the future of the past. There is an expression of will in the conative present, a sigh of failure in the conative imperfect. The imperfect is a suspended future. It

<sup>1</sup> Madvig, § 122, Bei *ὡς* und *ὅπως* bewirkt *ἄν* keine bemerkbare Veränderung der Bedeutung. So Goodwin, M. and T. § 44, 1, N. 2 (O. E.). But see A. J. P. IV (1883), 422, and Goodwin, M. and T. (1889) R. E., § 312, p. 110.

can be interpreted into terms of *ἔμελλον* with the infinitive. It needs no *ἄν* to mark its unreality. Now over this range of the future, the future of the past and the future of the present, the Greek moods undulate with their 'fluid footsteps', but they are no more lawless than the tides. *δώσει, δότω, δοίη, δοίη ἄν* may be used in the same general way, but what a difference of tone, what a difference of sphere. The familiar future, the direct imperative, the implication of order in wish, the courteous or ironical suggestion, how these play up and down over the domain of will.<sup>1</sup> Every novice feels or ought to feel the shifting tone, but the enjoyment is enhanced if one watches the sphere, if one notices that Hesiod who has so much to do with the imperative tempers its austerity with the optative more frequently at least in proportion than any other author, that Pindar shares in this respect what may be called the Delphic sphere of Hesiod, that the Attics abound in the imperative optative with *ἄν*, which shows all its resources of bitterness in the tragic poets, all its resources of fun in Aristophanes, all its resources of urbanity in Plato.<sup>2</sup> How strange it seems when we pass from the optative and *ἄν* of Attic society to the legal optative with *κα* in the dialect of Elis, and find a hint turned into a law.<sup>3</sup> A syntactical journey is a journey like any other from pine to palm, from snow to Sahara.

But it is only in the more elaborate and complex forms of the sentence that the moods display all the subtlety of their usage as it is only in the more elaborate and complex forms of social life that the emotions require alembic and crucible. Outside the compound sentence, subjunctive and optative have a short story. But from the beginning of recorded Greek, we have to do with complex sentences just as in the beginning of Greek history we have to do with a complex society. Neither syntax nor society is primitive in Homer. Even there we are under the dominion of conventions. And so there are conventions in the use of the moods that control the whole range of the language from the beginning of our record. Not that these conventions are in-

<sup>1</sup> Mme. de Beaumont chez de Vogüé, *Heures d'Histoire*, p. 91: *Le style de M. de Chateaubriand me fait éprouver une espèce de frémissement d'amour; il joue du clavecin sur toutes mes fibres.*

<sup>2</sup> On the imperative optative with *ἄν* see now my *S. C. G.* § 394. A fine example of bitterness is *So. El.* 1491 where Orestes says to Aigisthos *χωροῖς ἄν εἰσω*.

<sup>3</sup> See Bergk, *Gr. LG.* I 110; Cauer<sup>3</sup> No. 259.



organic. They go back to primitive needs, no doubt, just as the two buttons on the back of the modern coat go back to the needs of the ancient swordbelt. They have their inner propriety, no doubt, and being subject to the shifting taste of the time, to the shifting taste of the individual, they serve to show us the form and pressure of the time and the character of the individual. But for all that they tend to mechanical uniformity of practice; they are fashions and like fashions exact a minimum of consciousness from ovine humanity.

To this sphere belong the sequences and it is here that we encounter the problem of the use of subjunctive and optative. From the beginning of our record the subjunctive and the optative have divided the dependent sentences between them. The subjunctive after principal tenses, the optative after historical tenses. That is a convention which may lose its hold but never loses its rights. Nothing could be more unhistorical than the statement that after historical tenses the optative is permissible only, not necessary (A. J. P. V 400). It is the unconventionality of the subjunctive after the historical tenses that gives it the charm of dramatic directness, of what is called *repraesentatio* (A. J. P. VIII 231). If we ask the question how it came about that the subjunctive has associated itself with the principal tenses and the optative with the historical tenses, we ask a question that is not easy of answer. Those who contend that the subjunctive is a mood of will, the optative the mood of wish, see in the will the stronger, more vivid form, that fits it for the practical prospective of the future of the present, whereas the wish seems to them weaker, less vivid than the will and hence better fitted for the future of the past, which is no longer a matter of practical consideration. But there are those who deny that the subjunctive is a mood of the will and the optative a mood of the wish. They are both futures, one more vivid, the other less vivid. But how do they come to be futures? Is not the Greek future indicative that we have modal? Are not 'shall' and 'will' modal? All that we know, all that it is safe to say is this, that a form which elsewhere conveys command associates itself with the principal tenses, that a form which elsewhere conveys a wish associates itself with the historical tenses and that this association, which is suggested by the similarity of the respective terminations, is found from the beginning to be a convention, a rule, a regular sequence. It is a sequence that is seldom violated in Homer,

never violated in Pindar, and unless we appreciate it as a sequence we cannot appreciate the freedom that breaks up the sequence; we cannot appreciate what the French call the inconsequences of the coquette, Language. The audacious substitution at pleasure of the subjunctive for the optative is a revolution like that of the sophists, like that of the *ἄνθρωπος μέτρον*, like that of the *droits de l'homme*. If we search the record we can see premonitions of the deliverance just as we can see premonitions of the French revolution; but epic conservatism like political conservatism dies hard. Herodotos, the dramatic, Thukydides, the sophistic lead the way in prose, but Xenophon is not carried wholly away by the mob which he loathes. *Stare super antiquas vias* is a motto which he would have understood. Plato keeps nearer to the older tradition. The prose poet, the idealist, the regenerator of the state, has his point of rest amid the tide of motion, while the orators oscillate to and fro, balancing between νόμος τύραννος and δῆμος τύραννος. But be it noted that the shift is from optative sequence to subjunctive sequence, that it is all in one direction. It is a revolution that does not go backward. Subjunctive for optative almost, as it would seem, at the sweet will of the speaker, but a shift the other way causes the grammarian to cry out. Aristophanes makes it once or twice and it is resented as a piece of *gaminerie* too outrageous even for that *gamin*.<sup>1</sup> It will not work both ways. It is the subjunctive that encroaches on the optative, not the optative on the subjunctive, just as it is μή that encroaches on οὐ, not οὐ on μή. Now this encroachment runs through all the forms of the strictly dependent sentence, relative, temporal, conditional, and belongs therefore to the universal aesthetics of the language. In later Greek the vulgarization, if I may say so, is complete. The optative becomes more and more an artificial form, and its function is restricted to the primal wish. The communism of the New Testament knows scarcely anything of the optative. Form and thought are alike doomed. All the optatives we find in later Greek are artificial and the frantic effort of the Greek Renaissance to keep the old language alive shows how great the dissidence is between the spoken and the written word. The optative is considered elegant—and they wear it in the wrong place. It is a fine thing after a past tense. Why should it not be a fine thing after a principal tense? And so they proceed to use it, and Lucian's

<sup>1</sup> See the commentators on Vesp. 110.

optative for subjunctive has been set down to vividness (see A. J. P. IV 428), whereas it is simply a bit of misapplied finery and reminds one of those who revive the English subjunctive and think that they are elegant when they use 'if I were' where 'if I was' is the only grammatical possibility.

The infinitive is not a mood, though it has been so accounted by ancient grammarians. A verbal noun, it has learned to represent all

the moods, and, as the universal representative, has acquired modal rights. When we first become acquainted with it in Homer, it has learned to represent the indicative, and has taken on, though reluctantly, the negative *οὐ*. In obedience to the necessities of the indicative, it has developed a future, quite needless in its first estate. In fact, it has all the apparatus for *oratio obliqua* which the Greek handles so lightly, the Roman so heavily. But, as the dative of a verbal noun, its natural affinities are with the imperative, and this imperative infinitive has a vigorous life at the beginning of our record (see A. J. P. XIV 124). As prose advances, the imperative infinitive recedes until it finds one last refuge, the conservative pale of legal language. The infinitive of law and decree, of prescription, direction, recipe, the infinitive of Attic decrees and of Xenophon's Hunter's Own Book, is an independent infinitive. No leading verb is necessary. It is simply old-fashioned, like the long imperative in Latin, and suits old-fashioned things like laws, old-fashioned spheres like the sphere of vengence. But as often happens, the dependent sentence retains the original life. The modal future survives in *εἰ* with the future indicative, in the relative with the future indicative; and the imperative infinitive, if banished from the society<sup>1</sup> of the leading clause, is fully alive in dependent discourse. In its dependency on verbs of will and endeavor the supplementary infinitive is still an imperative. It is the imperative of *oratio obliqua*, a fact not sufficiently emphasized in the ordinary grammars, and carries that imperative force even into the relative dependencies. Nay, when the nominal nature of the infinitive resumes its rights and the infinitive is forced back into the ranks of the noun by the article, it does not forget its imperative functions. *περὶ τοῦ μὴ πιστεύειν* = *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πιστεύειν*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On fashions in imperative expressions see Kurrelmeyer's interesting treatise, 'The Historical Development of the Types of the First Person Plural Imperative in German.' (J. H. U. Diss.) Strassburg, Trübner, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato, Legg. 862 E: *παράδειγμα τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν* = *τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀδικεῖν*.

Still the infinitive was doomed. The final sentence encroached more and more on its province, first pure finality, 'in order that', then complementary finality, 'to'. We see *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως* encroaching on the territory that was all the infinitive's own. Even in Homer, even in conservative Pindar, we notice the beginnings of an invasion that was to sweep the infinitive away. *ὅτι* in Homer was a prophecy of what was to come—of the vast inroads on the territory of the *oratio obliqua* infinitive. The seeds of death are the same as the seeds of life. The marvellously mobile noun-verb perished from the face of the language. The Centaur was no more, and well might the modern Greek say: *ἤθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλυρίδαν ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον, φῆρ' ἀγρότερον, νοῦν ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον*. It is an enormous, an incalculable loss to any language and changes its whole aspect. It differentiates modern from ancient Greek as much as anything else. This is one of those mutilations to which one may resign oneself; but one cannot kiss a wooden hand though Goetz von Berlichingen may fight valiantly with an iron one.

In my previous paper I had something to say about the participle, which the ancients counted as a distinct part of speech, and was betrayed into some discussion of the negative **The Negatives.** *μή* with the participle. After *μή* had found its way into the logical conditional sentence and the scheme of the conditional was thus completed,<sup>1</sup> *μή* became something more than the negative of the will. We may put *ὁ μὴ συνιείς* (Pind. N. 4, 31) back into *μὴ συνιῆτω τις*, but for all that *ὁ μὴ συνιείς* is a substantivizing of *ὁ μὴ συνιῆ* of the old generic relative. But while the participle may do this, the adjective is not ready for it, certainly not the anarthrous adjective, and those who would write *μὴ φίλον* Pind. P. 1, 51 are sinning against the history of the language. Once admitted to the sphere of the participle, then to the sphere of the adjective, the negative *μή* went forth conquering and to conquer. It became the dominant negative of the articular participle, of the articular adjective, and finally usurped a wide domain in the later language. But it is distinctly to be remembered that whenever in the Greek of the good period difficulty arises with the negative, the true appeal is not to the artificial generic but to the natural imperative. Scratch the generic and you will find an imperative, as I have shown. But the shifting use of the negative with the participle

<sup>1</sup> Vierke ap. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 359.

is only one illustration of the importance of the negative particles. For the Greek negatives are eminently things of moods, if not of fancies, if I may adapt Conington's translation of 'varium et mutabile semper'. The modality of *οὐ* and *μή* helps us to understand other modalities as well. If we can bridge the gap between the imperative *μή* and the ideal *μή*, we can bridge the gap between the imperative subjunctive and the futural subjunctive; and the use of *οὐ* with the optative and *ἄν* helps us to understand the optative as a dream that has found an issue, be it gate of ivory or gate of horn, into the realm of reality.

Of the proethnic history of the Greek negatives I have little or nothing to say, for in these papers I do not deal with origins. Not that I underrate the importance of origins. Given the origin, and the multiform manifestations of the one principle are much simplified. But language is an organic growth under conditions, under conventions. We ourselves are the children of conventions and a return to the primitive may shock us. So we feel a decided shock when *οὐ* is combined with an abstract noun, we feel no shock when it is used with an infinitive; and yet there must have been a time when *οὐ διαλύσαι* would have been as repellent as *οὐ διάλυσσις*.<sup>1</sup> A conventional remnant of this repugnance we have in the rule that tells us how the Greek of all periods prefers *οὐ φημι* to *φημι οὐ*, *οὐκ οἶμαι* to *οἶμαι οὐ*, just as the Roman prefers *nego* to *aio non*. But as *οὐ* is very common in *oratio obliqua*, the statement of the grammars has no organic meaning. Let a man, however, read attentively and he will see how seldom the hateful misalliance is suffered in Homer. To *μή* with the infinitive there is not the same repugnance, because the infinitive was used as an imperative before it was used as a representative of the indicative.

The study of origins, the study of comparative grammar, helps us somewhat, as I have said. It is well to know, for instance, that in all likelihood *οὐ* = *haud*, for this identification helps forward the theory of adhaerescence. But the main service of it lies in the check that it gives to the hasty parallelism of *οὐ* with *non* and of *μή* with *ne*, which like most parallelisms between Greek and Latin runs a very little way; and practically the two negatives in Latin are of not much more use to the student of Greek syntax than the two negatives in Hebrew,

<sup>1</sup> See now H. A. Hamilton, *The Negative Compounds in Greek*, p. 31.

an entirely alien tongue. In fact, it is better to dissociate these Greek negative moods, as they may be called, from the Latin phenomena, lest we get into the tangle that has immeshed the treatment of the positive moods.<sup>1</sup> It is better simply to face the fact that the Greek negatives present peculiar problems, problems that demand psychological sympathy as well as historical knowledge for their solution, and even then seem to baffle the most sympathetic and the most learned, so that eminent scholars are not ashamed to enter their *non liquet* against puzzle after puzzle. Of course, certain formulae are on everybody's tongue.  $\sigma\upsilon$  is the negative of statement;  $\mu\eta$  is the negative of will or wish. And there is another formula not so tangible.  $\sigma\upsilon$  belongs to the world of actuality,  $\mu\eta$  to the world of ideality. But these two sets are not to be dissociated, as has been done, openly by some,<sup>2</sup> covertly by others. If we are to have any unity in the treatment, we must recognize the fact that the ideal comes not through vision but through will. 'Bring me up Samuel' is a command that precedes vision. The vision has to be conjured up, and it is a cardinal error to look for the genesis of the  $\mu\eta$  constructions elsewhere than in creative, or rather destructive, force. But the vision itself, as a vision, is actual, and all its negatives are  $\sigma\upsilon$ .<sup>3</sup> How important this distinction is we can see by the negative of the future. Originally modal, the future leads us to expect the negative  $\mu\eta$ . And yet in the simple sentence it refuses to take the negative  $\mu\eta$  except in the question, where any indicative can take it. The future has become a real indicative, and it is only in the dependent sentence that it retains its modal meaning. There is practically no  $\mu\eta$  with the future indicative in an imperative sense.<sup>4</sup> We must use the aorist subjunctive. In the simple sentence,  $\mu\eta$  with the future indicative in an imperative

<sup>1</sup>On *neque* and *neve* see A. J. P. XVIII 123; Giles, *Latin Negatives and their Use in Prohibitions*, Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc., 1901, pp. 12-3; W. K. Clement, A. J. P. XXII (1901), p. 90; Lattmann, cited by Golling, Z. 6. G 49, 275.

<sup>2</sup>See A. J. P. XII 520 (cited above, XXIII 13).

<sup>3</sup>The adhaerent character of  $\sigma\upsilon$  as contradistinguished from  $\mu\eta$ , stoutly denied by Aken, T. u. M. § 234 foll., seems destined to come to honor again. See Hamilton, l. c. As I hinted in the last number, I did not become acquainted with Aken's work until after the war between the States. If I had known his views earlier, I should have had to acknowledge as many obligations as there are coincidences in the results of our studies.

<sup>4</sup>See now S. C. G. § 270, or A. J. P. XV 117 foll.

sense has died without a sign. *οὐ* with the subjunctive, despite its obvious advantages, despite the possibility of fine distinctions between durative and complexive,<sup>1</sup> has given way to *οὐ* with the future, to *οὐκ ἄν* with the optative. It is only in the dependent sentence that the modal meaning reasserts itself. *ἦν μή* with subjunctive cannot keep out *εἰ μή* with future indicative, as *ἔσαν* with subjunctive has kept out *ἔτε* with the future indicative; and the final relative takes the old modal future indicative, which has a variant in the optative with *ἄν*, and which may be represented by the articular future participle, but not by the subjunctive, natural as it seems to those who have been accustomed to make a mechanical parallelism between Latin and Greek subjunctive.<sup>2</sup> All this has become a habit, and when we go back to the earlier world we take our latter-day phrasings with us. When Homer's use differs from standard prose, we feel the shock, but unless we are taught to observe we do not notice the pudencies of Homer, we do not notice the absence of certain familiar prose uses. We have to learn that there was a time when *μή* with the participle was a novelty, as we have to learn that at a late day *μή* with the participle is to be the rule. To us *μή* is the natural negative of the subjunctive and the Homeric *οὐ* with the subjunctive is a sport, so that we read with not a little surprise in an Homeric scholiast that the natural negative of the subjunctive is *οὐ*,<sup>3</sup> and we ask ourselves how such a notion could have entered his foolish brain. Shall we revise our conception of the subjunctive as an imperative? For imperative it is throughout, except when the contrast between *μή* and *οὐ* is brought out by the necessity of a double negative, as in *μή οὐ*. *μή* is the regular negative of the optative of wish, but the potential optative gives us pause; and see how in time the language reconciles itself to *οὐ* with the optative as a representative of the

<sup>1</sup> See now S. C. G. § 386.

<sup>2</sup> How natural it is may be seen from Bäumlein's discussion in his *Untersuchungen*, p. 195. That the Latin relative in so-called final relations is at all events originally potential is one of the points that emerge from the *ωκυδοῦς* that is preceding the new creation of Latin syntax. This potential (optative with *ἄν*) conception of the final relative in Latin is put forward in my L. G. of 1872 (§ 632 Rem.), with due caution.

<sup>3</sup> λέγεται ὡς τῶν πέντε ἐγκλίσεων αἱ μὲν δύο ἡγουν ἢ ὀριστικῇ καὶ ὑποτακτικῇ ἔχουσι φυσικὸν τὸ οὐ, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἡγουν ἢ προστακτικῇ καὶ εὐκτικῇ καὶ ἀπαρέμφατος τὸ μή. Schol. L on O 41.

indicative. But that is essentially a post-Homeric construction and follows in the wake of *oratio obliqua*.  $\alpha\iota$  with the infinitive was at one time, as we have seen, an abomination. The Greeks of a later period, the book Greeks, were puzzled by this. The only living optative to them, and a poor life it had, was the optative in wishes,  $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  and the like, and into their imitation of the standard language they slipped an occasional  $\mu\eta$  with *oratio obliqua* optative.<sup>1</sup> The negative of the imperative is  $\mu\eta$ . The mood is kingly and as a king it has long arms and rules large territories of dependencies, yet even there we find variations, even there a stubborn adversative participle refuses obedience, even there we have 'exceptions' that show how the primitive feeling breaks the bonds of conventionality. Nowhere do we feel a sharper thrill than when  $\alpha\iota$  encroaches on the sphere of the imperative  $\mu\eta$ . In post-Homeric Greek  $\mu\eta$  with the indicative in the dependent sentence is perfectly familiar to us; and we are ready enough with our  $\mu\eta$  in a generic sentence,  $\mu\eta$  in a conditional sense and the like, but to Homer,  $\mu\eta$  with the indicative was a liberty, a liberty due to passion, to hope and fear, to wish and will. The bounds of convention once broken, and Homer goes beyond the limits of classic syntax, and we find in him constructions that remind us of the period of decline, constructions that the scholiasts call by the hard name Alabandic (A. J. P. I 46). At any rate, when these constructions occur in the best period, we are all on hand with our little emendations, we hustle the offending  $\mu\eta$  out of Antiphon with Jebb, we hustle it out of Theognis. We prefer an unnatural stress in the one case, a false sphere in the other. We forget the possible intrusion of passion, a possibility that makes all impossibilities possible.

In all this matter of the negative, the sphere is of especial importance. How small a part does the  $\mu\eta$  of apprehension play in pre-Platonic literature, that  $\mu\eta$  of apprehension, which, like the the Latin *vide ne*, amounts to a cautious assertion. It is not foreign to Homer and yet Homer uses it in a way in which the fear, the apprehension is still felt. In Plato it is little better than a formula, an Homeric construction rising like a lost river in Attic speech,<sup>2</sup> and in later Greek it is used mechanically. But the Platonic use, the later Greek use must not en-

<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr, Apol. I 26, 21.

<sup>2</sup> See now S. C. G. § 385 or Weber, *Entwicklungsgesch. der Absichtssätze*, p. 192.



courage us to accept an explanation based on the practically positive character of the formula. *οὐ μή* cannot be treated as *οὐ* + positive.<sup>1</sup> The *οὐ* would necessarily rouse the negative element of *μή* into active life and, besides, the history of the independent *μή* itself should teach us caution.

If, however, the tentative *μή* with the subjunctive is old, as we have seen, *οὐ μή* may be as old. The age of the articular infinitive is not to be judged by its emergence in literature, nor the age of *οὐ μή* by its first appearance. Parmenides uses it, but he damns himself thereby as an epic poet as he damns himself by his *μή* with the participle and by the articular infinitive. Professor Lawton, who has no very good opinion of grammarians, says that Parmenides sags in his flight. The grammarian says that he has not the epic wing for the flight. As students of style we need not go into the origin of these things, we need not enter upon analyses at all. To us they are aesthetic elements and we say that *οὐ μή* is a stranger to the earlier literature, to the more aristocratic literature. It is absent from the epos and it is a sin to do what some critics have done and foist it on Pindar's sublimities. We can almost hear the poet saying with his wonted aloofness: *ἀφίσταμαι*. In an excited Paionian strain (O. 2, 6), he was guilty of a *-τίον* form, but only once, and in his hot youth he was guilty of a genial Doric articular proper noun (P. 10, 57), but only once. Guilty of *οὐ μή διώξω* (O. 3, 45), never. *οὐ μή* belongs to the dialogue of the wrangling mart; it belongs to the drama, by which, it would seem, so many vulgarities have found their way into classic society. Parmenides was so much in earnest that he forgot himself. That is all. History has no need of it and the orators use it sparingly. The elevation of the *bema* carried with it certain conventionalities which even common creatures like Aischines, if indeed Aischines was a common creature, had to respect. 'Keep your hand snugly within your *himation*,' said to himself the ex-actor of dignitaries.' 'Don't point. Don't fling about your articular proper nouns.' 'Don't make free with *οὐ μή*.' Why, even Demosthenes, who dared everything,

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XVII 516.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἐνδόν ἔχοντα λέγειν (cf. I, 25) was a part of Aischines' stage *σεμνότης*. See his statue at Naples.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. P. XI 486. Franke's statistic seems to be shamefully inexact. Professor W. K. Clement wrote me at the time that he found 63 cases where Timarchos' name is mentioned, two of them with the article.

is shy of it, and his master Isaios uses it once only, and then in one of those dramatic bits that help to make us understand how he was the fountain of the power of Demosthenes. Turn to the LXX, turn to the New Testament, and in half an hour you will gather up more *οὐ μὴ*'s than are to be found in all classic literature. It has become the cheap emphasis of a showy race and a degenerate time (A. J. P. XVIII 460, 461). In the same line of degeneracy is the frequent use of *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά* in such writers as Polybios, in the same line the incessant *οὐ Δία* of later essayists, who swear where swearing is out of the question;<sup>1</sup> and it is only by contrast with their exaggerated uses that we learn to appreciate the exquisite reserve of the best period.

As to the other combination *μὴ οὐ*, that is perfectly legitimate after verbs of fear and apprehension, but it has little scope in Homer. It is not overcommon anywhere. It belongs so entirely to momentary needs, to dramatic pressure, that it does not readily pass over into the formulae of the *oratio obliqua*. *μὴ οὐ* with optative expressing *μὴ οὐ* with subjunctive is suspicious. Out of this *μὴ οὐ* with the subjunctive grow the other combinations *μὴ οὐ* with infinitive and participle, Attic constructions which seem to be possible only to the portentous mobility of both the thought and speech of that marvellous strain. It is the Ionic blood that does it. It is the Ionic spirit that does it. And we are not surprised to find it in Herodotos. Modern commentators get their brains muddled and their tongues twisted with *μὴ οὐ*. It was a formula like *quin*, of which perhaps no Roman could have given a rational account; and it may be that the Attics were tangled in their own negatives, though one sooner distrusts one's own skill in unwinding the skein than that of the Attics in winding it. Of course, *μὴ οὐ* became a formula, and was used in later Greek just as any other formula, but in the better times there is always something more than a formula. It is never used except when a problem of practical interest arises, except when there is an *οὐ* of fact or statement to be met by a *μὴ* of will.<sup>2</sup>

The modal particles *ἄν* and *κε(ν)* figure largely in the study of the Greek moods, and as *ἄν* and *κε(ν)* were undoubtedly of different origin, it might be possible to note stylistic differences in the varying use of these particles when they occur side by side as in Homer. The inquiry

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, De conscribenda hist. II 19 R.: *ὅτι γὰρ ἀληθὴ ἐστί κἀν ἐπωμοσάμην, εἰ ἄσπεϊον ἦν ὄρκον ἐντιθέσθαι συγγραμμάτι.*

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P. VII 170.

is a legitimate inquiry, but so far no one has succeeded in differentiating the two throughout to the satisfaction of the world.<sup>1</sup> *κε(ν)*, whatever its virtues, is obsolete, is dialectic. In the literature of the Attic time, it is as dead as *ῥῥα*. It belongs to the unreturning past of the epos. It fades out before *ἄν* even there, so that in looking over the whole range of Greek we can disregard *κε(ν)* as dialectic and concentrate our attention on *ἄν*. Now if we follow the history of *ἄν* we find a gradual growth of formulae that remind us of the behavior of 'ever' and 'soever' in English, translations of *ἄν* which are something more than translations. In the simple sentence there are particles to which *ἄν* nestles close, there are sequences in which *ἄν* has its favorite position. *οὐκ ἄν* with optative runs trippingly from the tongue. *οὐ, optative with ἄν*, is a harder saying. It is hard to separate *ἄν* from the love of the negative, not because the negative is negative but because it is modal. No wonder that it prefers the negative to the infinitive, when one remembers how shy *ἄν* was of the infinitive, what a stretch it seemed to carry into *oratio obliqua* the finer shades of *oratio recta*.<sup>2</sup> But it is in the compound sentence that *ἄν* shows most clearly this gradual adhaerescence. First in the temporal particles. *ὅτ' ἄν* becomes *ὅταν*, *ἐπεὶ ἄν* becomes *ἐπὶν*, *ἐπὶν*. *ἐπειδὴν* is born all at once. The original *ὅτε* with the subjunctive is after a while allowed no standing room. The temporal particles of limit, 'while', 'until', resist the process longest. *ἕως* and *πρίν* are found here and there without *ἄν*. Like *ῥῥα*, they have rights of finality. 'Until' may carry with it purpose and pure purpose will not have *ἄν*. But they too succumb to formula and *πρίν ἄν* and *ἕως ἄν* alone are orthodox. The relative yields, as the conditional yields, to the encroachment, and distinctions that are still discernible in Homer are swept away in the democratization of the language. We lift our eyebrows and sigh when we find *ὅτι* with the indicative in later Greek. What else could one expect of a generation of levellers? And then again the old usages reappear in spheres from which they had almost formally been excluded and shock the uniformitarian sense that we all possess to a greater or less degree. So the omission of *ἄν* where *ἄν* is expected always gives rise to feats of commentatorial agility, and the problem is met in different ways. Sometimes it is set down to the scribe and haplography lends its ready aid to restore

<sup>1</sup>A. J. P. III 446.<sup>2</sup>See A. J. P. XXIII 13.

the missing particle, though the restoration rends our ears by the reduplication of an unaesthetic sound—rends our ears and perhaps unnecessarily, *ἀναγκαίως*, as we might say, as the Greeks would hardly have dared to say. Sometimes when the metre is recalcitrant or there is no reason to suspect the tradition, we see survival, we see a certain self-willed individuality. *εἰ* with subjunctive in tragedy, *δε* with subjunctive in tragedy—these are not alien to the epic note which we hear in tragedy, now in vocabulary, now in form. Surely *δε* with the subjunctive in tragedy is no worse than the occasional omission of an augment, and *δε* with subjunctive in Thukydides is more readily comprehensible than it would be in Isokrates, though hardly acceptable even in Thukydides.<sup>1</sup> Nor are all spheres of *αν* to be judged alike, as we have seen in the case of *εως* and *πρίν*, where the omission of *αν* may have offended the Attic ear as little as an occasional subjunctive would offend our own generation, which seems to be bent on the destruction of a mood that to most people is too vague to serve any useful purpose. And yet so subtle a thing is language that the revival of an old formula may be attended with a new meaning. When *εἰ* with subjunctive revisits the glimpses of the moon, it is not necessarily generic, as we find it in Homer and in Pindar, but it reminds us of the other use of *εἰ* with the subjunctive, the interrogative use, in which *εἰ* with subjunctive is = *εἰ δεῖ* + infinitive, so that *εἰ* with subjunctive is in tone very much like *εἰ* with future indicative.<sup>2</sup> Hardest of all to admit is the potential optative without *αν*. It has its rights in the older language, but when we leave Homer every example is suspicious. The imperative formula provides for most of the few instances, for in the imperative sense optative and optative with *αν* meet. Then, again, we say that the key of *αν* may dominate a long complex and if *αν* is found in the preceding sentence the situation is relieved. Euphony, as has already been hinted, may be at work. The repetition of syllables was an abomination to the Greek ear, and we, who take such liberties with the double sibilant in the possessive case, ought for justice' sake to be charitable to omission of *αν* in poetry or in carefully articulated prose. In Pindar's famous *οὐ ξείναν ἰκοίμαν γαῖαν*

<sup>1</sup> See the commentators on 4, 17, 2: *οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι*, which sounds like a proverb in ischiorrhogic metre.

<sup>2</sup> Transactions of Am. Phil. Ass., 1876, p. 8.

ἄλλων (P. 4, 118), there are -ων's enough and to spare. And yet there are unannealed optatives still left to torture the grammatical soul with 'remote deliberatives' and the like. By the student of aesthetics all these adherences to an obsolete type, all these departures from established formulae are to be regarded as so many notes of style; and our critical conclusions must be swayed in a large measure by the character of the author, the character of the department.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## II.—WORD-ACCENT IN EARLY LATIN VERSE.

### SECOND PAPER.

#### IV.

There is one other syllable that needs to be especially mentioned—the short penult after the accent. This syllable shows the same definiteness and accuracy in the use which is made of its quantity in the verse, as the accented syllable. Being short, it is, of course, when used singly, restricted to the theses, but from a comparison of these it appears very clearly that the quantity of this syllable must have been more definite in the writer's mind than that of other unaccented syllables of the word. For instance, we find these penults in the senarii of the Trinummus distributed among the theses as follows:<sup>1</sup>

II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
27	6	54	1	288

A comparison of these figures with those of the distribution of short accented syllables among the same theses of the same senarii shows plainly the similarity in character between the two syllables for the purposes of verse:

II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
31	9	45	4	246

As will be seen, both kinds of syllables are found especially in those theses which in Greek were pure. More than anywhere else are they found in the last thesis, which in Latin also is invariably short. In fact, among the 553 endings of senarii in the Trinummus there are but 19 cases where the last thesis is not filled by one or the other of these two stable syllables. For comparison and contrast we may add a table showing the distribution of the short final syllables of words among the theses of the senarii in the Trinummus:

<sup>1</sup> This syllable can not, of course, occur in the first thesis of the senarius, except in the case of a resolution.

II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
46	76	51	31	18

If, as we concluded in an earlier connection, the accented syllable is the centre of attention in the word, it will not appear strange that a syllable standing by its side, with a fixed relation to it and to the end of the word, and invariably of the same quantity, should have this quantity more clearly conceived and more consistently treated than is the case with other syllables of the word. It surely has a great advantage over the syllables before the accent, which stand in no such fixed relation to the beginning of the word and whose quantity is not always the same, and a still greater advantage over the final syllable, which is sometimes nearer and sometimes farther from the centre of attention, has no uniformity of quantity in the different words, and is, moreover, in most cases, subject, even in the same word, to the numerous modifications of conjugation or declension.

## V.

With this knowledge of the characteristics common to the accented syllable and the post-accentual penult, we are able to explain several well-known peculiarities of early Latin iambic and trochaic verse in a more satisfactory manner than is generally done.

1. When an iambic or pyrrhic word stands at the end of an iambic or trochaic verse in early Latin, it is hardly ever preceded by another iambic word, or by a cretic word or one with a cretic ending, that is, the verse practically never ends with  $|\cup - |\cup \simeq$  "malum dabunt," or with  $- \cup - |\cup \simeq$  "epistulam date." Almost equally rare are the corresponding endings with elision, like "malum accidit" and "epistulam abdidit." In the 553 iambic senarii of the *Trinummus*, for example, there are but four endings of the former class, in which a short accented syllable fills the fifth thesis, and there is but a single one of the latter class, in which a short postaccentual penult stands in that place. In the 617 iambic senarii of the *Phormio* there are two examples of the former kind and one of the latter.

Now, it is a fact that the fifth thesis of the iambic senarius (as well as the seventh of the iambic octonarius and the sixth of the trochaic septenarius) has fewer short syllables generally than any of the other theses. So in the 553 senarii of the *Trinummus*

only 58 of these theses are short, or less than 12 per cent of the total number (not counting resolutions). In the 617 senarii of the Phormio there are but 57 short syllables in the fifth thesis, a trifle over 10 per cent of the single syllables in this position.

It is also true that the proportion of shorts in this position decreased as time went on, especially in tragedy. In the 98 iambic senarii of Ennius there are 17; in the 265 of Accius there are but 15 short syllables in the fifth thesis. In the 118 senarii of Cicero there is but one, and in all of Seneca's tragedies there are but very few. In fact, the development went so far that the grammarians finally set it down as one of the rules of tragic verse, that the fifth thesis must always be long.<sup>1</sup> But the movement is noticeable in the iambic senarii of other classes of literature also, though it seems to have progressed more gradually in these. As against the 10 per cent and 12 per cent of short syllables found in the fifth thesis in Plautus, Terence and Afranius, the fragments of Novius have one short to 26 long syllables, the fragments of Laberius have four to 56, the first book of Phaedrus has 22 to 330.

Whatever may have caused this slight difference in development between the tragic senarii and the others, in the early time at any rate, the time with which we are concerned, this difference did not exist. In the beginning, tragic and comic verse agree in having everywhere a smaller number of short syllables in the fifth thesis than in the other theses. Both conditions however, the early state as well as the later development, merely show that there must have been a considerable tendency at work to reduce the number of short syllables, i. e. of syllables without prominence, and to increase the number of long, or prominent, syllables in this thesis.

If this was the case, the exclusion from the fifth thesis of both short accented syllables and of short syllables after the accent, while all other short syllables are quite freely admitted, can not be explained by the theory of accentual stress. For if accent means stress, a short accented syllable will, of course, have more prominence for purposes of verse, than a short final syllable or a short syllable before the accent, and ought therefore to be found in this particular position with more frequency than these other short syllables. But the opposite of this is true. While among

<sup>1</sup> Diomedes, p. 507; Quintilian IX, 4, 111.



the long syllables found in this position, those with the accent are more numerous than the final syllables or the syllables before the accent, among the short syllables found in the same place there are hardly any with the accent, though the other syllables just mentioned, the final syllables and those before the accent, are well represented. The figures for the senarii of the Trinummus are:

	LONG.	SHORT.	½ SHORT.
Accented	173	4	2+
Before the accent	66	22	25
Final	135	31	19—

These peculiarities are, on the other hand, easily explained on the theory that the quantity of the accented syllable was more clearly defined in the mind of the writer than that of the other syllables mentioned. For if long syllables were preferred in the fifth thesis, the accented syllable of the word could be best relied on to furnish long syllables and to avoid short ones, while those other syllables whose quantity was less clearly defined in the mind, would just as naturally furnish a greater number of syllables whose quantity is, on closer observation, found in reality to be different from that which was preferred.

Short penults after the accent would, of course, be excluded from the fifth thesis as well as short accented syllables, because their quantity was, as we saw, recognized as short with the same clearness as that of accented syllables.

2. Another peculiarity of early Latin verse which is inadequately explained by the theory of accentual stress is that known as "iambic shortening"—when an iambic sequence of syllables is employed instead of a pyrrhic sequence as a substitute for a single syllable in either arsis or thesis.

The theory of stress-accent assumes that the "shortening" of the second of two syllables in such a sequence is brought about mainly by the stress of the accent on the first syllable or after the second syllable. But if the accent is sufficiently vigorous to accomplish this, it is rather strange that both pyrrhic sequences with the accent on the first of the two syllables, and iambic sequences with the accent thus placed are found without distinction in the arses and theses alike. Although the accent might appear in some parts of the verse, at first sight at least, to be a reinforcement of the ictus, and naturally to coincide with the same, it

surely does not, even at first sight, appear to play that part in the present instance, even though, according to those who believe in the stress-accent, this is one of the very places where the influence of this accent is most unmistakably shown.

If the accent adds so much to a short syllable by way of reinforcement of prominence, that this syllable is felt to be equal to a long syllable by its side which does not have the accent or, which amounts to the same thing, if the accent can centre enough effort upon its short syllable to neutralize the long quantity of the syllable by its side and make it seem no more prominent than the short syllable which has the accent, and if the accent can do this unaided by the ictus, then the accent itself clearly bestows as much upon its syllable in the way of prominence as unaided long quantity can do, and should, therefore, be recognized equally with length of quantity as a factor in the construction of the verse. But of course this is utterly out of harmony with the actual facts of early verse, as we found in an earlier connection, when we saw that the last thesis of the iambic senarius or octonarius, or of the trochaic septenarius, which never has a long syllable but is kept absolutely pure, has many more accented syllables in it than any of the other theses, in none of which are the circumstances so favorable or the efforts so great to maintain this purity.

Unless we are to assume, then, that the accented syllable always had a strong stress in some parts of the verse, and never had any appreciable stress at all in other parts, we are compelled to abandon the stress-accentual explanation of "iambic shortening" as inconsistent with the remaining facts of the verse. This means that we are reduced, in making a statement about the circumstances under which the second syllable of a resolution may be long instead of short, to saying that it is either before or after the ictus, which, strictly speaking, means nothing more than that when an iambic sequence takes the place of a pyrrhic sequence, it occurs either in the arsis or in the thesis.

But we can go farther than this. Whenever two short syllables occupy the place usually filled by a single syllable, it is the first of the two shorts which has the larger share of attention and which stands out most clearly in the mental image. This is sufficiently proved, first, by the fact that when two such short syllables stand in the arsis, the ictus falls upon the first of the two, and in the second place, and especially, by the fact that it is the second one of the two syllables, whose quantity is neglected.

This being the case, it is of course but natural that those syllables of the word, whose quantity is most clearly defined in the mental image, should regularly stand in the first of the two places.

We must, however, not forget that, though the character of the second of the two syllables is less distinct in consciousness than that of the first, the second was nevertheless invariably a short in the original, a fact which, as we saw in the case of the inner theses, which are pure in Greek iambic and trochaic verse, would in itself have a strong tendency to keep the quantity of this syllable in the Latin copy from being altogether neglected. While the first syllable of a resolution, with its unvarying brevity in Latin as well as in Greek, may well be compared with the last thesis of the iambic senarius or trochaic septenarius, the second of the two syllables of a resolution may be said in Latin to have been situated somewhat like the other theses that were pure in Greek but not altogether so in Latin—the second and fourth of the iambic senarius and the first, third and fifth of the trochaic septenarius.

Still the circumstances, even in the iambic and trochaic verses themselves, were by far more favorable to purity for the second syllable of the resolution than they were for the single syllables in the inner theses. The latter syllables had powerful odds to contend against in the fact that their fellows in the outer theses, even in the Greek models, nowhere suffered any restrictions as to quantity. The tendency would then naturally be, and actually was, toward perpetuation of the impure single theses, inner as well as outer, except in the case of the one at the end of the verses mentioned, which never was faulty either in Latin or in Greek. In addition to that, these already far from unfavorable circumstances of the second syllable of the resolution became positively favorable to its purity when, by the introduction of the hexameter with its much stricter adherence to Greek metrical rules, Ennius furnished not only an object-lesson, but also a critical standard for the construction of pyrrhic sequences.

Hence, while the faulty single syllables in the theses became permanent, so far as the republican drama was concerned, the faulty resolutions gradually grew less and less, and finally disappeared entirely. Cicero's iambic trimeters may be taken as a sort of land-mark. In the inner theses his verses are more like the loosely constructed lines of the Latin drama than they are like his Greek originals, but his resolutions are all strictly composed of two short syllables.

With these peculiarities of development in mind, we shall be better able to understand a few of the phenomena incident to it.

In the beginning, as we saw, the first syllable of a resolution stood on about the same level, as to quantity, with the last thesis of an iambic senarius or trochaic septenarius, i. e. its demand for a short syllable was absolute. The second part of the resolution was, to start with, situated very much as the rest of the inner theses were, i. e. it had a considerable preference for a short syllable, but frequently obtained a long one, especially when it was one of those syllables whose actual quantity was not so clearly defined in the mental image of the word. In the second part of the resolution, as well as in those inner theses occupied by a single syllable, actual investigation shows a much smaller proportion of metrical faults among the accented syllables than among the syllables in other parts of the word. A faulty post-accentual penult is of course, in the case of the resolution, impossible, since this penult always has the required short quantity.

The favorite syllables for the pyrrhic sequence are then, as we should expect, the accented syllable for the first with the post-accentual penult for the second of the two syllables.

If the first syllable of a resolution is accented and the second is a final, as will be the case in dissyllabic words, the chance for faults in the second syllable will be very great, since the final syllable of the word is naturally the least stable of all. But these faults were not easy to avoid, simply because the frequent use of pyrrhic words, and consequently of their iambic substitutes, could not be avoided without unnatural effort. In addition, there is the fact that in a number of much-used dissyllabic words—*ego, mihi, sibi, tibi, ibi, ubi* and many imperatives of the first, second and fourth conjugations—the final syllable, neither in early Latin nor later, even under favorable conditions, ever passed beyond the stage of wavering between long and short. We should not be surprised, therefore, when we find frequent faults of quantity in resolutions composed of dissyllabic words, even after such faults have practically disappeared in all other resolutions.

A resolution made up of the post-accentual penult and the final syllable of a word would be open to the same objections as the resolution just mentioned. We do not find this formation, even in the earliest time, in words which are composed of or which end in three short syllables, and which thus give an opportunity of correctly forming the resolution without using the final syllable

of the word at all. If, on the other hand, two short syllables at the end of a word are preceded by a long syllable in the same word, i. e. when the word is dactylic or ends in a dactyl, there is no such opportunity of escaping the unstable final syllable, and resolutions composed of the last two syllables of this class of words are found to some extent in Plautus and some others of the early dramatists.<sup>1</sup>

But the resolution last mentioned must have been felt to be inconvenient for the reason given, that it had the unstable final syllable in that place which was most liable to admit a false quantity, and for still another, which must have been quite as potent for prevention as that. In the form of resolution in question, the prominent place—in case of an arsis, the place under the ictus—is filled by the post-accentual penult. Now this is a syllable which in no other conceivable case could or did stand in a prominent position in the verse or under the ictus. In this respect, indeed, being invariably short, it differed from every other syllable of the word. The slighter the weight or quantity of the syllables customarily employed in a given place in the verse, the greater is the tendency to fill the place with the post-accentual penult. This syllable is nowhere found singly in the arses, and in the theses the senarii of the Trinummus, as already mentioned in another connection, show the following distribution:

II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
27	6	54	1	288

That these various conditions, working together, should, by the time of Terence, have succeeded in making a resolution composed of the last two syllables of a dactylic word practically impossible, is surely quite natural. Besides, very good use could be made of such a word at the end of the verse, and also in the middle whenever the final syllable became long by position.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The comparatively small number of resolutions constructed in this way is due to the fact that, apart from the end of the iambic and trochaic verses, dactylic words and words with dactylic endings are of rare occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> The explanation usually offered of the peculiarities displayed by early Latin iambic and trochaic verse in the treatment of words composed of, or ending in, a tribrach or a dactyl, though plausible at first sight, is really open to insuperable objections. What can the theory of accentual stress do to explain the fact that Plautus never has the ictus on the second syllable of a tribrach word or ending, while he allows it on the second syllable of a dactylic

Such a manipulation as that just mentioned was, of course, not possible in any pyrrhic sequence of syllables that stood before the accent in a polysyllabic word. Resolutions of the latter kind are, therefore, necessarily found at all stages of the republican drama, and faulty iambic sequences are found occasionally used in this part of the word as long as they are found at all. Such resolutions do not, of course, play an important part, simply because the long words that make them possible are of comparatively infrequent occurrence in speech.

As to the cause of the faulty use of the iambic instead of the pyrrhic sequence, it simply remains in conclusion to state explicitly what has already been implied, namely that in the beginning the faulty use of a long syllable in a resolution was due to the same conditions as the faulty use of a long syllable anywhere in the verse, and that it was merely the result of the special circumstances which have been mentioned, that the faults in the former case disappeared earlier than they did in the latter.

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word? The latter case, where a long syllable with the accent is thrust into thesis, is surely more objectionable than the first case from the standpoint of the theory that the accent reinforced the quantity.

Moreover, the scarcity of words like "tempóra," with the ictus on the second syllable, turns from an argument for the accentual theory to an argument against it, when we consider that the occurrence of the same class of words with the ictus on the first syllable and with the last two syllables in thesis—a most perfect state of things according to the accentual theory—is even more rare.

### III.—PIERRE D'URTE AND THE BASK LANGUAGE.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE TRANSLATOR.

Some account of Pierre d'Urte may be seen in *La Revue de Linguistique*, Tome 30, p. 221. We there learn that he was alive and, apparently, in London, in October 1719; was probably identical with a person registered at St. Jean de Luz in 1669; and also that he contributed to the collection of versions of the Lords Prayer published by John Chamberlayne<sup>2</sup> at Amsterdam in 1715. It is to Professors J. Vinson and J. Rhys that we owe the discovery and collection of the few scraps of information about the man that have been transmitted. It was the latter who reported the existence of his manuscripts to Prince L. L. Bonaparte, from whom their fame spread in Baskland. No mention of him has been found in the archives of the French Protestants in Canterbury. It is likely, however, that, when the registers of burials in England during the 18th century shall have been published, one will find out where he lies buried. More may be said about his name than about his life. It is composed seemingly of the French 'de' and 'Urte' the name of a Bask village, which is subject to inundations from the river Adour, the eastern boundary of Baskland, and has almost lost its proper language in presence of Gascon and French. This name is generally modernised into 'Ahurte', either by the prefixing of French 'à' or by analogy from 'aurthen', = 'horno, hoc anno'. Jean de Perochegi in his '*Origen de la Nacion Vascongada y su Lengua*' (53. c. in M. J. Vinsons very useful Bibliography, Paris, 1891 and '98) thus defines the word, p. 8, "El nombre de Hurte ò de Hurte-à, quiere decir 'Diluvio', y aora se

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. The Earliest Translation of the Old Testament into the Basque Language (a fragment), by Pierre d'Urte of St. Jean de Luz, circ. 1700. Edited from a MS in the Library of Shirburn Castle,\* Oxfordshire, by Llewelyn Thomas, M. A. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1894).

\* As King Alfred the Great mentions the Wáscan it is interesting to know that the liber de Hyda is kept there, not far from d'Urtes Vasconian books.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. H. E. Salter, Vicar of Shirburn, by Watlington Railway Station (G. W. R.), says that this gentleman did not belong to the family of the same name whose epitaphs exist in Shirburn Church.

advierde que tambien significa 'año', y como el Diluvio universal durò un año, se saca la consecuencia de haver quedado synonymos ambos nombres y reducidos à una sola voz 'Hurte-à' que comprende 'año', y 'diluvio'." But Pouvreau in his precious, but never published, Dictionary of 1665, has 'dur' as a synonym of 'ur' meaning 'water' or 'river'. Sometimes, in Scottish English for instance, 'water' means 'river'. 'Dur', of course, is Keltic for water. The name of Durango in Biscaya, as Andres de Poça (Bilbao, 1597) records, has been thought to mean "the other side of the water." Now 'urte' is but the infinitive or verbal noun of 'ur'. It means 'watering', 'flowing', 'flooding', 'leaking', 'going out', 'running out', and these ideas describe a year no less than an 'inundation' or 'flood'. So the real, inner, original meaning of 'ur' ('water') is probably 'that which runs out and melts away'. It explains the Baskish word for 'blue', 'grey', namely 'urdiña', which signifies 'worthy of water', 'like water', 'water colour'. The second element in this comes, like 'dina' in old Portuguese, from the Latin 'digna'. It seems to give an etymon to some Latin and Greek words. In the Proverbs ('Refranes y Sentencias') printed in Pamplona in 1596, p. 48, 'hurte' translates 'salir' speaking of 'smoke issuing'; p. 49 it is used of 'a bear leaving' his cave; p. 33 of a 'birote', or 'arrow coming out' of its quiver. It also occurs there several times in the sense of 'año', 'year'. In Exodos 'urthuco' is the future participle of the radical meaning 'melt', 'become liquid'.

#### THE MERITS OF D'URTES VERSION.

The literary charm of d'Urtes style is considerable. His translation may safely be used as an easy book for beginners, being on the whole very carefully and grammatically written, and extremely faithful to the French. This, of course, is to be understood after making the corrections here below indicated, and already partly carried out in the 2nd edition of the Genesis. He may have used as its basis "La Sainte Bible. A Geneve, Pour la Compagnie des Libraires. M. D. CCV," which has the Press-Mark 3025 g. 10. B at the British Museum; or the edition of D. Martin, published at Amsterdam in 1707, which has the Shelf-Mark Bib. Fr. 1707. b. I, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. He seems to have followed with slavish fidelity those peculiarities of J. Calvins text which are noticed by readers who are familiar with the English Authorised Version of 1611. His language is



still current in the northern part of French Baskland, the region called 'le Labourd', in Baskish 'Laphurdi', i. e. 'robbers (or ? 'pirates') horde', a name which recalls "the pirate coast," a part of the Arabian littoral of the Persian Gulf. But there is no writer living who handles it so well as he did. His book has provided some additions to the Word-books. It is linguistically superior, to the translation of Captain Duvoisin (London, 1859). The Basks ought to be very grateful to the Earl of Macclesfield, to Mr. Llewelyn Thomas, (both now dead) and to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who arranged for its publication. The Rev. J. I. de Arana, the well-known Gipuskoan author and Jesuit Priest, who had been censor of Baskish books for the Bishop of Vitoria, and who died at Oña, Provincia de Burgos, at the end of 1896, wrote to me on receiving a copy of the Oxford edition: "Mr. Thomas a fait un grand bien à la littérature Basque en éditant l'écrit de St. Jean de Luz, circa 1700. Avec toutes ses imperfections et négligences, ce livre Euskarien montre un langage Basque si fluide et naturel, comme on parle encore dans les petits peuples' près de Sara et St. Jean de Luz. Après avoir lu quelques pages, notre Philologue et Bascophile de Navarre, le Père Julio Zejador, est de la même opinion." Don J. G. Oregi, a priest at St. Sebastián, formerly professor of Heuskarian in the Instituto de Gipuskoa wrote as follows: "Mucho me alegro de la publicación del Genesis y Exodo de d'Urte." It was from him that I learned in 1887 that the d'Urte MSS existed. Yet at least one Bask priest, the Curé of Ahetze, burned the small edition of the Genesis! The defects of the translation suggest that the author was ignorant of natural history and weak at genealogies, that it was made in extreme old age, when he was already partly deaf and blind; that it was made under dictation, and written down from dictation, and never finally revised by d'Urte himself. As Roger Bieston says: "In Genesis written, the matter evident is". D'Urtes Baskish shews slight traces of the influence of the adjoining Gipuskoan dialect. His grammar bears the date 1712. It is the oldest surviving Baskish grammar written in the French language, but badly arranged. It was published in 1900, with many misprints, at Bagnères de Bigorre. Its editor knows very

<sup>1</sup> A Castilian idiom, 'pueblo', which in Baskish has acted in the opposite direction, giving to 'erri' = 'town', 'contry' the sense of 'people' or 'inhabitants of the town'.

little Baskish, and has never seen the original. In it d'Urte makes no allusion to his Biblical translation. This fact probably shews that this was made later. The translation escaped the notice of the compilers of "The Bible of Every Land" (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons), which has a preface dated 1860, the very year when the library at Shirburn Castle was catalogized.<sup>1</sup> D'Urtes version can hardly be considered a theological question, except as adding to our catalogs under the heading 'Genesis'. One might look for the controversial bearing of his rendering of Gen. c. 3, v. 15, where Calvin has: "Et je mettrai de l'inimitié entre toi et la femme, entre ta semence et la semence de la femme: cette 'semence' te brisera la tête, et tu lui briseras le talon": d'Urte puts: "Eta eçarrico diat etssaitassuna hire eta Emaztearen artean, hire haciaren eta Emaztearen haciaren artean: haren haciac lehertuco daroc hiri burua eta hic lehertuco dioc hari thalogna." In this 'haren' means 'her'; 'haciac' is 'the seed' in the active case, and 'hari' translates 'lui', which grammatically may mean 'to him' or 'to her'. The context would make this pronoun refer here to 'the seed'. Duvoisin in this verse, of course, follows the Romish interpretation. Owing to the neutrality of Heuskarian pronouns, d'Urte is here as impartial as the original Hebrew. His translation is good seed for Papists and Protestants alike. I had to satisfy the Secretary of the Trinitarian Bible Society upon this head, before he would undertake the reprint of Etórkia.

#### NOTANDA.

I. VARIATIONS IN SPELLING. G. c. 14, v. 3 'Siddingo', but vv. 8 and 10 rightly 'Siddingo'. G. c. 14, v. 11. 'Guci' and 'Guzti' are the same, and mean 'all'. G. c. 16, vv. 1 and 3. 'Eiiptuarra' is the equivalent of 'Ejipciarra'. D'Urte spelt 'Ejiptu' or 'Eiipthu' as a rule. But I think in one or two places he used the 'g'.

Harismendi p. 57, and Materre p. 333 and 359 put a 'g' into it. G. c. 17, summary, 'yende' becomes in verse 27, 'jende', elsewhere 'iende'. G. c. 19, v. 24 'uri' = 'rain' is now generally spelt 'euri', but one hears 'uri' sometimes, e. g. at Ibarra sur Nivelle. Harismendi p. 93 has 'vrioc' = 'you rains there'. 'Uri' also means 'town', 'village'. Perhaps 'Eugi' in Navarra comes from 'euri' = 'uri'. G. c. 19, v. 27; c. 20, v. 8; c. 21, v. 14; c. 31, v. 55 we find 'goiz',

<sup>1</sup> It needs no arguing to shew that 'cataloguing' is a barbarous word. 'Cataloging' would be better.

but 'goiç' is d'Urtes general spelling. In means 'rising' (of the sun), 'morn', 'early'. G. c. 19, vv. 33, 34, 35 'etçan' and 'etcin' are used as mere variants. Señor F. de Arrese ta Beitia, poet and carpenter of Ochandiano in Biscaya, told me that the former means to 'lie face downwards' and the latter to 'lie on ones back'. The distinction is as fanciful as that of Canon Inchauspe who has written that the directive case-ending 'ra'='to', 'into' is used when mere motion 'towards' is implied, and its equivalent 'rát' when 'staying in the position reached' is intended. Over-definition is sometimes as dangerous as utter vagueness. Let the old authors decide! Harismendi p. 150, has 'etcite' for 'setting' of the sun and 'etcin oherat'='go to bed'. Materre, p. 323, has 'etcin çaité'='liethou down into bed'. G. c. 22, v. 2. 'bakhótcha' and v. 12 'bakhoitça' both translate 'unique'. G. c. 26 'Abimelequec' is also written 'Abimelecquec'.

G. c. 48, 16. 'Isaquen', but generally 'Isaaquen'='of Isaac'.

G. cc. 49 and 50. The 'm' final of 'Ephraim' is turned into 'n' in the oblique cases. The same thing happens with that of 'Abraham'. 'Abrahan' occurs as a nominative c. 17, 7. The name of 'Adam' remains unchanged. In Duvoisins Labourdin version, made from the Latin of the Vulgate edition, 'Adam' and 'Abraham' preserve their 'm' in all cases. Harismendi has 'Abrahani' p. 105; but 'Abrahami' p. 163.

G. c. 36, vv. 2 and 14 there is 'gtipia', but elsewhere correctly 'ttipi'. It is pronounced 'chipi'. 'Philistindar' and 'Philistintar' occur as variants. The former shewing the 't' mutated after 'n' is the more correct. D'Urtes use of 'ar', 'dar', 'tar' is remarkable. It means not merely belonging to such and such a 'place', as in 'Egiptuar', but to a 'tribe', as in the above word and 'Hebrear', 'Ismaelitar', 'Israeltar' etc. It probably is the same ending that we have in 'indar'='strength'='wont to do', 'senar'='child-lover'='husband' etc., meaning originally 'fond of', 'apt to'.

From ch. 40 onwards 'quien' is frequently used instead of 'quign'='kiñ' as the copulative or unitive case-ending, meaning 'with'; e. g. c. 45, v. 1; c. 46, vv. 1 and 6; c. 47, v. 1, 'guciequien'; c. 49, v. 30 'larrearequien'; c. 50, v. 14, 'harequien'; c. 46, v. 7, 'berequien'; c. 43, v. 5, 'çuéquien'; vv. 8 and 16, 'enequien'; c. 44, v. 6, 'gurequien'; v. 14, 'anajequien'; but c. 42, v. 4, 'anajequign', and Ex: c. 4. summary 'batéquien'.

D'Urte perhaps follows some phonetic instinct in distinguishing 'n' from 'ñ' as a final letter. Ex: c. 4, v. 10, 'guerostic' is generally spelt 'gueroztic'='since'.

2. CASTILIANISMS. If Pierre d'Urte used too many words taken from the 'Erdara'<sup>1</sup> or 'Romance' without any need, the same may be said of all Bask writers. His native place, 'Donibane Lohizun' (= marshy St. John) was so important a station on the road from Spain to Bordeaux that it had an hospice for those who went on pilgrimage to St. Jacques of Compostela, and the high street of Berriz in Biscaya was called 'calle de San Juan de Luz'. Those who know Castilian will detect its influence throughout d'Urtes translation. Only a few specimens are noted here. G. c. 8, summary 'estatua' is not Castilian, but Latin 'statu' with a euphonic 'e' and the Baskish article 'a'. G. c. 24, v. 5, 'sin falta'.

G. c. 26, v. 22, 'largóän', where Duvoisin rightly put 'zabalera'.

G. c. 32, v. 12, 'podore' from 'poder' is perhaps a 'lapsus calami', or a local variety on the analogy of 'dolore' or 'ohore' = 'honor'.

G. c. 43, v. 9, and c. 44, v. 32, 'cauçione errendatçen' or 'errendatu' is a Castilian rendering of 'répondre'.

G. c. 38, v. 14, 'belo' and 'habituac'; G. c. 32, summary, 'arribada'.

Ex: c. 12, vv. 41 and 51, 'egun proprio hartan' ought to be, as we may see, Ex: c. 19, v. 1, 'egun hartan berean' = 'en ce même jour-là'. In the first place Calvins words 'en ce propre jour-là' have been too nearly followed.

Ex: c. 13, v. 17, and c. 19, v. 22 'perbentura' has not even its equal in the French.

Ex: c. 13, v. 21, 'coluna' instead of the native 'habe' (? Latin 'abies') which is used by writers of the first rank such as Dechepare, Harismendi, Capánaga, Larramendi shews at least the Bask dislike of 'mn'.

<sup>1</sup> 'Erdara' means the 'language' spoken by the neighbors of the Basks, e. g. Béarnais, Gascon, French and Castilian. It is perhaps derived from 'eritarra' = 'indigenous', 'belonging to the land', 'native', 'dweller in', 'landsman'. Harismendi on p. 151 used it in this sense, spelling it 'hertar', from which 'erdara' is the definite form in the old spelling of 'r' for 'rr'. If so, this points back to a time when the Vascongados (i. e. Vascon-ic-ati) found themselves newcomers among a native population which spoke a language different from their own. To the French in Madagascar, for instance, the most important forane tongue is that of the 'interior' of the island, that of the 'natives'. Goyhetché in his 'Fabliac' p. 259, uses 'erdara' apparently in the sense of 'language' in general: "Suge malurusac aldiz bere erdaran ahal beçain molde onean baderro" = 'the wretched serpent in turn says to him in his "erdara", in as good form as he can'. This shews that the Basks used it contemptuously at least in former times.

Ex: c. 14, v. 30, the word 'descantssatu' = Castilian 'descansado' in the sense of 'aid', 'deliver' is a bad specimen of degenerate 'erdarism'.

Ex: c. 15, v. 3, 'balent' for 'valiant', instead of 'bihotzdun' or 'indartsu'. v. 8, 'curri' for 'running' waters. 'Laster-egin' is the word for 'run'.

Ex: c. 21, v. 13, 'guardian' = 'on the look out for', 'on guard', would be better turned by 'begira'.

Ex: c. 21, v. 8 'desloialqui comportatcen' = 'être perfide'; v. 28, 'lapidatu' and 'quito' are very weak.

Ex: c. 25, v. 4 'etchatu' for 'jetté' from Castilian 'echar' is abject. D'Urte or his amanuensis put a great many superfluous dots over his vowels, presumably to prevent Gallicism in pronunciation. He imitated the oldest Baskish song, and the oldest Baskish letter, in putting them over the letter 'y'. The same peculiarity occurs in the famous English epitaph of Earl Richard Beauchamp (about A. D. 1445) in the collegiate church of Warwick. It is noticeable in the MS, and the Oxford edition, that some words meant to be catchwords are placed so as not to fulfil their purpose. They look like vain repetitions in perusing the text.

Among d'Urtes Gallicisms 'banquet' and 'buquet' are conspicuous. Leicarraga also used 'banquet'.

3. WORDS AND PHRASES OF LINGUISTIC INTEREST. 'Ethór-quïä', the word used by d'Urte to translate the Greek Genesis, in G. c. 2, v. 4, 'generation', is still in use. It is of course the best word. Duvoisin in his translation in the same dialect renders it by the uneyeable bastard 'Jenesa'! But Uriarte has 'Genesisco', equally bad. 'Etórkia', as it is now spelled, may be found in various books of the 17th and 18th centuries, e. g. in the 'Dotrina Christiana' or 'Catechism' of Esteve Materre (Bordeaux, 1617 and 1623) of which the Bodleian Library provides the only copy known. There, on page 64, it means the 'proceeding' of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, as defined by St. Athanasios. On p. 162 it occurs in the phrase: "ceren nola Adamec becatu eguin çuenean likistu eta nothatu baitçuen bere ethorquia eta naturaleza", i. e. "for as Adam, when he did sin, did defile and brand his 'origin' and nature." Sebastian Mendiburu used it too. Page XIX Mr. Thomas has an interesting note on 'orkaitz'. The word probably comes from the Latin 'furca' like 'ondo' from Latin 'fundo' or 'fundum'. If so it is to be likened psychologically to the German 'gabel-bock', or 'fork-goat', i. e. 'young deer'.

G. c. 1, v. 11, 'egozkia' stands for French 'jet'. For this word see 'giet' in Godefroy's Dictionary of Old French. Monsieur H. L. Fabre in his French-Baskish Dictionary translates 'suçon' by 'egóskia'. Is it of the same root as 'eguskia', 'iguskia' = 'the sun' i. e. 'the cauldron', or 'boiling instrument' or 'matter', of the Universe from 'egosi' = 'boiled'; or as 'egotzi' = 'thrown out', 'gegossen'? G. c. 2, v. 23, 'guïçonquia' perhaps shews that d'Urte thought of English 'woman' which obviously suggests 'man'. 'Emasteki' is known as a synonym of 'emazte' the ordinary word for 'woman'. By analogy therefore 'gizonki', which is not in Larramendi, ought to be a synonym of 'gizon' = 'man'. For the termination 'qui' = 'ki' see p. 14, v. 13 'estalki' = 'material for covering'; f. 90, v. 27, 'arrapaki' and 'atze-manki' = 'material caught and taken'; f. 12, v. 14 'herrestaki' = 'thing that creepeth', and other words in d'Urtes text.

G. c. 2, v. 11. The expression 'sortcen baita urrea' is poetical and true to nature; "the gold is born." 'Sorte inuenitur aurum'.

G. c. 3, v. 11, 'jatera' is perhaps a miswriting of 'jatea', and so the accusative of 'bainaroen'.

G. c. 7, v. 11, and 8, v. 2. 'Tapac' renders the French 'bondes', and the English 'windows'. Littré explains 'bonde' as "Large ouverture de fond, destinée à laisser écouler toute l'eau de l'étang quand on retire le tampon qui la bouche ordinairement." D. Martin in his French Bible of 1707 has a note to the same effect. The Greek and Latin translations have 'cataracts', which in 'Heuskara'<sup>1</sup> would be 'urjaiotsak', 'ataskak', 'eurijasak', 'ekachak', 'ekaitzak'. D'Urte uses 'tapatu', the past participle, in c. 26, vv. 15 and 18, where St. Jerome has 'obstruere'. This points to Castilian 'tapa' = 'lid', 'cover', 'stopper', 'cork', 'bouchon', 'propfe'. In Catalan this is 'tap'. D'Urte may have even thought of English 'taps'. But the idea of 'uncorking' 'untapping', or 'tapping' the heavens to produce the universal flood is unworthy of the Aeschylean sublimity of the Egyptian sage.

<sup>1</sup> The Baskish tongue is called by the Basks themselves 'Heuskara', 'Heskuara', 'Euskara', 'Euskera', 'Uskara', 'Eskara', etc. at different epochs and in different dialects. Some people explain it as meaning 'hitz-kera' = 'manner of word', 'mund-art'. Sir Thomas Browne, who studied the language in the reign of King Charles II, called it 'Basquish'. It is best to follow his example, and to reserve 'Bask' as the name of the 'Heuskaldunak' or 'Baskish-holders' as the Basks call themselves. But, as 'Basquish' is liable to be pronounced as a rime to 'vanquish', I venture to spell it 'Baskish' on the German model, to suit Finnish, Turkish, Swedish, etc.

G. c. 7, v. 6, 'ur uholdea', if it be not a miswriting of 'uru-holdea', shews that Baskish as known to d'Urtes people was obliged to say 'the water-flood of water', instead of simply 'the flood of water'. They must have been unable to conceive of 'a flood' separated from the notion of 'water'. And in truth we seldom hear of floods produced by any other liquid. The etymology of 'uholde' gives us its initial 'u' as a mere compositional form of 'ur' = 'water'. Then the word became so far a generic term that it did not seem absurd to use it with 'ur' as the constitutive or genitival radical to shew that the flood was an inundation of water. It was in fact a making of the waters to stand upon a heap, a carrying of sea coal to Newcastle. It recalls the habitual use in Portuguese of 'uma chavena de cha' = 'a teacup of tea'! There 'the teacup', at first a proper noun, became so far a generic term = 'cup' or 'taza' that its own 'etymon' could be used again as a limiting, specific, or qualifying noun-adjective. In the same way d'Urte has 'ur-ithurriak' = 'water-springs' on f. 38, v<sup>o</sup> v. 13, f. 40, v. 43; and f. 38, v<sup>o</sup> v. 11 'ur-phutçu' = 'water-well'. It is to be compared with the name of the river 'Uru-mea', once 'Guru-mea', at San Sebastián, meaning apparently 'the shallow-water'. The name of Lake 'Urumiya' in Persia is pronounced like that of the Gipuskoan river. For 'e' before 'a' final in Baskish sounds like English 'e' in 'he'. Blackies Modern Cyclopaedia (1890) says of that inland sea: "It is extremely shallow throughout." The second 'u' in 'Urumea' is generally explained as an euphonic link. It is not likely that it was once an integral part of the word 'hur', 'ur' = 'water'. Cf. 'zur-u-bi' = 'zurbi'. G. c. 7, v. 13 'baijta' and c. 12, v. 17 'baÿta' are rather Gipuskoan than Labourdin. The latter dialect usually has 'baieta' = 'yea also'.

G. c. 11, v. 4. Where the French has 'soit', in Italic, and the Jacobean English of 1611 "may reach", d'Urte ought to have put the Subjunctive 'den' instead of the Imperative 'ïçan bedi', though this is not untranslatable if taken to mean "and a tower, of the which let the point be up to heaven."

G. c. 12, v. 10. The now famous use of 'emaztebat' = 'une femme' instead of 'une famine', points to confusion between these expressions in the authors mind; and is alone enough to warrant the conjecture that the translation was made as I have suggested above. After being a Capuchin monk he seems to have made much of women! Not only was he married twice and had a daughter, but he gives a capital initial to 'Alaba' = 'the daughter'

and 'Emaztea' and 'Emea' = 'the woman'. On p. 228 of *La Revue de Linguistique*, Tome 30, we read "Meeting October 10, 1719. That Peter d'Urte is married without the consent of the Commissioners, for which he was excluded in the last distribution, since which he is gone off with his daughter by a former wife." So his 'femme' in very truth possibly came as a synonym of 'famine' to him, as a 'gossete urthe' = 'famine year' (G. c. 14, v. 27), or 'gosse d'Urte' = hungry d'Urte "Ta feme moir ny croutyn." (E. Faragher, p. 70 of *Aesops Fables in Manx*, Douglas 1901). Necessity is the mother of invention.

G. c. 14, v. 11; and 43, vv. 20 and 22 'ianhari' means 'victuals'. In G. c. 44, vv. 1 and 4 'ianhari naussia' = 'the victuals-master', just as c. 40, v. 1, 'ogui-jabe' = 'bread-master', i. e. 'baker'; and in v. 2, 'ogui-iabe naussia' = 'the chief baker', the master baker.

G. c. 14, v. 23, 'hiré diren gaüça guçietaric' gives us the possessive case or adjective used indefinitely. Other instances occur; e. g. c. 12, v. 20, 'eta haren çiren gauça guçiäc'; c. 46, v. 1 'bere çituen gauça guçiequien', v. 10 'eta hire diren gauça guçiäc'.

G. c. 18, v. 16; and Ex: c. 16, v. 16, 'Neurri' is used rightly in its proper sense as 'measure', but on ff. 75, 84, 85, 86, 129 it is used for 'nourrir' though 'entretenitu' is more correctly used to mean this elsewhere. 'Hazi' is of course the word that d'Urte should have used, one of the links, perhaps, between Keltic and Baskish. As 'ideas', 'seed' and 'nourishment' are 'the beginning' of all conceptions of organic life 'Neurri', probably derived from the Béarnais language, was used also by Haraneder in the sense of 'nourish': e. g. in 'Gudu Izpirituala' (1750) pp. 279 and 286; and by Goyhetche, Curé of Urruña and uncle of Pierre Goyetche, Maire of Sara, on p. 277 of his badly punctuated translation of the 'Fables' of Lafontaine, an interesting work in which he was assisted by M. le Chanoine Maurice Harriet, of Halzu, who is still living. It is a curious coincidence that 'mezur' means 'nourriture' in Breton.

G. c. 19, v. 27, between 'eta' and 'lekhura' some words such as 'igan çen' or 'ioan çen' seem to have been left out in the MS. The French is 'vint au lieu'.

G. c. 22, v. 10, 'cintçurrac egiteco', literally 'to do the throats'

<sup>1</sup> See Pliny, and Professor J. Rhys in *Lectures on Welsh Philology*. Professor Rhys wrote to me on the 21st of December, 1891, "I have long since spotted Pliny's ponies. What you say about Basque *asi* and the Alpine *asia* is very interesting."



= 'to cut the throat'. The expression perhaps comes from the Béarnais. On p. 22 of "Quelques Légendes Poétiques du Pays de Soule" by Jean de Jaurgain, one finds "de quoi le chrestiaa (cagot) de Tardets *ly fe las gorges*," where the last words in *Italic*, mean "cut (lit. did) his 'throats', i. e. 'throat'."

G. c. 24, v. 3, 'iuramentu eraguinen'; Ex: c. 9, v. 18 'uria eraguitera nihoac' = 'je m'en vais faire pleuvoir'; and v. 20 'ihes eraguin çioten etçhetara haren çerbitçariet et haren bestiet', where it governs a dative, the French being 'fit promptement retirer dans les maisons ses serviteurs et ses bêtes', are places in which 'eragin' = 'to make to do, to cause to make' is used in its normal sense as the causative form of 'egin'. But we find it in d'Urte usurping the functions of 'eraci' = 'to cause' e. g. G. c. 36, v. 24; and c. 37, v. 2 'ianeraguin' = 'to make to make to eat'; G. c. 37, vv. 12, 13, 16 and *passim* 'basceraçguiten' (sic for 'bazqueraçguiten') 'to cause to make to feed', and there it is peculiar, probably a solecism. In G. c. 29, v. 8 'edara' is rightly used for 'abbreuer' = 'to make to drink'.

G. c. 24, v. 43. The construction 'ur chorta bat' = 'a drop of water' seems the most rational but f. 26, v. 7 'ithurri ur' = 'fount (of) water' is more in accordance with the modern usage for the position of the radical indicating contents or constituents. Cf. 'ur phutçu' above, and 'ur-uholde'.

G. c. 24, v. 44. The use of the active form of the vocative of the pronoun of the 2nd person in 'edantçac hic' is interesting. Leiçarraga also uses it.<sup>1</sup> But the rule does not appear to be fixed. The vocative can be passive even with the imperative of an active verb, e. g. f. 37, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 11, and f. 47, v. 27. In G. c. 27, v. 26, we see it so used: 'eta mussu emadac, ene sêmeä'. We see it also passive with the 2nd person singular of an active verb in the indicative mood, thus G. c. 38, v. 29, 'heürriori' following 'eguïn dioan.' Also in Ex: c. 4, v. 13, 'helas launa! egortçac', it is passive with the imperative and in c. 5, v. 22, with the indicative, as follows: 'launa, cergatican gaizqui trataraci duc poblu hau'?

G. c. 25, summary, 'ema ohe lagunen', and v. 6, 'ema oheco lagunen' are remarkable words meaning 'bed-fellow female'.

<sup>1</sup> Professor W. I. Knapp, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Oxford in October 1901, possessed a perfect copy which is not mentioned in Professor J. Vinsons Bibliographie Basque, of this authors Baskish New Testament of 1571, republished in 1900 at Strassburg in Elsass. He sold it to Mr. Archer M. Huntington, Westchester County, State of New York. A third edition is to be published in London by the Trinitarian Bible Society in 1903.

G. c. 25, v. 18; c. 27, v. 23, and c. 9, v. 15, 'anaia bat', are places shewing that d'Urte treated 'anaia' not 'anai' as the radical form of the Heuskarian word for 'brother'. Christophe Harismendi did the same e. g. pages 21 and 24 of 'Ama Virginaren Hirur Officioac' (Bordeaux, 1660) in the Labourdin dialect.<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. c. 2, v. 10, 'ibaia bat': Ex: c. 22, summary 16, 'birjina bat'. In modern authors the etymological 'a' final of nouns is sometimes confounded with the definite article and treated as separable. This is robbery. D'Urte used 'besti' so.

G. c. 25, v. 25, and c. 30, v. 40, 'gorricara' is for 'roux'. In G. c. 25, v. 30, 'de ce roux-là' is translated 'horracco errequi hortaric (erreki = burnt or roasted matter)'.

G. c. 27, vv. 26 and 28. In 'baitut' one sees 'bai' used for 'ba' as the conditional. This is probably an error, though not unknown in other authors. In v. 21 etc., the true form 'ba-da' preceded by 'baldim' is found, and not 'baita' which would be right if 'bai' could be a conditional prefix.

G. c. 28, v. 12, 'ukitzen', which usually means 'touching', is used in the sense of 'reaching up to' heaven. In G. c. 27, v. 21, it stands for 'tâter'. Gen. c. 25, v. 22 he has 'alegueratcen' meaning 'sporting', 'rejoicing', 'making merry'. This is an eccentric rendering of *ἐκκίπτω* in the Greek of the Septuagint, and savours of 'saltabant' or 'exultabant' more than of 'collidebantur', the third variant found in the Vulgate editions. Duvoisin has 'gudukatzen' = 'fighting'. The versions in Calvins French of the 16th century and that of 1707 have "s'entrepoussoyent" but the Castilian of F. T. Amat (Madrid, 1832) has 'chocaban entre si ó luchaban', while the French version of E. Reuss gives "s'entrechoquaient". Can d'Urte have mistaken the sense and thought of 'jocose'?

G. c. 28, v. 21. Mr. Llewelyn Thomas asked me to find an instance of this form in French 'Heuskara'. I have seen it elsewhere. M. J. Vinson omits it in his Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> The title means 'The Three Offices of the Virgin Mother'. It is not merely a liturgical curiosity, but a valuable literary landmark. I had just received news of the publication of M. J. Vinsons avowedly incomplete, and demonstrably ill-printed, edition, when Bodleys Librarian let me know (30 Sept. 1901) that the University of Oxford owns the only known perfect copy. It consists of 236 pages, and formed part (Maresch. 439) of the Library of T. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford who died there in 1685. His epitaph may be read on the pavement of the chancel of the adjoining church of All Saints. See Notes and Queries for 9 November, 1901.

G. c. 30, v. 13. 'ils diront' becomes 'erraungo' for 'erranen' with a superfluous 'go', perhaps a solecism.

G. c. 30, v. 35. 'çhuri non ere baitçiren guçiac' = "toutes celles ou il y avoit du blanc," is literally "all who were in any place whatever white."

G. c. 33, v. 8, 'edirecotçat', and Ex. c. 6, v. 13, 'atheratçecôtçat' are interesting as shewing the case ending 'tzat' piled upon another 'co', of practically the same force. It is the equivalent of English 'for to'.

G. c. 33, v. 16. 'appaisé' is rendered 'esmaratu. Is this a common word? Is it derived from the Latin 'ex' and 'mare' as if referring to a sea that is 'un-sea-ed'? or from Castilian 'esmerar' or 'esbarar'? John Stevens, in his Castilian-English Dictionary of 1706, translates 'esbarar' by 'to glide' or 'slip along'. The Basks might have taken the word in the sense of 'make' or 'become smooth and peaceful'. The change of 'b' into 'm' is common. The English equivalent is 'pleased'. The LXX have εὐδοκίσεις με. The Welsh 'ammori' is not unlike it in form and meaning. In 'hec hill içatu eta, eta pillatu çuten hiria', G. c. 34, v. 27, we have a notable case of 'eta' = 'after' ('that'), followed by 'eta' = 'and'.

G. c. 35, v. 14. The French 'aspersion' is rendered 'ihinztur' perhaps a solecism, derived from 'ihinz' = 'dew'. Aizkibel does not imbook this word, but 'intz-emaillea' = 'aspersorio', literally 'the dew-giver'. The English Jacobean version has 'drink-offering'.

G. c. 37, v. 4. This case of the negative and the affirmative potential sub-auxiliaries 'ecin' and 'ahal' used in one clause, but yet not annihilating each other, is not unique in Baskish literature, but worthy of note.

G. c. 37, v. 5. 'abilla' = 'goest thou?' is perhaps the only occurrence in this book of the interrogative sign used with verbal forms, i. e. 'a' final.

G. c. 37, v. 8. 'baldim bahintç?' as a simple interrogative, and not a conditional, is remarkable. I treated 'baldim' as a slip of the pen and omitted it in the 2nd edition.

G. c. 40, v. 14. 'gogara' for 'gogora' occurs elsewhere in d'Urte and other writers.

G. c. 40, v. 19, etc. The use of 'çur' = 'zur' in the sense of 'tree' is very interesting. Leizarraga in his New Testament (1571, and 1900) uses it in the same way, e. g. Acts c. 13, v. 19; c. 5, v.

30; c. 10, v. 40 of the 'lignum crucis'. It generally means 'wood', ὕλη, that has been felled at least, if not cut up. It may be as near a relative to Latin 'suber' as it is to Baskish 'su'='fire', which d'Urte articulates 'suba', e. g. G. c. 19, v. 24. In Cataluña, e. g. in the contry named after 'Ruscino' from Keltic 'ruskin'='bark' which always was its principal product, cork-trees are called 'suros', and their 'wood' much used for 'fires'. R. Micoleta (or Nicoleta?) in his manuscript dated 1653, published for the third time in 1897, at Sevilla, renders it by 'viga'='beam'. 'Suriya' is the name of a particular tree in Ceylon. Baskish 'zurea'='the tree' and 'zuria'='the white' is pronounced like this. There are some places in modern Baskish, 'Souraide'='wood-air', or 'wood-fellow' for instance, which have this word in the etymology of their names, and it probably explains that of the village of 'Soure' in Portugal, famous for its store of timber stacks, on the edge of a vast primeval pine-forest, and that of 'Soria' in Spain, and possibly 'Zoria' in Greece, also. 'Zuria', in the Province of Barcelona, is on the border of an immense pine-forest. Voltaire has 'sur' in the sense of 'fire'. The Gipuskoans sometimes say 'surtan' for "in the fire." 'Surtu' means 'afervorizarse'. In Icelandic 'fyri' = both 'fire' and 'fir-tree'. Some one has proposed that the 'Suburra' of Rome came from 'zur-bi-buru-a', which is the name of several places and one parish in the Pays Basque, meaning 'bridge-head', 'bridge-end', from 'zur-bi' or 'zu-bi'='bridge', formed of 'zur'='bit of wood', 'plank,' and 'bi'='two'. Who has not seen rustic bridges thus made in the Pyrenean valleys? 'Zuru-bi'='ladder' (G. c. 28, v. 12) is the same word. The Japanese too look at a 'ladder' and a 'bridge' from the same point of view. 'Sybaris' might well be derived from 'su'='fire' and 'barri'='new', if one remembers the tradition of 'the fire' inaugurating the infant colonies of the Greeks, such as 'Cumae', the name of which is like Baskish 'kume', 'hume',='child'. Baskish is rich in words for 'tree'. Harismendi uses, p. 98, 'zuhaitz', and pp. 103 and 131 'zuhaitz landarea' (= 'sapling'), and p. 94 'çuhamuioc' probably for 'zuhaumeoc'. This last was also used by B. Dechepare.

G. c. 41 Calvins 'jeune vache' is rendered quite wrongly 'jeune veau'. But in v. 26 the Baskish drops the equivalent of 'jeune'. 'Chahal' or 'chaal' is 'calf', 'becerro' in the modern language, everywhere from Bilbao to Bayonne, from Pamplona to San Sebastián. D'Urte renders the words "et des vaches qui allaitent"

in G. c. 33, v. 13 by 'eta chahal esnecumedunez', meaning literally 'and with calves that-have-milk-children'. Here his mistake seems all the more silly; talking about a calf that has a sucking young one! In other places we see that he was not clever at natural history. Duvoisin rightly renders 'vache' by 'behi' = 'cow'. This word may be of Gothic origin, akin to 'faihu' and German 'vieh'.

G. c. 41, v. 38, 'ahal giñezake is a case of the potential pleonasm occasionally used by other writers, even Leizarraga; to be able to be able! So also Ex. c. 7, v. 24, 'eta eñgn edan baitçeçaquéten ibayeco uretican'. Ignorant Englishmen sometimes say "can be able."

G. c. 41, v. 47 "abundantcia iraun demboran" = 'during the time (of) the lasting (of) abundance' is a very English stringing together of radicals.

G. c. 42, v. 7. 'aleguia' is composed of 'ala' the interrogative prefix and 'egua' = 'the truth', in Castilian '¿es verdad?'

See Larramendi under 'montas'. It does not, however, mean 'equidem' here, but 'pretense' = 'pretext'. It is not of course 'alegia' = 'granary' or 'grain-land', which is the name of some places in Spanish Baskland, converted by the Castilians into 'Alegria' = 'joy'!

G. c. 42, v. 16, 'Espioneac çaretela' gives an instance of what I call "la Béarnais," because 'la' in this Baskish idiom has no more apparent reason than the 'que' that precedes the verb in Béarnais, or in the Portuguese "Desde hontem á noite que tem caído chiuva miuda" = 'since last night ('over-night', 'yesterday', 'ante noctem') fine rain has been falling.'

G. c. 44, v. 18, 'orayderagno' = 'jusques à présent'. The 'de' = 're' appears superfluous here, cf. 'Noereragno' c. 5, summary.

G. c. 44, v. 31, 'car tu es comme Pharaon' has been amplified into 'ecen ezaiz Pharaon bagno guehiago ez gutiago' = "for thou art not more nor less than Pharaoh."

G. c. 45, v. 22, 'cilharra' at once recalls English 'silver'. It may be derived from 'Zilo' = 'hole' and 'arra' = 'belonging to'. A mine is a hole in the mountain, and silver is a mineral. There are villages in Spain where the people live in holes scooped out of sandstone strata. Such would be called 'Siluria' in Baskish = 'the town of holes', the name of a part of Britain.

Baskish 'uria' and 'hiria' = 'the town', possibly explains some place-names which occur in ancient Greek and Latin books. In

searching for an etymology in the mysterious darkness that enshrouds the origin of Baskish words, and the former wanderings of Basks before they enter into history, one thinks of Sanskrit 'puri', 'pur', Hebrew 'hir', Sumerian 'uru', Assyrian 'uri', Welsh 'hir', 'yr'. Possibly as a town is a 'vecindad' in Spain, the Baskish postposition 'iri-an' = 'nigh unto' may teach us what was the first concept of the word, not a watering-place or oasis in the desert; but a 'neighbourhood'.

G. c. 47, vv. 17 and 18, the expressions 'ardi artaldeén', 'idi 'artaldeén', 'hacienda artáldeäc' seem to suggest that 'art' in 'artalde' is not short for 'ardi' = 'sheep'; but for 'arta' = 'arreta' = 'care'. It would be as absurd to talk about 'sheep-folds of sheep', 'sheep-folds of oxen', 'sheep-folds of cattle', as of 'water-floods of water'. 'Talde', however, is possibly distinct from 'alde'.

G. c. 49, v. 17, 'erori' was at first 'eroritcen' apparently, or 'eroriren'. The scribe has altered it for the worse. In the English it is in the future. The French is 'afin que . . . tombe'. Ibidem the MS omits 'duc' after 'icango'. The editions have erred in not reinstating it.

Gen: c. 49, v. 26. 'aldaquen' would be 'aldapen', in Gipuskoan. The word is not unknown at Cambo on the Nive. Perhaps it comes from Castilian 'falda' = 'slope'.

Ex: c. 2, v. 3, the word 'arrossategui', which can only mean "bed of roses", is incorrectly used where 'ihi-tegi' would be more suitable. D'Urte, with his evident ignorance of natural history, translated the French 'roseau' = 'seska', 'canabera', in too flowery a style! the English here has 'flags'; the Greek τὸ ἐλῶδες μέρος and ἐν τῇ ἐλει; the Latin 'carecto' and 'papyrione' the Castilian 'carrizal'. Larramendi gives 'ugarrizadi' for this last word.

Ex: c. 2, v. 5, 'Nescato' and 'nescatcha' appear as synonyms. This fact alone is enough to show that D. Pedro Novia de Salcedo (who knew very little Baskish, as his grand-daughters told me at Seville) was wrong when he stated in his Dictionary that 'nescato' is an 'augmentative'!

Ex. c. 3, v. 15, the French pronunciation of 'saeculorum' is recorded in the word 'seculorónecotç'.

One is surprised here and there at our authors violent use of the radical in the sense of the constitutive genitive where one would expect the 'mediative case', e. g. Ex. c. 48. v. 19, 'abundancia bethea', 'abundance-full' instead of 'full of' or 'with abundance'. 'Abundantciaz' would seem more expectable. He seems

to use the accusative quite as often as the genitive for the object of the transitive verbal nouns. In French Baskish as a rule, the genitive is used, while the Gipuskoan Dialect affects the accusative. In old English too we find such phrases as "the shutting the door" instead of "of the door".

Ex: XI, v. 7, where Calvin has 'chien', d'Urte put 'ozar' = 'hound'. Mr. Thomas was told that this word is obsolete. I have myself used the word in Navarre and was understood. One finds it on p. 60 of 'Credo edo Sinhesten Dut' (Bayonne, 1891) a book in very good Labourdin, with whose author, Étienne Lapeyre, I have conversed, and in other modern books e. g. 'Misionetako Kantikak' (1892). It is a contraction of 'hora-zar' = 'old hound', or 'great' and 'terrible hound'.

The Abbé Chantre, ('Zubiburu-tarra') told me in the Petit Séminaire de Larresoro that 'chakur', the commonest word for 'dog', is derived from 'eche-ko hora' = 'chien de maison', 'house-dog'. Canon Harriet, of Halsou, rejects this on the ground that the 'r' in 'chakur' is doubled before the suffixes.

'Chakur' is probably from 'chainkor' = 'zainkor' = 'apt to watch'. 'Zainka' = 'to play the part of guardian', is used in the sense of 'to bark'. Others have connected it with 'chacal' an African wild dog.

On p. 110 of Lays of the Red Branch by Sir Samuel Ferguson, (London, MDCCCXCVII) this line occurs "A hound I saw, and heard him 'Ossar' called", and on the next this "Ossar! good dog, hie forth and chase the thieves!" As a Gaelic word 'osar' means "a bed, litter, a burden: the younger". This would not be so good a name for a dog as the Baskish word in question. Was it used as a dog-name in old Irish?

Ex: c. 13, vv. 12, 13, 15, the use of 'athea' = 'door-the' or 'womb-the' is probably a solecism in the language, and to be considered a 'mot savant', taken evidently from 'portiere', one of the meanings of which was 'matrice', as appears from the Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française (Paris, 1889). In v. 12, it is used twice, translating first 'matrice' and then 'portiere'. In verses 13 and 15 it renders 'portiere'.

Ex: c. 14, v. 25, 'nequetç' is in favor of 'tz' being the old form of 'z' in such words as 'baietz' = 'di si, yesly'; 'ezetç' = 'noly'. So in Harismendi we find p. 82 'fitez', but pp. 47, 48, 94, and 158, etc. 'fitetz'; and p. 101, violatz' for 'violaz'. 'Itssass' in Ex: c. 14, v. 30; c. 15, v. 22, and Ex: c. 15, v. 4, 'itsass gorrian' = 'in

the red sea' is probably a miswriting of 'itsasso' which occurs in the foregoing verse. 'Itsass' as a radical meaning 'stick to', 'adhere', 'cleave to', 'Itsasso', which is pronounced with the article 'itsassua' is probably from 'itsass-ur'='sticky-water', which well describes the sea. 'Ura'='the water' is sometimes pronounced 'u-wa'. In Ex: c. 14, v. 30, however, we find 'itsass bazterrean'='on the sea-shore'. So too in Leizarragas classical New Testament, to be reprinted at the Clarendon Press in 1903, we find 'itsas' frequently, e. g. St. Matt. c. xv, v. 29 with 'alde'='sea-side', v. 25 with 'gainez'='on the top of the sea', and elsewhere with 'costa'='the sea-coast'. So possibly 'itsas' alone can mean 'sea'.

Ex: c. 16, v. 16, 'hedetchea'='the tent', is apparently a d'Urtian word. It means literally the 'strap-house', or 'the stretch-house', not a bad name.

Ex: c. 22. sum: 16. 'birjina bat çuritçen duena'='celui qui suborne une viêrge'. The word 'çuri'='whiten', is used of 'stripping' the maize stalks in the 'artadiak'. Possibly it was the origin of 'chourineur' in the Parisian argot, a man who despoils others of their property and lives, and leaves them white.

D'Urtes accentual system differs a little from that of Leizarraga.

#### THE APPENDIX OF MONSIEUR JULIEN VINSON.

This part of the edition is almost useless. It does not even serve as an index, because it is not paginal, and leaves the reader to find for him or herself such forms of the verb as it enrolls. But it does not indicate all of these. It is incomplete. Worse still, its translations are in many places incorrect. It includes 'da' ('he', 'she' or 'it is'), but omits 'du' ('he', 'she' or 'it has him', 'her' or 'it'), which is no less rare.

'Aite' means not 'tu pourrais être', but 'tu seras'. 'Baituc' f. 29. verso, is not 'tu les as certes, ô homme', but 'si'l y a'. 'Cioât does not mean 'Je l'ai à toi, ô homme', but 'Je l'ai à lui ô homme'. 'Etciafontçat', f. 67, v. 9, does not mean "pour qu'il ne l'aie pas à lui," but 'pour qu'il ne l'eut pas à lui'. 'Eztiacacala' f. 34 is not 'qu'il ne l'ait pas à lui ô homme', but 'qu'il ne l'ait pas à toi ô homme'. 'Guiatezquec' is not 'nous ne pouvons pas l'avoir ô homme', but 'nous pouvons être ô homme'. 'Uque', f. 65, is not 'tu l'aurais' but 'tu l'auras'. There are other mistakes for which the printer is not to blame. Those who know a little Baskish will easily find them out. Why



does M. Vinson say "pour mieux expliquer certains auxiliaires dont la signification originale nous échappe, j'ai cru pouvoir me servir des verbes 'avoir' et 'être' que j'ai mis entre parenthèses"? It is true that for us the origin of the Baskish verb has to be sought in the 16th century. The earlier Basks must be blamed for not recording their language. But every Heuskaldun baby knows that these 'auxiliaries' are 'the Verb'; and that, when used in the absolute, their proper meaning is 'to have' and 'to be' respectively. 'Izan' can mean either! The context tells one which. We may compare this with the vulgar English 'aint' which means 'am not', 'have not', 'is not', 'has not', 'are not'. And there are other languages which have awkward homonyms in their verb. For instance Irish 'ata' translates 'am', 'art', 'is', 'are'; and 'nil' the negative of each of these. (See Simple Lessons in Irish by E. O'Growney, part 1, pp. 13, 22, edition of 1897.) 'Nik dut adatsa' means 'I have the head of hair'; but 'nik dut egiten odia' means 'I am making the channel' (literally: 'I have the channel a-making', 'in making').

So also 'tirtotcha da' means 'it is the cork',<sup>1</sup> while 'alashia erorten-da' means the 'plate-rack is a-falling', 'in falling', i. e. 'falling'. Why produce confusion where all is plain? 'The Verb' in the Heuskarian tongue is 'to be', 'to have', whether simply, or acting through a be-verbed radical, which shews 'how' the being and having are manifested, and determines the relation between the subject and its object or predicate. All Basks know that 'bait', 'beit', 'bai', 'bei', 'ba'<sup>2</sup> do often mean, as M. Vinson says, 'par ce que', though Dartayeta in his useful Guide ou Manuel de la Conversation &c. (1861, 1876 and 1893) may have been the first lexicologist or grammarian to mention this use of the affirmative prefix. It probably takes this sense as the 'locum-tenens' of some such word as 'Zeren' which formerly preceded it, but has retired from service. It is often capable of being rendered by 'since', 'that is to say', 'and in consequence', 'so that', 'to explain why', or even by the relative pronoun, as

<sup>1</sup> This word appears as 'Tortitça' in an edition of Voltoires 'Trësor' which was added to the 'Bibliothèque de Bayonne' in 1895. Larramendi on p. 92 of his Dictionary wrote under the heading 'arbol': "El sudor, o humedad que suda el arbol, 'tortica'" The latter is probably a misprint for 'tortica' = 'tortitça'.

<sup>2</sup> The 'b' becomes 'p' after the negative prefix 'es', which reminds one, when so fused, of Portuguese 'nanja' = 'nonjam'.

on p. 245, of a carelessly written volume entitled "Bihotz Sacratuarren Hilabetheco Escu-Liburua A. Basilio Joanna-teguy Benedictanoac Escuaraz ezarria, Lasserre, liburu egilea baithan" (Bayonne, 1894) where 'ethorrico zaio eguna jautsico baita' means 'the day will come to him in which he will come down'. M. Vinson would translate the last two words 'because he is to come down'. Cases are even known where it is used as a substitute for the conjunctive suffix 'la' meaning 'that'; e. g. in Dechepares 'Rimes' (Bordeaux, 1545), the oldest known Baskish book, the line 'Amorosac nahi nuque honat veba valite' = I should wish (it) 'that' the amorous 'would look to this'; and in the above-named book, p. 36, 'nahi ginuke giristino guziek ohoratzen balute' = 'we should desire (it) that all Christians would honour (it)'. In the 'Dotrinea' of Martin Ochoa de Capánaga, p. 103 of the editions of 1656 and 1893 'deseandola (la ocasion de pecar) de nuevo' is translated 'ostera baleuco deseetan dabela' where the Baskish can only mean "desiring 'that' he should have it back again" equivalent to "desiring it, if he should have it again". E. Materre p. 309 has 'eta nahi nuque huni iarraiqui bacenenquitça' = 'and I would desire (it) if you would follow him.' In Capánaga again, p. 105 the meaning of 'edo gura leuqueala amesetan etorri balequioz alaaco gauçaac . . . alan ičan baliz gura leuquiola' is "or desiring 'that' such things should happen to him in dreams, . . . desiring 'that' it should be so." Also in Voltoires 'Trésor', p. 84, "Nahi nuke har baziniessa" means "I should wish (it) 'that' you would take (it) for me". In all these cases, where it will be noticed that the ruling verb-word means 'desire', i. e. 'nahi', 'gura' 'deseetan', it might be argued that 'ba' is still conditional, the sense being "if all Christians would honour it, we should desire (it)"; "if you took (it) for me, I should consent" etc. One knows that in Catalan also 'si' = 'if' is used instead of 'que' = 'that', when the clause which it introduces is in any way a matter of doubt. But a case like 'baditeke arima bat baino gehiago hitz horiec beretzat hartzeco balituzke' on p. 116 of B. S. H. is harder to explain. Either the 'ba' here really represents the relative pronoun 'Zein' or the whole sentence is very clumsily put together. On p. 271 in the sentence 'Lokharri hortaz bertze guziac hausten baginitu ere, bainan hori ez, baginuke aski, gure bihotza ez-pailiteke nihoiz bat-egin Jesus Jaunarenarekin,' the first 'ba' means 'if' the second 'indeed', and 'ez-pai,' 'because . . . not' or 'to result

in . . . not'. On p. 22 of 'Giristino Perfeccioniaren Pratica' (120 in M. Vinsons Bibliography) the words "cerc eguiten du Gincoaganaco gauçetan etor çunbait aldiz pitçu, eta eneatzén baita, eta beste aldi çunbaitéz iniki, eta goçoç eguiten baititu?" can only mean "what brings it about *that* one is sometimes depressed and bored in the things that concern God, and *that* he does them at some other times easily and with pleasure?" 'Bai' cannot possibly mean 'because' here. The grammars do not appear to mention this use of the prefix 'ba' or 'bai' in the senses of the relative pronoun or the conjunctive suffix 'la'. But, on the whole, one may safely say that it can never mean 'parceque' when it occurs in a relative clause, or when preceded by a relative conjunction like 'non' ('no-n, in which')='where,' 'so that,' 'at which' or by words like 'zeren,' 'ezen,' 'nola' which themselves mean 'because' or 'how.' It may be seen therefore plainly that of all the verbal forms with this prefix in Pierre d'Urtes work there are only two, and those only for one occurrence, where this meaning is common-sensically possible. They are 'baita' in verse 15 on folio 125, 'Hori duc poblua ethórtçen baita eneganat,'="This, man, is 'because' the people come(s) to-me-wards". But even here the words might be rendered, "(The fact) is ('man!') that the people cometh unto me", taking 'bai' as the conjunction 'que' or "This (man!), is the people 'which' doth come unto me", taking 'bai' as the relative pronoun 'qui'. The French, however, being "*C'est* que, le peuple vient à moi", the sense of 'parceque' is just admissible. The other case is Ex: c. 14, v. 11 'baicaituc' where the sense of 'bai' is, however, rather 'in that', 'seeing that', 'since', 'to explain why,' than 'parceque.' In English it is 'that thou hast made us go out from Egypt', in French, "de nous avoir fait sortir d'Egypte?" Yet Mr. Vinson attaches this causal sense to 73 such forms! He sees 'parceque' where there is none in Moses, Calvin, or d'Urte. One could not spare space enough for the examination of each occurrence of every form that has this prefix; but let a few instances be adduced as a 'reductio ad absurdum.' Genesis c. 4, v. 1, 'Adamec bada eçagutu çuen bere Emaztea, çegnac conçebitu bait-çuen, eta erdi baitçen Caignez, eta erran bait-çuen, içatu dut guiçonbat Eternalganic': Which Mr. Vinsons 'passe-partout' would turn into, "So Adam knew his wife because she had conceived and been delivered of Cain, and because she said, I have gotten a man from God". Gen. c. 4, v. 9. "Eta Eternalac erran

çioen Caigni, non da Abel hire anaia? çegnac ihardetssi baitçuen etçeaquiät, ene anaiaren guarda naiz? ni?" "And the Eternal said to Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? Who because he answered I know not, man, am I my brothers keeper, I?" Gen. c. 4, v. 17, 'guero Caignac eçagutu çuen bere emaztea, çegnac conçebitu baitçuen', etc: "Afterwards Cain knew his wife, who because she conceived, etc." Verse 22, 'Eta Tsilla ere erdi ičan çen Tubal-caigneç, çegna içatu baitçen olha-guiçona', 'And Zillah was delivered of Tubal-Cain, who because he was the smith', etc. This is indeed putting the cart before the horse! The heading of chapter 20 would mean, if Mr. Vinson were right, "Abraham makes his dwelling in Gera where because his wife is carried off by King Abimelech, who after being blamed and punished for his sake by the Lord because he returns Sara intact to Abraham, to whom because he makes great presents and afterwards is healed, etc." A delightful Galimatias indeed! The summary of chap. 35 ends 'çegnac signetssirican hil çela Iosseç hartu baitçuen tristécia haundibat', which would mean "who from believing that Joseph is dead because he took upon him a great sadness." Exodus, I. 8, 'çegnac eçpaitçuen eçagutu Iosseç' would mean not "which knew not Joseph", but, "who because he knew not Joseph". It is evident that in d'Urte, as in most other authors, this prefix is almost invariably a superfluous affirmative like 'point' after 'ne' in French, to which it corresponds exactly when preceded by the negative 'ez'. It is often very like the auxiliary 'do' in English. Before all things it is necessary to apply common-sense to the interpretation of Baskish which is a strictly logical language, a model of clearness fit for a Lord Chancellor. Basks cannot say in their own tongue any thing as vague as "two hens eggs", or "he has boiled water".

#### CORRIGENDA IN EDITIONE OXONIENSI.

F. 2, v. 20. read 'hedadura'. The MS has 'hedadura (ren)', but with the syllable 'ren' = 'of', barred out.

F. 5, v. 3. 'hun—(—)vquituco', is 'hura uquituco' correctly in Greatheeds most useful transcript, which was written before the original had had its margins clipped in the binding. It is however clear that the original had 'hura'. Only half of the 'a' is gone, and the word even so does not look much like 'hun' as written elsewhere. The editor should at least have marked the 'n-' as doubtful.

F. 6, v. 18. 'otheac' is not the right rendering of 'chardons'. It should be 'asto-carduac', literally 'ass-thistles'. 'Otheac' means 'furze bushes' and even, in some dialects, 'locusts'. The proper spelling of the word as locusts is, however, 'othiac'. But 'otheac' is generally pronounced in exactly the same way. Baskish 'e' before 'a' is like English 'e' in its sound. 'Larrepote=field-locust' Ex: c. 10. v. 12, etc. shews probably that 'ote' was once 'pote'. Other Baskish words beginning in 'o' have lost an initial 'p'.

F. 6, v. 22. The first 'n' in 'Ianquintssun' ought to have been marked as superfluous and incorrect. The scribe was doubtless thinking of 'jan' which occurs just below.

F. 8, Summary. The 'm' in 'Noeremgoco' should have been branded as a manuscriptal defect. The scribe put 'ra' quite rationally, though not very clearly, in 'Noereragnoco'. It means 'of' or 'belonging-to so far as Noah', i. e. of 'the era before Noah'. In modern writing it would probably be 'Noerañoko'. As d'Urte wrote it, it has three case-endings piled one on the top of the other. So in Gen. c. 48, v. 15, there is 'arterera-gno.'

F. 9, 8, v. 23. The 'c' in 'caürthurican' should be cedillated.

F. 9, v. 12, 'hala. leel' should have been marked as a misprint for 'halaleel'.

F. 9, v. 10 'hoigoi' is a misprint for 'hogoi'. The MS is not to blame.

F. 9, verso v. 27 the 'c' in 'Methuscela' ought to have been in Italic, because it is not cedillated. The same remark applies to that in the second syllable of 'concerba'. The omission of the 'cedille' is either a "fault escaped in the printing", or should have been noted as contrary to the general practice of the writer of the original. D'Urte used both 'ce', 'ci', and 'çe', 'çi', more generally the latter. My intention was to use them throughout in the second edition. It will be seen that d'Urte uses 'z' in some words instead of 'ç', and 'k' in others instead of hard 'c'.

Gen. c. 3, Summary. 'Errescatatcaillearen' ought to have a cedille under the 2nd 'c'. The Oxford editor had the 2nd 'at' marked as wrong. But it is quite in order, as the word comes from Castilian 'rescata'. On p. 100 of the oldest remaining book in Gipuskoan Baskish, the *Doctrina Christiana* of J. Ochoa de Arin (San Sebastián or Donostian 1713) 'rescatatcea' occurs, meaning 'the rescuing'. In this the 'tcea' is the articulate or determinate form of the ending of the verbal noun or infinitive and

equal to 'tça' in 'errescatatçaillearen' = of the 'rescuer' or 'redeemer'.

F. 10. v. 2. 'hetaric hartu çituztela emaztetçat beretçat' can only mean "taking them from them for (i. e. to the advantage of) the very self-same women". The termination 'tçat' can mean "in the capacity of", "to become"; but the laws of the use of 'bera' leave no doubt that 'emaztetçat beretçat' is not the right translation here. 'beretçat emaztetçat' might bear the right meaning; but it is not euphonic and scarcely clear. The real remedy is to read 'bere emaztetçat' meaning "to be their own wives". The author no doubt meant 'emaztetçat' to bear the one sense of 'tcat' and 'beretçat' to have the other. But the use of the same termination with different senses in each of two consecutive words is bad in any case. If, however, 'beretçat' be placed after 'emaztetçat' the Bask reader is forced to give to both terminations the self-same sense, and that makes none. D'Urte means to say "taking to themselves to wife", but he really writes "taking for the very wives", as if, that is, they were already married.

In Gen. c. 28, v. 2. 'hiredçat', 'emaztetçat' is not elegant, because here also 'tçat' has two different senses. The words were separated in the edition of 1899, just as in Gen. c. 12. v. 19 we have "eta enetçat hartu nuen emaztetçat".

F. 11, v. 17. In 'guçiey arımac egiñen diote' the verb 'diote' is a senseless blunder on the part of the scribe. In the 2nd edition I put in its place 'diraizteat' = 'I have them . . . to them O man!', which occurs in St. Lukes Gospel, c. 19. v. 8, in Leizarragas New Testament of 1571, reprinted, with all its defects and some new ones, in 1900.

The use of 'egiñen' appears to be justified by 'egin' in c. 14. v. 7, and recalls the phrase 'çintçurrac eguiteco' also; but as it is not now used in the sense of 'destroy' (vulgar 'do for'), and does not bear that meaning in the word-books, it were better to take it in both places as a slip of the pen for 'desegiñen' and 'desegin' respectively.

F. 13, in the summary the second 'i' in 'ilkitçera' is unduly loaded with two accents. The original is 'ilkhîçera', with ' above a circumflex on the second 'i'. Elsewhere also d'Urte has charged the letter 'i' with both dot and accent, e. g. f. 107, vo, v. 23, 'ihurtçiriac', which is quite bad enough, especially as the same word occurs on the next page without any accent.

F. 14, v. 13. 'Dadillala' is not marked as having one 'l' too many in the middle.

F. 14, v<sup>o</sup>. v. 19 'besti' is not marked. It should, of course, be 'bestia', in which the 'a' is etymological and not the article.

F. 14, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 21. The MS has 'gaztarassunetic'. The Oxford edition doubles the 'r'. Mine, of 1899 has 'gaztartassunetic'; but 'gaztetassunetic' would be more usual.

F. 16, v<sup>o</sup>, in the Summary one reads 'Iaphethen', but thrice in the chapter 'Iaphethten'. One or the other of these forms should have been marked as a blunder. The latter of course is wrong.

F. 19, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 29. The sense of the original is that the name of Nacors wife was Milcah, and that she was the daughter of Haran, who was the father of herself and Iiscar. The MS presents us with 'father' in apposition not with Haran (as it seems in English), but with Milcah, which makes nonsense. We see elsewhere that d'Urte was not good at pedigrees. All becomes clear if we read "alaba Haran baitçen Milcaren eta Iiscaren aita": making a new clause at the end, and inserting "Haran was father of Milcah and Iscar".

F. 23, v. 1. 'Araioc' is an evident mistake for 'Arioc' which occurs in v. 9. Calvin wrote 'Arioch'.

F. 23, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 8. 'bere' after 'çuten' is needlessly repeated, but not noted as a 'lapsus calami'.

F. 24, v. 18. Read 'Melkisedec'. The MS has 'Melkisede' as if 'Melkisedec' were not the proper name, but the active nominative of 'Melkisede'. Compare d'Urtes misusing of 'Abimelec'. The active case of 'Melkisedec' would, of course, be 'Melkisedekek'. Yet d'Urte has correctly put 'Melkisedeki' as the dative, c. 14, sum: 18. Harismendi has, p. 148 'Melchisedec handiaren' = 'of the great Melkisedec'.

F. 26, v. 7. After 'Eternalaren' (= 'of the Eternal') the word 'Aingueruac' has been omitted, both in the writing and in the printing, yet no note on it repairs the omission.

F. 26, v<sup>o</sup>. 16. The omission of 'a' before the first 'e' in 'Ismelez' has also escaped censure. It is likewise a manuscriptal shortcoming.

F. 28, v. 18. Should not the 2nd 'o' in 'oçhola' (sic MS) have been marked for a mistake for 'a'?

F. 29, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 14. 'gorderiçacóric?' should be marked as a miswriting of 'gordericacóric'. The edition of 1899 is also to blame. Some of its defects I had certainly marked on the proof.

F. 29, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 17. The word 'diot' has been omitted in the MS before 'Abrahani'. The 1st edition does not restaur it.

F. 31, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 14. On d'Urtes principles the 'c' in 'çela' should be 'ç'.

F. 31, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 17. The final letter of 'salbac' should have been marked as superfluous. The MS is to blame. It was perhaps meant for 'e' the initial of 'eçac' instead of 'çac' the next word. But 'çac' is common in the book. The word 'salba' occurs correctly thrice on this page.

F. 31, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 18. 'ciote' is the printers fault. The MS has 'çioten', correctly.

F. 33, v. 6. 'ez' after 'aüt' should be left out. D'Urte had at first written 'guardatu ere aüt ez bekhatu eguign ezteçaántçat'. Then in altering it he left the 'ez' where it is; striking out only 'gn ezteçaántçat'. He probably meant at first to put 'ezteçaántçat bekhatu eguign'.

F. 34. The foot-note should be 'egunen', not 'egunetaco'. The same misuse of the word 'urthe' = 'year' for 'egun' = 'day' occurs on f. 27. verso.

F. 35, v. 25. 'Abimele' should be 'Abimelec'. But 'Abimelequec' is required in c. 20 vv. 9, 10; in c. 21, vv. 26 and 29, and in all other places where the name occurs as nominative to an active or transitive verb. We find d'Urte using 'Abimelec' rightly as the passive nominative in c. 21, v. 22 and v. 32, where it governs 'çen' = 'was'. D'Urte observes the rules for other cases correctly as regards this name, e. g. G. c. 20, v. 3 and c. 21, v. 27, 'Abimelequi'; except c. 20, v. 18, where 'Abimelequen' would be right instead of 'Abimelen' as the MS gives. It is right in c. 21, v. 25. The Oxford edition did not check these errors. My own edition is also at fault.

In c. 20, v. 17 and c. 21, v. 25, 'Abimelec' is right as an accusative. The word follows of course the same rules as 'Isaac' for its declension. F. 41, vo, v. 67 and elsewhere the MS has 'Isaaquec' rightly as the nominative governing 'çuen'. When he comes to c. 26, d'Urte is awake again, and writes 'Abimelecquec' or 'Abimelequec' where it is needed.

F. 36, v. 5. 'dugu' implies that 'astoa' (= 'the ass') is to be worshipped! That is the last object mentioned. Basks cannot say "we will adore". They must say "we will adore 'it' or 'them'". So the word *Eternala*, rendering *l'Éternel*, must be added. One remarks in other places a tendency on the part of d'Urte to omit the equivalent of words which happen to be in *Italic* in the French.



F. 36, v. 12. 'eztiocacala' ought to have been marked as a misprint of 'eztiocacala'. The MS is guilty.

F. 38, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 12. The omission of 'graçiazco bat' after 'incuntru', to render 'une heureuse', has not been marked.

F. 39, v. 15. The grammar does not quite correspond with the genealogy given above in c. 22, vv. 20-24. 'Emaztearena' should be 'emaztearen semearena'; and 'anaiarena' should be 'anaieren semearena'. It is all right in v. 24, just below.

F. 39, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 28. Read 'goan çen' not 'göäcen'. The MS is wrong.

F. 42, v. 9. The MS rightly has 'eta' not 'et'.

F. 42, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 20. 'agé de quarante ans' should be 'berrogoy urtheren'; but Mr. Thomas put only 'berrogoyen' as a correction of the obvious error 'laurhogöyen' which means 'of eighty'. In all other places where a persons age is recorded, d'Urte expresses the word 'years' as Calvin did in the French.

F. 43, v. 11. 'Dattes' has been translated 'pignu-fruituac' = 'pine-fruits'. D'Urte might as well have written 'pig-nuts'. Larramendi has 'datila' for 'el datil'. The plural is 'datilac'.

F. 43, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 1. 'Gerara should be 'Gerarera'. The MS is wrong here. In v. 6 it is 'Geraren' rightly, in the locative case.

F. 43, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 3. For 'hiri ondoreari' read 'hire ondoreari'. The MS is to blame, and the edition for not marking the mistake.

F. 44, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 18. 'çituen', though needlessly repeated in the MS, is not marked as a mistake.

F. 46, v. 7. The last letter in 'dietçaquidaco' should have been marked as superfluous. M. J. Vinson omits it in his Appendix. The MS is at fault.

F. 46, v. 11. For 'illetts' read 'illetssua'. The MS is correct. In v. 29, 'aitçignenean ought to be 'aitcigne'. The scribe, having put 'aitçigne' = at the end of a line, began the next with = 'nean' instead of = 'an'. In v. 46, the MS has 'Rebecac'. Read 'Rebecac'.

F. 48, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 2, 'hartçat' should be 'har tçac'. The scribe thought of the 't' in the next word 'hiredçat', which he has separated by a comma from 'emaztetçat' thereby diminishing the awkwardness of such a collocation. This was overlooked in the printing.

F. 48, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 4. 'hiri' = 'town', (perhaps Semitic in origin, if not a phonetic variety of 'huri', 'uri') seems to be a mistake for 'herri' = 'contry', 'land'. This can be used for 'hiri', but not 'hiri' for 'herri'.

F. 48, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 7. Instead of 'çitue - (n)' read 'çituela', as the word is on the same footing as 'çuela' in the preceding verse, and 'çela' just after it. In the MS it is 'citue' = at the end of a line. So it is clear that the scribe meant to begin the next with = 'la'.

F. 49, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 3. The MS has rightly 'han', not 'hau'.

F. 50, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 17 and f. 59, v. 13. 'mimbera' should be plural 'mimberac' as a predicative epithet, cf. f. 71, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 7 'triste çiren'.

F. 53, v. 33. 'aitçigneane' a mistake for 'aiçeneane', may be accounted for by the preceding 'aitçignera' three lines above. But in any case it is clumsy here, and another point in favour of the dictation theory.

F. 54, Summary. The printer put two dots and an accent on the 2nd 'i' in 'ichillican'. The original is 'ichillican', or, possibly 'ichillican' with one dot and an accent over this 'i'.

F. 54, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 13. 'arotan' should be 'hinarotan'. This mistake coming after 'eguign' = 'egñ' is also probably to be explained as the result of dictation by d'Urte.

F. 55, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 37. The MS has 'guc', but it should be 'gu'. In v. 12 the misprint in 'altçhac' is wrongly noted. The 'c' final should be suppressed, not cedillated.

F. 56, v<sup>o</sup>, sum: read 'hirriscuaren'. The MS wrongly divides the word.

F. 56, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 53. 'beçate' should be 'beça'. 'Iaincöec' as plural is heretical: but the French is 'les dieux'.

F. 58, v. 29. 'Iabec' in the MS should be 'Iacobec'. The edition marks it.

F. 59, v. 16. 'Sehirrat' should be 'Sehirrerat'. In c. 33, v. 14 it is 'Sehirrera'. Cf. G. c. 25, v. 18 'Assurera'.

F. 60, v<sup>o</sup>, line 1. Read 'gucietaric', not 'gucietarie'. The MS is clear and right.

F. 61, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 4. Instead of 'guçiuc', read 'guçiac' as the MS has it.

F. 62, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 9. 'ete' ought to be marked as a mistake for 'eta'. The MS is innocent.

F. 63, l. 1. add 'ez' as the termination of 'Rehuel'. The MS is wrong.

F. 65, v. 2. The words 'haren aitaren emazteac' = 'his fathers wives', are, to say the least, loosely placed. The last makes no grammatical sense from an Heuskarian point of view. It might be either accusative or nominative. It should be followed by

*cirenen haiürren artean* = among the children of those who were his fathers wives, in Italic type. Here the author thought, as too many modern Bask writers do, in 'Erdara' the destructive foe of 'Heuskara'.

F. 65, v. 8. 'baldim' appears to be superfluous.

F. 69, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 20 and F. 40, v. 3. Why is 'cartçela' marked as if its initial were wrong? It is merely Castilian 'carcel' with the Baskish 'a' = 'the' post-positive. (Note 'ce' = 'tce'.)

F. 70, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 6. Is 'triste' a verbable radical = 'to be sad'? If not, ought not 'tristeac' to be used? cf. 'mimbera' c. 33, v. 13.

F. 70, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 14, etc: 'gógara' for gógora occurs in other books, e. g. p. 227 of that of Harismendi.

F. 70, v. 23. 'revoioit' is translated 'egortçen as if it were 'renvoioit'. The Oxford edition suggests no remedy, though it marks the word. 'Ikertcen' is the right word. Deafness and dictation again suggest themselves.

F. 71, v<sup>o</sup>. In the Summary the MS omits the 'cedilla' under the first 'c' in 'ethorquiçuneco', but there is no note on it.

F. 72, v. 8. 'Ejiptu' is a mistake for 'Egiptuco'. The hyphen at the end shews that the scribe meant to add 'co', for there is no hyphen before 'majiciano', the first word of the next line, as, according to the rule of the MS, there would have been if 'Ejiptu' had been meant to be joined onto it.

F. 76, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 38 and F. 80, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 31. 'dolorerequign' is wrongly marked as containing a misprint. 'Dolore' is the stem: and 'requiñ' is 'with'. 'Dolore' occurs for instance on pp, 161, 197 and 217 of the 'Dotrina Christiana' of E. Materre.

F. 79, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 5 . . . . 'ceña eguiazki eçagutuco baitic?' does not translate '& par laquelle très-assûrément il devinera?' but "and which he will truly recognise". In this verse 'non' translates 'dans laquelle' = 'no(r)n'. The ordinary word for 'deviner', 'asmatze', occurs G. c. 44, v. 15.

F. 79, v. 34. 'bonaçhira', marked as a slip of the pen for 'bonachera', which Harismendi has on p. 128, may be a reminiscence of the English 'good cheer' which d'Urte enjoyed in his exile before he lost his pension, or the Basks may have taken it from old French 'chiere'. In the same way his use of 'irrin lore' = 'flower' (of) 'flour' points to his work having been written in England.

F. 81, v. 34. After 'guertha' = at the end of a line the scribe must have meant to add not 'tçen', as Mr. Thomas did; but 'tceco', the futural ending, for the French has 'qui adviendra'.

F. 82, v. 16. 'çer', the interrogative pronoun has not been marked. It is an evident manuscriptal error for 'ceña', the relative pronoun.

F. 84, v. 20. 'Potipherath' ought to have been marked as a mis-writing of 'Potipherah'.

F. 87, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 10. The second 'c' in 'baitçeçáquen' has not been marked. It should be 'ç'.

F. 88, v<sup>o</sup>. In the Summary 'Iacobec' is a misprint for the possessive case 'Iacoben' = 'of Jacob'. The MS is right here.

F. 91, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 10. For 'Adaco', as the MS has it, read 'Atadco', as in v. 11.

F. 92, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 1. The last two letters of 'Israelenen' should have been bracketed for omission. The manuscript is wrong here.

F. 93, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 16. The MS rightly has *ditútçuen*.

F. 94, v. 4. Some word has been omitted after 'eguignen' in the MS.

F. 95, v<sup>o</sup>, l. 3. 'erratten' ought to be 'erraten'. The MS is not erratic in this place.

F. 100. In the note read 'pipa' rather than 'ondoa'. Compare Gen. c. 14, v. 22.

F. 101, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 16 and 18. 'Kehath' is no mistake, for it is spelt so in Calvins French. Cf. Gen. 46, v. 11 where d'Urte himself hesitated and put both 'Kohath' and 'Kehath'.

Folio 102, v. 33. No mark has been put to shew that the last four letters of 'arrebarena' have no business to be there. 'Arreba' means 'the sister' (in respect of a brother). Elisçebah was sister of Nahasson. But 'arrebarena' would mean "the (daughter) of the sister", as if she were, on the contrary, his niece. D'Urte, as we have already seen, was not cleverer at genealogical grammar than at botanical names.

Folio 107, v. 10. The copulative termination of 'Dakharz-quetenéquign' is surprising and quite wrong. The construction with 'billhatu' in the verse before being the simple nominative as predicate. He uses the copulative ending again quite wrongly, as is noted on f. 110, v. 18 of the Oxford edition, in Exodos c. 10, v. 18. 'Billhatu' = 'turned into'.

F. 108, v. 29. The initial letter of 'tituc' ought as much to be marked as it is in verse 9 of f. 104 v<sup>o</sup>, as a mistake for 'd'. It is just possibly a dialectal peculiarity. But one gets 'gueldituco dituc' on f. 105.

F. 108, v<sup>o</sup>, the note is incorrect. The word left unrepresented

by d'Urte is 'l'épeautre' in Calvins French. It would be 'la espelta' in Castilian, 'the spelt' in English. Larramendi in his Dictionary renders it by 'gari mota bat' which merely signifies 'a kind of grain' rightly adding "Lat. Spelta". One may safely suggest that the word 'escanda' will serve very well, as it is easier for a Bask to pronounce, and occurs in the old Castilian version. The Greek has *ἄλυστα* which may be of the same origin as Baskish 'olóa' = 'oats'. An 'r' between two vowels frequently falls out in the spoken Baskish, especially in the Souletin dialect.

F. 109, v. 7. The last clause in this verse is not rightly translated.

F. 112, v. 6. He translates l'égorgera' (= 'he will cut its throat') by 'larrutuco dic' which means 'l'écorchera'. Duvoisin uses the vague term 'hilen' = 'shall kill it'. Larramendi in his Dictionary translates 'degollar' by words compounded of 'throat' or 'neck' and 'cut'. Dictation again!

F. 113, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 23. 'çuen' is needlessly repeated in the MS before 'etchétan'. This blunder is not indicated.

F. 114, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 44. In 'ianengo' the double future ending is certainly a mistake in the MS. In the following and preceding verses 'ianen', which would suffice, is used; and so, I believe, everywhere else if 'manger' occurs in the future tense. The scribes eye caught 'içango' which occurs twice in the same verse.

F. 116. In the note read 'dituc' and not 'direla'.

F. 117, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 11. The first 'c' in 'baicaituc' is no mistake, as the editor supposed. It is the 'g' of 'gaituc' with the ordinary mutation after the prefix, or possibly the old form of 'gaituc' only kept up when the prefix serves as a bulwark. Hard 'c' in Bask tends to turn into 'g'.

F. 117, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 13. Of course 'ditut' and 'çuenac' form but a single word. So are 'baniat' and 'horc' on f. 124, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 6. The scribe has put asunder many things that should be joined together.

F. 123, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 5. 'Eta har tçac hire escuan çhigor: hartaz ibaia jo duäna, eta athor adi' is not a correct translation of: '& prens en ta main la verge, dont tu frapas la fleuve, & marche'. In the original the scribe put 'chigorrá' and then barred out the 'ra' = 'the' after a noun ending in 'r'. When he wrote 'chigorrá' = 'the rod' he meant no doubt to go on with a relative clause beginning 'çefiaz' = 'with the which' and to put 'duc' or 'duan' instead of 'duana'. But he got into a muddle over it, and has given us both the instrumental case of a demonstrative pronoun

which one does not want, 'hartaz', and a relative verb declined in the accusative 'duäna', and the result is untranslatable, although one can guess at the meaning. If 'duana' is correct, 'hartaz' is needless. The relative 'dont' is expressed by the 'n' in 'duäna' which is the relational articulated form of 'duc', in which 'äna' means 'the (rod) with which'. The word is really the same as 'duäna' in c. 18, v. 17. The precise prepositional quality attached to the relative 'n' depends on the context of course. It belongs to both genders, to singular and plural, and to all cases. It is a most beautiful and catholic hinge-letter. Probably no language has a more convenient or effectual one. It may be compared to a 'point' on the railway for guiding a train off one road on to another. This is not the only proof that d'Urte did not understand the use of the relative pronoun 'n' as a verbal ending. There is for instance Ex: 18, v. 20. 'nondic goan direna' = 'par laquelle ils doivent marcher', where of course the article 'a' in 'direna' is quite superfluous and wrong, if 'nondic' be kept. The latter is quite right if followed by an unarticulated 'diren' as a simple conjunctive. 'Nondic' can mean either 'whence' 'from where' 'from . . . in which', or, as in this place, 'by' or 'through which'. Here its sense is fully expressed in the 'n' of 'direna'. He was not, however, the only author who did not understand the capabilities of the relative pronoun 'n'. We see its misuse in the words 'deusenari' (for 'deusenak'), 'jacanari' (for 'jacana'), in the *Refranes y Sentencias* printed at Pamplona in 1596 and in Geneva in 1896, a most important document.

Moreover Voltaire in his 'Trésor' has 'cein sor baikeituzuene-gatik', where 'cein' is superfluous with the 'n' of 'keituzuen'.

F. 124, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 1. The MS reads correctly 'Iethro', not 'Iethroc' the word being in the same grammatical relation to 'aitaguign-harrauac' and 'çuen' as in verse 12 on the next side. This serves to shew that 'Saraic' in c. 16, v. 1, should be 'Sarai', though the scribe perhaps took 'bada' as a break in the four words which compose the nominative of 'etçioën'. Yet in G. c. 20, v. 2 'Abimelec bada Gerarco Erregeac' is an exactly similar case, and there 'Abimelec' is passive.

F. 126, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 15. Instead of 'ganic' read 'ganat'. This deserved a foot-note as much as any of d'Urtes laughable blunders. Also on f. 118, v. 20, we have 'hurbildu bertceaganic' = 'near the other'. It must, however, be said that the Baskish idiom for 'near to' is 'near from', as in the Romance tongues, e. g. in French

'se rapprocher de la ville'. But d'Urte elsewhere uses 'hurbill' with 'gana' or 'ganat' generally, e. g. G. c. 33, v. 3. E. Materre, p. 281, has 'Hurbil çaito othoi ene arimara', i. e. 'approach Thou unto my soul', using 'ra' the directive case ending.

F. 128. In the note, instead of 'kharrac' read 'çhiçhmichtac', which occurs in c. 19, v. 16. The proper sense of 'kharra' is seen in 'kharretan', the locative case plural, Ex: c. 3, v. 2.

F. 128, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 23. The MS has 'Iaincoric' all right, at the end.

F. 130, v<sup>o</sup>, v. 35. The MS clearly gives 'erdtican'. 'Ordican' is quite out of order.

p. 134, suppress 'afin'. p. 143, read 'citiztean'. p. 150, l. 15, read 'ait', not 'aie'. p. 162, after "Londres", 1870 insert "& 1876". After 1881 insert "London". To the list of Biblical translations one must also add the edition of the gospels of St. John and St. Luke published in 1884 by the Trinitarian Bible Society. They were printed from the plates already used by the British and Forane Bible Society, and issued in a new cover. M. J. Vinson omitted them in his valuable 'Bibliographie Basque' of 1891.

#### THE APOLOGY OF THE CRITIC.

I met the Revd. Llewelyn Thomas in the Library of Bayonne, B. P., in the summer of 1892, while he was chaplain to the Anglican Community in Biarritz; and he told me that he was learning Heuskara. So I informed him of the d'Urte manuscripts, and advised him to persuade the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to publish them, and produce the first Baskish book ever printed in Oxford. My suggestion bore good fruit, and our edition<sup>1</sup> appeared on the first of June, 1894; consisting, as I was informed by Mr. C. E. Doble, of five hundred copies. Nine months later I wrote a criticism on it, the draught of which Mr. Thomas himself forwarded for publication to The Academy. But, fortunately, its crudities escaped publicity, and it has developed into the present less imperfect essay, in which I can embody the results of my collation of the original manuscripts, realised first

<sup>1</sup> Some of its defects were removed in my own edition of the Genesis (Etórkia.), published on the 21st of February 1899 by the Trinitarian Bible Society, 25 New Oxford Street, London, W. C. In this the spelling was partially modernised. On p. 104, v. 9 the correction, erraten cioela, must be added to the list, and ciatáan.

for two hours on the afternoon of the 25th of September last at Shirburn Castle, and then at leisure during the whole of the following month in the Bodleian Library, where Lady Macclesfield very graciously caused them to be deposited on loan under the care of Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson. No review of the book having yet appeared in the English Language, I venture, after paying attention to Baskology for fifteen years, to submit my own to the notice of the curious, hoping that it will tempt them to learn Baskish, and be clear to them, if they have not begun. Mr. Thomas shewed great skill upon the whole in his editorial work. His plan was to reproduce the MS leaf by leaf, without amendment. He had learned a good deal of Baskish in a few months; but not quite enough to detect all the beams and motes in d'Urtes eye, or to avoid some blemishes of which the original is, as I always hoped, guiltless. I believe that I marked some of these in the proofing.

OXFORD, ALL HALLOWS DAY, 1901.

EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON.



#### IV.—EPICUREA.

The letter of Epicurus to Herodotus commences with an introductory paragraph, designed to define the class of readers for whom this Epicurean epitome was prepared. Thereupon the author turns to his theme with the following words: "First, then, one should apprehend that which underlies the words [that is, the sensations on occasion of which we utter, or first uttered, the words], in order that we may have something to which to refer, as to a court of last appeal, opinions, questions, and difficulties, so that, as we construct our argument, every thing may not run on unadjudicated *ad infinitum*, and we thus have but empty words. For, in the case of every word, we must look to its first intention, and there rest the case without requiring further demonstration, if we are to have something to which we can appeal in cases of question, difficulty and opinion."

Then follows a sentence that still wants explanation, § 38: *εἴτε κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ πάντα τηρεῖν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴτε διανοίας εἴ θ' ὅτου δὴ ποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἀδῆλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα*. I infer from Usener's Epicurea that this is the reading of the MSS upon which he relies for the text. But *πάντα* before *τηρεῖν* is omitted in F, one of the best MSS. Bruns, Lucrez-Studien, p. 32, n. 1, reports the MSS as reading *εἴτε τὰς αἰσθήσεις*, omitting *κατὰ*, which is important, if true.

The passage, as it stands, appears to yield no intelligible sense, although Cobet and Hirzel, Untersuchungen, I 125, retain it essentially in this form. Since so much of the doctrine of Epicurus is involved in the understanding of these words, it will be necessary to discuss them at considerable length. Such an examination is the more demanded because even Giussani, in his Lucretius, has hardly advanced the solution of the question. Usener adopts the MSS reading, only substituting *ἐπειτα* for the first *εἴτε*, to obtain an adverb answering to *πρῶτον μὲν*. Unfortunately Usener, like Hirzel, gives no hint as to the construction. Gassendi, besides reading *εἴτα* for the first *εἴτε*, introduced *κατά*

before τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς and τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη, holding αἰσθήσεις, ἐπιβολὰς and πάθη to be like elements in the sentence. Giussani, Lucretius I p. 177, n. 1, demands the insertion of κατὰ in the latter place, but not in the former, asserting that the ἐπιβολαί are not κριτήρια in the same sense as αἰσθήσεις and πάθη.

We shall presently return to this assertion. For the present it will suffice to note that ἐπιβολὰς and πάθη are conceived of as like elements of the sentence, as is made evident by the addition of παρούσας and ὑπάρχοντα. These terms are clearly synonymous.<sup>1</sup> We may next consider ἀπλῶς. The word here means 'in short', implying partial similarity and contrast with something that preceded. The choice lies between αἰσθήσεις and πάντα, and the former only will answer. Besides, as Giussani also has seen, in so fundamental a statement of the κριτήρια, πάθη at least must be parallel in construction to αἰσθήσεις. But we have already seen that παρούσας and ὑπάρχοντα place ἐπιβολὰς and πάθη in the same construction. Hence αἰσθήσεις, ἐπιβολὰς and πάθη belong inseparably together.

We would thus be led to look with favor upon the suggestion of Gassendi that we insert κατὰ before both τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς and τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη. The loss of κατὰ in the latter place could readily be explained, as it would follow καί, with which it is often confounded. Its omission in the earlier place would cause more difficulty. But it is possible that there may be a better solution. Even a hasty glance at the context will show that the sentence under discussion was conceived by its author as a close parallel to the one just preceding. There we have ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ' ἑκάστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι . . . while in our sentence we have τηρεῖν which has much the same meaning as βλέπεσθαι.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore the thought of the two sentences is as nearly as possible parallel. Now, if we could render τηρεῖν with 'test,' or 'examine,' the text of Gassendi might stand; for then κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις would properly mean 'by reference to the sensations,' a meaning quite consistent with the sentence itself and with sub-

<sup>1</sup>Cp. § 82: ὁθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι . . . καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ' ἑκάστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργεῖα. The entire passage affords a striking parallel to § 38 and to § 147, to be considered later. Note also that προσεκτέον here = τηρητέον, for which see τηρεῖν in § 38.

<sup>2</sup>For Epicurus' usage, cp. § 77: ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ σέμνωμα τηρεῖν, κατὰ πάντα ὀνόματα φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας, and in the letter to Pythocles, § 88: τὸ μέντοι φάντασμα (= ἐνάργημα) ἐκάστου τηρητέον.

sequent references to it.<sup>1</sup> But the verb will not bear this interpretation. It would seem, therefore, that the phrase cannot be correct, since no other tenable explanation can be given of *κατά*.

I would therefore omit both *κατά* and *πάντα* and read: *ἔπειτα τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ τηρεῖν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴ τε διανοίας εἴ θ' ὅτου δὴ ποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἀδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα*. "Next, we must look strictly to the sense-impressions, and, in short, to the present perception, be it of the understanding, be it of whatever cognitive faculty, and in like manner to the present pleasure-pains, in order that we may have something by means of which we may infer both that which still awaits confirmation by the senses and that which is not accessible to sense-perception."

Now, regarding the words thus rejected, it will be recalled that *πάντα* is not found in F, and that, according to Bruns the MSS omit *κατά*. It is well, however, to attach little weight to these considerations. The foregoing discussion has shown that Usener's text is impossible, and the solution of the problem here given is certainly simpler than Gassendi's. Moreover *κατά* and *πάντα* probably belong together. It may be that Epicurus used the words to point the contrast between the two statements, the appeal, in the latter, to *αἰσθήσεις*, *ἐπιβολαί*, and *πάθη* being universal—*κατά πάντα*—whereas we resort to the first intention only *καθ' ἑκαστον φθόγγον*. If *κατά* was omitted and set in the margin, it would be easy to account for its insertion at the wrong point.<sup>2</sup> It may be, on the other hand, that the phrase was added by a reader, to mark the above-mentioned contrast.

It remains for us to consider the objection of Giussani that the *ἐπιβολαί* did not belong to the *κριτήρια*. I shall soon discuss in another connection the entire subject of the Epicurean *κριτήρια*, and hence may here touch lightly upon it. The phrase *φανταστική ἐπιβολή*, occurring in §§ 50, 51, shows that the *ἐπιβολή* was a function of the *φαντασία* = *αἴσθησις* (cp. *φανταστόν* = *αἰσθητόν*). But the expression, in § 38, *ἐπιβολὰς εἴ τε διανοίας εἴ θ' ὅτου δὴ ποτε τῶν κριτηρίων*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. § 39: *αὐτὴ ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ, καθ' ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἀδὲλον τῷ λογισμῷ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὥσπερ προεῖπον*, referring to the preceding §. See also § 68: *ἀνάγων τις ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, μνημονεύων τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ ρηθέντων*.

<sup>2</sup> The common use of *κατά* in reference to the *κριτήρια*, as in § 39, and especially in the *Κύριαι Δόξαι*, § 147, which passage from the 'Articles' was of course familiar to every Epicurean, may well have led to the confusion, since, if *κατά* was taken with *αἰσθήσεις*, *πάντα* would naturally assume the place of the wanting object of *τηρεῖν*.

further proves that this function was exercised by an indefinite number of κριτήρια. In addition to αισθήσεις and πάθη the Epicureans commonly included in their number also the προλήψεις.<sup>1</sup> The definition<sup>2</sup> of πρόληψις proves that it was a form of ἐπιβολή, and indeed it seems but natural to conclude that by the ἐπιβολαὶ τῆς διανοίας Epicurus meant chiefly the προλήψεις.<sup>3</sup> I shall pass over the technical φανταστική ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας which the Epicureans, if not Epicurus, accounted one of the κριτήρια, because a discussion of it would lead us too far afield. One thing is beyond dispute: Epicurus himself spoke in the most general terms<sup>4</sup> of κριτήρια, and the definite formulation of three or four canonical κριτήρια is one of the first fruits of the Epicurean scholasticism to which we owe many of our misconceptions of the founder of the school. We may thus dismiss the objection raised by Giussani.

There is a second passage, in § 41, that requires emendation: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπειρόν ἐστι. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄκρον ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον παρ' ἑτερόν τι θεωρεῖται. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄκρον πέρασ οὐκ ἔχει· πέρασ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἀπειρον ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον. "The universe is infinite; for that which is limited has an outermost part. But the outermost part is viewed relatively to something else. Therefore, not having an outermost part, it has not a limit; and not having a limit, it is infinite and not limited."

On reading these words attentively, one will detect in the third clause a weakness in the argument. It is not, strictly speaking, the outermost part of an object that is viewed relatively to something else; for the outermost part is viewed relatively to the other parts of the same object. It is rather *that which has an outermost*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Diog. Laert. X 31.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex., Strom. II 4, p. 157 Sylb., apparently quoting Epicurus, says: πρόληψιν δὲ ἀποδίδωσιν ἐπιβολὴν ἐπὶ τι ἐναργὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναργὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπινόων. Cp. Philodemus (Sudh. vol. II, p. 40): ὁψ[ό]μεθα γάρ, ἂν ἐπιβάλλ[ω] με[ν], ἃ μὲν καλοῦσιν ἐνθυμήματα, where ἐπιβάλλειν = *animus advertere*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Diog. Laert. X 62: ἐπεὶ τό γε θεωρούμενον πᾶν ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀληθές ἐστιν. Here τὸ θεωρούμενον refers to the αἰσθήσεις, and τὸ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ would most naturally be taken as depending upon the προλήψεις.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the phrase in § 38 now under consideration, compare the sweeping expression in the Κύρια Δόξαι, § 147: τὴν αἰσθήσιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας. In the letter to Herodotus, § 82, he says: ὅθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παρούσι καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι . . . καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργέα. These phrases show that Brieger is wrong in omitting as spurious the words εἰτε διανοίας εἰδ . . . τῶν κριτηρίων.

*part* that is viewed relatively to something else from which it is distinguished and by which it is limited. We should, therefore, have expected τὸ δὲ ἄκρον ἔχον παρ' ἑτερόν τι θεωρεῖται. This correction seemed to me so self-evident that I added ἔχον in the margin of my text before I observed that Cicero, de Div. II. 50, 103, clearly had before him the correct reading, which he renders exactly: Quod autem habet extremum, id cernitur ex alio extrinsecus.

In § 43 editors of Diog. Laert. have rightly set apart the following passage as a scholion: οὐδὲ γάρ φησιν ἐνδοτέρῳ εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν τομὴν τυγχάνειν, λήγειν δέ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται, εἰ μᾶλλον τις μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀπλῶς εἰς ἄπειρον αὐτὰς ἐκβάλλειν. "And he says farther on that the division of matter does not proceed *ad infinitum*, but that it comes to an end, *since qualities change*, unless one is to carry them [surely not the qualities, but the atoms, are meant] to infinity in point of magnitude as well." Here the clause ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται not only seriously disturbs the construction, but will prove on examination, I think, to have no relevancy to the argument of the scholion. It seems to be clearly a foreign element intruded by mistake. If one disregards the clause, the remainder of the sentence proceeds directly to the point which is later developed in §§ 56 foll. But there is not the remotest reference in that connection to change of quality as conditioning the argument. And, indeed, it is not easy to see how qualitative change should be affected by the infinite divisibility of matter. In any case infinite divisibility would seem rather to favor such change than to prevent it.

A glance at the connection suggests an explanation of the intrusion of the clause. The scholion was written in the margin to support the assertion ταῖς δὲ διαφοραῖς <sc. αἱ ἄτομοι> οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἄπειροι ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπερίληπτοι. To this scholion, then, as seems to me highly probable, someone added, as an independent argument, a reference to the problem of qualitative change. Anaxagoras had believed in the infinite divisibility of matter and also in the existence of the homoeomeries. He accounted for qualitative change—always only in the mass—by admixture and by the prominence in the bulk of this or that element or set of elements. The Epicureans, however, attributing as they did great efficacy to change in order, position, etc., and having no distinct unchanging qualities to neutralize, required for their purposes far less variety in the elements themselves.

Lucretius II 578 ff. reports an argument which Epicurus doubtless used in this connection. The reason he assigns for the finitude of atomic shapes is that, unless the theory is to contradict the senses by making the atom large enough to be seen, its number of *partes minimae* must be limited and hence the possible arrangements of them are of course finite. The scholion on the *τομή εἰς ἄπειρον* is closely akin to this argument. Lucretius II 500 ff. adduces a second: If the variety of atomic forms were infinite, qualities (which depend upon them) would not be found to keep within fixed limits. There would always be something better than the best, something worse than the worst. Giussani, on Lucretius I 584-598 and II 500-521, holds that this argument is contained in the clause *ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται*. If so, the form of statement is extremely infelicitous. But whether it be so or not, the confusion of two arguments, for which I am now contending, becomes equally clear in either case.

Immediately after the above mentioned scholion follow the words: *κινουνται τε συνεχῶς αἱ ἄτομοι [φησὶ δ' ἐνδοτέρω καὶ ἰσοταχῶς αὐτὰς κινεῖσθαι τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν εἰς ὁμοίαν παρεχομένου καὶ τῇ κουφοτάτῃ καὶ τῇ βαρυτάτῃ] τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διυστάμεναι, αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν παλμὸν ἰσχουσιν, ὅταν τύχῃσι τῇ περιπλοκῇ κεκλιμέναι ἢ στεγάζομεναι παρὰ τῶν πλεκτικῶν*. Usener rightly, as I think, marked the scholion as here indicated by the brackets, whereas Cobet included in it the words *τὸν αἰῶνα*. On the other hand, Usener is wrong in indicating a lacuna after *τὸν αἰῶνα*.<sup>1</sup> He believes there should have been made at this point a reference to the downward motion of the atoms due to their weight, and cites Lucretius II. 83 foll. Such difficulties as exist are in great part due, here as frequently in Epicurus, to the intrusion of the scholion. If this is assumed, the required remedy is not far to seek.

Epicurus says that the atoms move continuously forever, and

<sup>1</sup> If there were a lacuna, it must be of considerable length. Epicurus (Diels, *Dox.* 311<sup>a</sup> 10 foll.) said: *κινεῖσθαι τὰ ἄτομα τότε μὲν κατὰ στάθμην τότε δὲ κατὰ παρέγκλισιν*. This classification of atomic motions is all-embracing. The first sort of motion occurs *before the formation of a κόσμος*, and is thus largely hypothetical, requiring no special mention at this point. The *κίνησις κατὰ παρέγκλισιν* embraces all motions occurring within a *κόσμος*. Of these only Epicurus is here speaking. They may be conveniently divided into such as pertain to atoms in a free state and such as belong to them in *concilia*. This classification is here observed by Epicurus, and I see no need of assuming a lacuna. Cp. Brieger, *Epikur's Brief an Herodot.* p. 4 foll., and Giussani on Lucretius, II. 98.

that some of them rebound afar, while others enter into entanglements. Two changes in the text are clearly required. First, *καί* after *αὐτὰ* is to be omitted. When, by the intrusion of the scholion, a break was made in the sentence, someone added *καί* to supply the needed connective. Next, *ἰσχοῦσιν* must be changed back to *ἰσχοῦσαι*, a reading that gave place to the present one when *καί* was inserted, evidently in order that the sentence might have a main verb. Usener's doubts on this score are due to his assumption of a lacuna. There is, moreover, another phrase that probably requires emendation, viz. *αὐτὸν τὸν παλμὸν ἰσχοῦσαι*. The use of *αὐτόν* provokes a question. Cobet rendered '*aliae vero agitationem ipsam continent*,' and Munro, on Lucretius II. 98, says, 'others have *simply* a throbbing or oscillation.' This interpretation assumes that *παλμός* was a technical term of very precise meaning, a point not easy to establish.<sup>1</sup> For some such reason as this, scholars have multiplied conjectures: Schneider suggested *τὸν ἀποπαλμὸν*, Usener *αὐ* for *αὐτόν*, and Brieger, whom Giussani follows, *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτόν*.

It appears to me that the meaning of *ἰσχοῦσαι* affords the clew. The atoms continue or maintain—what, if not *the self-same oscillation*? The change from *αὐτὸν τὸν* to *τὸν αὐτόν*<sup>2</sup> is readily made, and seems to afford the required contrast to the *free* paths of the atoms that have not entered into *concilia*.

In § 46–48 Epicurus briefly sketches his theory of the *εἶδωλα*. At the close of § 48 occur these words: *οὐθὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἂν βλέπῃ τίς τίνα τρόπον τὰς ἐνεργείας, ἵνα καὶ τὰς συμπαθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνοίσει*. For *ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ*, Weil reads *ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται*. The Tauchnitz stereotype edition prints *ἂν βλέπῃ τις, τίνα τρόπον τὰς ἐνεργείας τὰ εἶδωλα ποιεῖται*. To whom the change and addition are due, I am unable to discover. Gassendi read *ἐναργείας* for *ἐνεργείας*, and Usener, adopting the suggestions of Weil and Gassendi, follows the MSS with the additional change from *ἵνα καί* to *τίνα καί*. While I incline to think Usener's *τίνα καί* correct, I cannot satisfactorily understand his text. If we read *τίνα* for *ἵνα*, then *τίνα* must, I conceive, stand for *τίνα τρόπον*. In that case, I think we should transpose to *καὶ τίνα*, as *καὶ ἵνα* would naturally

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the synonymous use of *πάλλω*, in § 50.

<sup>2</sup> For Epicurus' use of *ὁ αὐτός* in this sense, see two examples in Diog. Laert. X 114. I suppose nobody would wish to urge the free internal motions of the flock and the legion (Lucretius II 308–332) against this interpretation. The parable applies only in its large outlines.

become *ἵνα καί* when *τίνα* was mistaken for *ἵνα*. But if *τίνα* stands for *τίνα τρόπον*, then we should doubtless read above *ἂν βλέπη τις, τίνα τρόπον κτλ.* The change from *ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ* to *ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται* is not necessary, but is perhaps desirable. I would therefore suggest: *οὐθὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἂν βλέπη τις, τίνα τρόπον τὰς ἰσχυρίας, καὶ τίνα τὰς συμπαθείας*<sup>1</sup> *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνοίσει*, interpreting the sentence thus: "In all this there is nothing in contradiction with the evidence of the senses (and hence, dealing as we are with an *ἀδηλον*, we may accept the theory as substantially true, as it has the further advantage of affording a rational explanation of the facts) if one looks to see in what manner one is to trace back to us the sense-impressions and the (other) interactions of things from without."

In § 55 Usener presents this text: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν μετασχημονιζομένοις κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν τὸ σχῆμα ἐνυπάρχον λαμβάνεται, αἱ δὲ ποιότητες οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσαι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, ὥσπερ ἐκείνο καταλείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύμεναι.* A period should be set after *λαμβάνεται*; but even so the passage is not clear. In the first sentence *κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν* seems to be incapable of interpretation; probably *προαίρεσιν*, the reading of G and P<sup>3</sup>, followed by Cobet, is to be accepted, since it yields a good sense and the change is palaeographically easy. The second sentence I would write thus: *αἱ δὲ ποιότητες, οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσαι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, <οὐχ> ὥσπερ ἐκείνο (sc. τὸ μεταβάλλον) καταλείπονται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπόλλυνται.* "The qualities, however, not inhering in the vehicle of change, do not, like it, remain, but disappear from the entire mass." The negative repeated at the beginning of successive clauses readily accounts for the loss of *οὐχ*. Cobet's text, reading *ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι ὥσπερ ἐκείνο, οὐ καταλείπονται* would make it necessary to refer *ἐκείνο* to *σχῆμα*, which is, I think, impossible. The other changes seem to be demanded by the thought.

At the beginning of § 67 occurs an interesting instance of the confusion incident to the intrusion of a scholion into the text. Usener prints *ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν ὅτι τὸ ἀσώματον*, [Scholion: *λίγει γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν*] *τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἂν· καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλὴν τοῦ κενοῦ.* This text, I dare say, will commend itself to but few. Cobet, failing to detect the scholion, wrote with some freedom *ἀλλὰ μὴν*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. § 50: *τὴν φαντασίαν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ τὴν συμπάθειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου σφύζοντων.*



καὶ τότε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγω κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἄν—in some respects a better text. Lortzing, with the approval of Brieger and Giussani, reads ὅτι τὸ ἀσώματον <οὐ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς>, τοῦ ὀνόματος, κτλ. The remedy seems to me extraordinarily simple. The scholion includes the words τοῦ ὀνόματος, and the beginning of the scholion, when it was intruded, crowded out the verb of the ὅτι-clause. The verb was in all probability λέγεται, as this form best accounts for the addition of the marginal note. I would therefore read as follows: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγεται [Scholion: λέγει γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος] ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἄν. Those who have observed the disjointed character of the letters of Epicurus, resulting from their being composed largely of excerpts taken entire from larger treatises and pieced together, will not require the addition made by Lortzing.

In § 68 Usener has introduced into his text a conjecture paleographically so unlikely that it provokes dissent. He writes: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατηγορεῖται σώματος ὡσανεὶ συμβεβηκότα ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰσθήσιν σώματος γνωστά, οὐθ' ὡς καθ' ἑαυτάς εἰσι φύσεις δοξαστέον, κτλ. Here everything may go unchallenged except σώματος γνωστά, where the MSS generally have αὐτοῖς γνωστοῖς, except that P<sup>2</sup> shows αὐτῶν for αὐτοῖς. Usener's γνωστά for γνωστοῖς seems to be demanded by the context; but σώματος is a poor exchange for αὐτοῖς, without which the corruption of γνωστά to γνωστοῖς is not easy to explain. Just what meaning Usener gave to his text, I do not know. Giussani, Lucretius I, p. 28, who adopts Usener's reading, translates it with "e sono riconoscibili mediante il senso del corpo," and that, presumably, was Usener's understanding of it. But κατὰ τὴν αἰσθήσιν needs no such addition. I believe that αὐτοῖς is sound, a simple dative of reference, looking to ἢ πᾶσι ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς. Then γνωστά became γνωστοῖς by assimilation to αὐτοῖς.

There are two passages in the second letter of Epicurus, so-called, addressed to Pythocles, of which I will speak briefly. The first occurs in § 96. After saying that solar and lunar eclipses may be accounted for by the quenching of the luminaries or by the interposition of other bodies, the writer is made to say: καὶ ὧδε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλήλοις τρόπους συνθεωρητέον, καὶ τὰς δμα συγκυρήσεις τινῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι. The precise meaning of these words is not clear. It seems probable that they are a misplaced scholion,

having no reference to sun and moon. The occurrence of the word *συγκυρήσεις*<sup>1</sup> suggests that the passage refers to prognostics or astrology; possibly the 'consenting characters' are those of persons born with the same horoscope. In that case the words should be regarded as a scholion to § 98.

The second passage occurs in § 115. The MSS read: *καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι ἀμύθητοί εἰσιν*. Instead of *ἀμύθητοί* Usener has inserted *ἀνύσιμοί*, which is undoubtedly a brilliant conjecture. Although the construction gains by the change, I yet have my doubts about it. It is well known how insistent Epicurus was in his endeavor to exclude all reference to religion and astrology from his consideration of meteorological and astronomical phenomena. Particularly in discussing the stars, as in §§ 114, 115, he would naturally repel the idea of having recourse to *μῦθος*.<sup>2</sup> Hence the emendation of the MSS reading *ἀμύθητοί* would seem to lead us rather to *ἄμυθοί* than to *ἀνύσιμοί*. For this use of *ἄμυθος*, see Plut., Mor. 16 C. The unusual word would easily be displaced by *ἀμύθητος*, which was a prime favorite with late writers, as witness Sext. Empiricus.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. §§ 98, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. § 87: *ὁῦλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ*, and § 104: *μόνον ὁ μῦθος ἀπέστω*.

## V.—SOME DERIVED BASES.

### I.

#### IE. *kel-* AND ITS DERIVATIVES.

The primary meaning of the root *kel-* seems to be 'bend, incline'. From this come ON. *hallr*, OE. *heald*, OHG. *hald* 'bent down, inclined', *haldā* 'slope, hill-side', base *\*kēl-to-* 'bending, sloping', OE. *hieldan* 'bend, incline, bend down, bow', *hold* 'gracious, friendly, kind, pleasant; faithful, loyal', Goth. *hulps* 'hold, gnädig', Lat. *clēmens* 'kind, gentle, gracious' (cf. Kauffmann, PBB, XVIII, 143f.), with which compare Skt. *grāma* 'weariness, exertion', base *\*kēl-mo-* 'bending, drooping, sinking', *grāmyati* 'become weary', *grāmayati* 'overcome, overpower', Dan. *helme* 'nachlassen, aufhören'.

To *kel-* 'bend' we may refer OE. *helor*, *heolor* 'balance, scales', *heolorian*, *holrian* 'weigh'. Compare Gk. *κλίω τάλαρα* 'turn the scales'.

The meaning 'bend, turn' is prominent in Lith. *szal̃s* 'side, region', *szal̃nis* 'lateral', *szal̃inėju* 'wander about', *szal̃d* 'by the side of'. With these have been compared ON. *halsa* 'side, region, province', OE. *healf* 'side, half, part, party', Goth. *halba* 'side, half', *halbs*, etc., base *\*kēl-bho-*. (So among others Grienberg, Got. Wortkunde 107 f.) Here also, from a base *\*kēlengo-*, may belong OE. *hlinc* 'slope, hill', *hlence*, ON. *hlekk* 'link', OHG. *hlanca* 'loin, hip, flank', MHG. *link* 'left', *lenken* 'bend, turn', *gelenke*, etc. OE. *hlanc* 'lean, lank', with which compare Goth. *halks* 'gering, arm, dürftig'. Compare OE. *lutan* 'bend, turn': *lytel* 'little, small', OHG. *luzzi*, *luzig* 'klein, elend, erbärmlich' (cf. Schade, Wb.).

From *kel-* comes the base *kēl-īo-*, *kēl-*: Skt. *grāyati* 'incline, lean on, lay upon', Lith. *szl̃ėjū* 'lean against', Gk. *κλίω* 'bend, incline', OHG. *hlinēn*, OE. *hlinian* 'lean', Goth. *hlains* 'hill', *hleiduma* 'left', Gk. *κλίμα* 'slope; region; weather'; *κλίσις* 'a bending, turning aside, wheeling right or left (of soldiers); region', *κλίτος* 'slope, clime', *κλίτος*, *κλίτους* 'slope, declivity', OE. *hlīp* neut. 'slope', *hleda* 'seat', ON. *hlīð* fem. 'slope, mountain-side', *hlīð*

fem. 'side', *hlīda*, *hlīdra* 'turn aside', Dan. *led* 'side, region', *lid*, *lide* 'region, side, declivity, slope', OHG. *lita* 'abhang, leite', Lat. *in-clinō*, *clivus*, etc. (cf. Schade, Wb.; Fick, Wb. I<sup>4</sup>, 44).

From 'bend, incline' comes 'lay over, fold; overlay, cover'. So in the following: OE. *hlīdan* 'cover', *hlīd* 'cover, lid, door', ON. *hlīd* 'door', OHG. *lit* 'lid', Goth. *hleipra*, *hlija* 'hut, tent', Gk. *κλισία*, 'hut', *ἐκέκλιτο* 'lay hid', Iliad V 356, Skt. *vi-ṣṛāyati* 'unfold, open'.

Of course the roots *kel-* and *kli-* are often used figuratively. E. g. Skt. *pra-ṣṛita* 'humble, modest', Lat. *inclinātus* 'sunken, fallen, deteriorated', OIr. *cloin* 'crooked, unjust, wrong', etc. So also OE *hieldan* 'bend, incline, bend down', ON. *halla* 'bend': 'blame, censure'; Skt. *ṣṛāpayati* 'cause to lean, bend': Lat. *culpa* 'failure, defect, fault', *culpō* 'blame, censure'; Goth. *halbs* 'half', *halba* 'side, half', ON. *halfa* 'side, region, land, province': Lith. *szalberius* 'deceiver, cheat', *szalberiuju* 'practice cheating', from a base *kel-bho-* 'sloping, slanting, crooked'.

A base *\*kle-uo-*, *\*klo-uo-* 'bending, curved' is presupposed by OE. *hlēor*, OS. *hlīor*, ON. *hlȳr* 'cheek', pre-Germ. *\*kleu-sō*, and Skt. *ṣṛoṇi-ṣ* 'buttocks, hip', Av. *sraoni-* 'hip', Lith. *szlaunis*, OPruss. *slaunis* 'thigh', Lat. *clunis*, Welsh *clun*, ON. *hlaun* 'buttocks', base *\*kelou-ni-*. Compare Skt. *vāṇcati* 'geht schief, geht krumm, wankt': OHG. *wanga* 'wange'; MHG. *lenken* 'biegen, wenden': OHG. *hlanca* 'hüfte, lende'.

The same *kelū-* 'bend, incline' occurs in the sense 'fall, stumble, limp'. Compare Skt. *ṣṛāvaṇa*, *ṣṛōṇā* 'lame'; Lith. *szlaužu* 'sneak, crawl', *szliūziu* 'trail, drag', *szliūžės* 'sledge, skate'; *szlūbas* 'limping, lame', *szlubiūju* 'limp' (to which Goth. *-hlaupan* 'spring, run', OE. *hlēapan* 'leap, dance', etc. may belong rather than to Lith. *klūpti* 'kneel, stumble', etc.); Lat. *claudus* 'limping, lame', *claudēō* 'limp, halt, falter'.

Similarly *kel-* and *kli-*. Compare Lith. *pa-szlūnūs* 'sloping, precipitous', base *\*kelō-nu-* (with which perhaps is connected Skt. *vi-ṣṛāyati* 'give away', primarily 'turn away from oneself'); ON. *hallr* 'slanting, sloping, crooked', pre-Germ. *\*kel-to-*; Goth. *halts*, OE. *healt*, OHG. *halz*, ON. *haltr* 'halt, lame', *haltra* 'halt, limp', OE. *healtian* 'limp', pre-Germ. base *\*kol-do-*; Lith. *szlėjū* 'lean against', *szlajūs* 'slanting, crooked', *szleivas* 'bow-legged', *szlivūju* 'walk bow-legged, limp'.

It is safe therefore to identify *kel-* 'incline' with *kel-* 'cover, protect, conceal, hide'. Here belong among others Skt. *ṣaraṇa*

'protecting', as neut. noun, 'protection, shelter, refuge', *ǥárman* 'protection, shelter, cover', Goth. *hilms*, OE., OHG. *helm* 'helmet', OE., OS., OHG. *helan* 'hide, conceal', Lat. *cēlo*, etc. (cf. Fick, Wb. I<sup>4</sup>, 44).

These naturally produce many derived meanings. 'Protector' is probably the basal idea in ON. *halr* 'man, master, husband', *hǫldr* 'hero, man, freeholder', OE *hælep* 'man, hero', OHG. *helid* 'held'. Compare OE. *helm* 'helmet, covering: protector, lord'. Similarly I should connect OE. *hlāf*- in *hlāford*- 'lord', *hlāfdige* 'lady' with ON. *hlifa*, OHG. *liban* 'protect, spare', Goth. *hleibjan* 'spare, assist', Lat. *clipeus* 'shield', and refer all to the root *klī*- 'lean, cover, protect', which is evident from ON. *hlíf* 'shield, protection, defense' (cf. author, Mod. Lang. Notes, XV, 328).

From the primary meaning 'covered' come the following color-words: Lat. *colos*, *color* 'outward appearance, hue, complexion, color, brilliancy', *colōreus* 'colored, variegated', *colōrō* 'color, tinge, color reddish or brownish' (Fick, Wb. I<sup>4</sup>, 386). The same base *\*kōlos*-, *\*kōles*- occurs in Goth. *hulistr* 'covering, veil', pre-Germ. *\*kōles-tro*-, OE. *helustr*, *heolstor* 'hiding-place, concealment, darkness', as adj. 'dark', *heolstrig* 'dark', pre-Germ. *\*kēlos-tro*-. The same development of meaning is perhaps also in Gk. *κελαιός* 'dark, black' *κελαινεφής* 'black with clouds, dark, dark-colored', *κελαινο-φαής* 'dark-gleaming, murky', etc. (cf. Fick as above). Compare also Lith. *szeszėlis* 'shadow'.

From 'covered, sheltered' comes 'warm'. This change of meaning is seen in the following: OE. *hlēo(w)* (from *\*hlēwa*-) 'covering, shelter, refuge, protection, protector', *ge-hlēow* 'sheltered, warm (place)', *hlēowe* 'warm', *hliewp* 'covering, shelter, warmth', *hliewan* 'cover, shelter, cherish, warm', *hlēowan* 'become warm', *hlēonap* 'shelter', ON. *hlē* (from *\*hlewa*-) 'shelter, protection', *hlý* (from *\*hliu(i)*) not *\*hlīya* 'shelter, protection', OSw. *liō*, ON. *hlýr* 'mild, warm', *hlýja* 'warm', *hlōa* 'be warm', *hlýna* 'become warm', *hlynnna* 'protect, aid', Dan. *lun* 'covered, sheltered, warm', *lune* 'cover, protect, shelter, warm', OHG. *lāo*, MHG. *lā* (stem *\*hlēwa*-) 'lau'.

The Germ. base *hlēwa*- (from which *hlū-na*-), pre-Germ. *\*kēl-uo*-, is related to the base *\*kēl*-, *\*kēlē*- in Lith. *szilti* 'become warm', *szildau* 'warm, heat', *sziltas* 'warm', *szilumà* 'warmth, warm place', Lat. *caleō*, *calescō*, *calor*, *calidus* (cf. J. Schmidt, Vok. II, 454). To these belong Lith. *szilus* 'August', Skt. *ǥarād* 'autumn', Av. *sareda*- NPers. *sāl* 'year', Osset. *särdä*, *särd* 'summer' (cf. author, AJP. XXI, 182).

In ON. *hlynnā* 'protect, aid' occurs a development of meaning that is also in *kel-* and *keli-*. Thus we may explain Lith. *szelpiū* 'aid, assist, promote', *szelbiūs* 'try to help oneself', Goth. *hīlpan*, OE. *helpan* 'help', etc. So also ON. *hlif* 'shield, protection', *hlifa* 'protect, spare', Goth. *hleibjan* 'ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, aid, assist'.

From 'protection' come also the ideas 'safety, joy, happiness', etc. So in Skt. *ṣarman* 'schirm, schutz, hut, heil, rettung, freude, glück', *ṣarmin* 'glücklich'. This furnishes us with the explanation of the base *keli-* in the following: Skt. *ṣriyā* 'welfare, happiness', *ṣrī* 'happiness, wealth, majesty, beauty, splendor'; *ṣrīka* 'splendor, eminence', OE. *hligan* 'give a reputation for (wisdom), attribute to', *hligsa*, *hlisa* 'report, rumor, reputation, fame', OFries. *hligene*, *hlinga* 'expression, acknowledgment', *hlia* 'report, declare, acknowledge'; Skt. *ṣrīda* 'giving happiness', ON. *hlit* 'satisfaction, sufficiency', pre-Germ. *\*keli-dā-* 'giving protection, joy, befriedigend', ON. *hlita* 'be satisfied with; make use of, use', primarily, in this last sense, 'enjoy', as in Lat. *fruo*; Skt. *ṣrīla* 'beautiful, renowned'; *ṣrīmant* 'beautiful, magnificent, excellent', *ṣrīmān* 'preeminence, magnificence'; *ṣrēyāṇs* 'fairer, more excellent, better', etc. The development here is 'protect, guard, give heed to, cherish, prize, value, treasure', etc.

Of similar development is the root *kel-nu-*, *kle-uo-*, *klū-* 'perceive, hear', primarily, 'turn to, give attention to, give heed to', as is evident from the following: Skt. *ṣrñōti* 'give heed to, study, learn, perceive, hear', *ṣrñātā* 'perceived, heard, mentioned, made known, renowned', *ṣrñōti* 'hear', *ṣrñōti* 'wait upon, serve, obey' (with which compare Lith. *szlusznūs* 'dienstfertig', *szlūžbā*, Pol. *szużba* 'service', Lith. *szlūžyju* 'serve', Pol. *stuchać* 'hear, obey', *szużać* 'serve', OChSl. *slūga* 'servant', *slūžiti* 'serve'), Skt. *ṣrāvā* 'hearing, ear; sounding', *ṣrāvāṇa* 'hearing, learning, reputation, ear', *ṣrāvās* 'call, sound, praise, renown; eagerness, desire', *ṣravasyāti* 'be quick, eager', *ṣravasyu* 'quick, nimble, eager, desirous of praise'; ON. *hliðð* 'attention, silence; sound, tone, voice, song, poem', *hliðð-ligr* 'quietly, still', *hliðð-leiki* 'silence', *hliððna* 'become silent', *hliððr* 'quiet, still, pensive', *hlyða* 'listen to, obey, attend to, wait upon, help', Goth. *hliuþ* 'attention, silence', OE. *hlēopor* 'hearing, sound, melody, song, voice, speaking', *hlūd* 'loud'; OHG. *hlosēn* 'listen to, harken', OS. *hlust* 'attentive listening', OE. *hlystan*, *hlysnan* 'listen', *hlosnian* 'listen for, listen in suspense, be astonished'; ON. *hliömr* 'sound, noise',

*hliōma* 'resound', Goth. *hliuma* 'hearing', OHG. *hliumunt* 'report, renown', Skt. *gr̥māta* 'reputation, renown'; *gr̥avas* 'sound, praise', etc., Av. *sravah-* 'word', Gk. *κλῖος* 'renown', OChS. *slovo* 'word', *slava* 'renown', Pol. *slawa* 'honor, renown', Lith. *szloṽ* 'splendor, magnificence', *szloṽyju*, *szl̃ṽinu* 'praise, laud, glorify', *szl̃ṽnas* 'renowned, magnificent', *szloṽus* 'honored', etc.

## II.

IE. *eleyo-*, *lēyo-* AND ITS DERIVATIVES.

This root denoted primarily a sudden or rapid separation. Used intransitively this would give 'spring forth, fall off, fall away, leave, abandon'; transitively, 'pull, cut, break, beat, excite'. From this primary meaning come the following: Gk. *ἐλνται· ἔρχεται* (Hesych.), *ἀλείω* 'remove, keep far from', *ἀλέομαι* 'avoid, shun, flee, escape, neglect, ἀλύω' 'wander, be excited,—distracted, —frantic', *ἀλώη* 'threshing-floor, garden, orchard' from \**elōyā-* 'free, open space', Goth. *lēw* 'opportunity, occasion', pre-Germ. \**lēyo-m* 'freeness, freedom, license', Goth. *lēwjan* 'betray', *ga-lēwjan* 'give up, betray; present, offer', Czech. *leviti* 'yield', Lett. *ļjaut* 'admit, permit', Lith. *liāutis* 'cease', OPruss. *au-lāut* 'die'; ON. *ljja* 'beat, strike, weaken', Skt. *lāva* 'cut, section, piece, drop, particle, anything cut off, hair, wool', *lunāti*, *lunōti* 'cut, mow, cut off, pluck, tear', *lūni* 'a cutting off', Goth. *lun* 'ransom', Gk. *λύω* 'loose, loosen, set free', Lat. *luō* 'release, atone for, pay', OE. *lēas* 'devoid of, false, vain', Goth. *laus* 'empty, vain', ON. *lauss* 'free, loose, invalid, weak', OHG. *lōs* 'free, deprived of, loose, sportive, wanton', Goth. *lausjan* 'loose, deliver', *fra-liusan* 'loose', *fra-lusnan* 'be lost, perish', OE. *losian* 'be lost, escape, perish', *los*, *lor* 'loss, perishing', *lēoran* 'depart, pass away, die', etc. (cf. Schade, Wb.; Kluge, Et. Wb.; Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb., Ai. Wb.; Persson, Wz. 83, 129).

Here probably belong also Germ. *lus-tu-* 'looseness, sportiveness, wantonness, joy, pleasure, lust', Goth. *lustus*, etc. (cf. Schade, Wb. s. v.), and ON. *ljōsta* 'strike'. Compare ON. *ljja* 'beat, strike'.

Starting from a common centre the great variety of meanings is easily explained. And the words added below are semasiologically not more remote from this centre than are the words usually referred to the root *leu-*. Such significations as 'beat' in ON. *ljja*, 'pluck' in Skt. *lunāti*, 'ransom' in Goth. *lun*, 'false'

in OE. *līas*, 'die' in OPruss. *au-lāut*, OE. *līoran* could not be explained from each other, but become clear when derived from a common centre. Such is the only scientific method of explanation. Let us examine thus the roots *leu-t-*, *leu-d-*, *leu-dh-*, *leu-l-*, *leu-r-*, *leu-p-*, etc. That these need not be separated, as far as the meaning is concerned, from the simple root *leu-* must be evident to all.

Root *leu-t-*: Gk. *λύσσα* < \**λυττα* 'rage', Arc. *λευτός* 'wild', OChSl. *ljutŭ* 'violent', *ljutŭ* 'labor', Lith. *lutis* 'storm' (Prellwitz, Et. Wb.). These contain the idea of quick or violent motion implied in Skt. *lunāti* 'tear', ON. *ljja* 'beat', Gk. *ἀλύω* 'wander, be excited, rave', *ἀλυσίς* 'distress, anguish'. To the same base belong OHG. *lotar* 'loose, wanton, tricky', MHG. *loter*, *lotter* 'wanton fellow, trickster, juggler', OE. *loddere* 'beggar, pauper', *lodrunge* 'triviality', *ljyre* 'base, bad', MHG. *liederlich* 'frivolous, light, dainty'. Here we have 'free, loose, wanton' (cf. Schade, Wb.; Kluge, Et. Wb.). Here also may belong Goth. *liupōn* 'sing', primarily 'be wanton, exult'.

Root *leu-d-*: OE. *lutan* 'turn, bend, bow, fall', ON. *lata* 'bend, incline', OE. *lutan*, OHG. *luzēn* 'lie hid, lurk' Goth. *lūōn* 'deceive', *liuts* 'deceitful, hypocrite', OE. *lot* 'deceit', Lith. *liūdnas* 'sad, downcast', OChSl. *ludŭ* 'foolish', Welsh *lluadded* 'weariness', OHG. *luzig*, OS. *luttic* 'small', *luttil*, OHG. *luzzil* 'small, little, wretched', OE. *lytel* 'little, small', *lyt* 'to a slight degree, little' (cf. Schade, Wb. s. v. *lata*; Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *liuts*; Persson, Wz. 25). The development here is: 'fall, sink; cause to fall, bend, bow'. From this readily come 'stoop, crouch, lie hid, conceal, deceive'; 'downcast, drooping; weary; sad; little'. Compare also OHG. *loscēn* 'lurk, lie hid', Dan. *luske* 'slink, crawl', which may be from a base \**lud-sqē-*. Or they may equally well be referred to a base *lus-qē-* (-*qo-*) from a root *leu-s-* 'lurk, crawl', which may be assumed from OHG., ON., OE. *lūs* 'louse' primarily 'crawler', ON. *lyski* 'vermin', Dan. *lyske* 'catch lice'.

Root *leu-dh-*: Gk. *ἐλεύσομαι* 'shall go,—come', *ἔλυθον* 'went, came', *ἐλεύθερος* 'free', Osc. *lúvfreis* 'liberi', Goth. *liudan* 'grow', OE. *lēodan* 'sprout, grow', ON. *lodenn* 'rough, hairy, overgrown', Skt. *rōdhati* 'grow, mount' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. s. v.), NHG. (dial.) *lodern* 'grow luxuriantly', *lodern* 'blaze up' (cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v.). Compare Gk. *ἀλυσται* 'goes' (Hesych.) *ἀλεύω* 'remove', etc.



Root *leu-l-*: Skt. *lḥlati* 'move to and fro', *lulita* 'moving, fluttering, waving', *lōla* 'swaying, unsteady, eager, desirous', Czech. *lulati*, Serv. *ljuljati* 'swing, rock, lull' (Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb.), Lith. *liulėti* 'sich geleeartig bewegen', *liulys* 'lubber', *liulýnas* 'bog, quagmire'.

Root *leu-r-*: Gk. *λερός* 'open, smooth, level, polished', *λαύρα* 'narrow passage', Lat. *lāra* 'mouth of a leathern bag' (Prellwitz, Et. Wb.), Gk. *λύρα* 'lyre', primarily 'hollow' or 'hollow-shell', MHG. *lāren* 'lauern', *lār(e)* 'lauer, hinterhalt' *lāre* 'schlauer, hinterlistiger Mensch', ME. *loure* 'lower', *lurke* 'lurk', ON. *lāra* 'slumber', Lith. *liūrėjū* 'lurk' (loan-word?). The primary meaning is: 'fall away, sink, bend, crouch, lurk' as in the root *leud-* above.

Root *leu-p-*: Skt. *lup* 'falling off, disappearance', *lumpāti* 'break, injure, rob', OChSl. *lupiti* 'pull off, peel', Lith. *lūpti* 'peel', Goth. *laufs* 'leaf', Gk. *λύπη* 'pain, grief', *λῦσις* 'distress, annoy', etc., plainly from *lū* in Skt. *lunāti* 'cut, pluck, tear', etc. (Prellwitz, Et. Wb.). Compare with these the root *leu-b-* in Ir. *luib* 'plant' Russ. *lubū*, Lat. *liber* 'bark' *delubrum* 'fustis delibratus' OPruss. *lubbo*, Lith. *lubà* 'board', *lūbos* 'board ceiling', Lett. *luba* 'ein Vorbau', Lith. *liaubė* 'enclosure for geese', ON. *laupr* 'vergittertes Traggestell, Korb', OE. *lēap* 'basket, weel (for catching fish), trunk' (of body), ON. *lopt* 'loft', Germ. *lubja* 'a drawing plant, epispartic': Goth. *lubja-leis*, OHG. *luppi*, etc.

In the roots *leu-p-*, *leu-b-* we find the following development: 'remove, pull off, tear off', etc.; 'anything pulled off or peeled, basket, etc.; 'anything made of what is pulled off or peeled, basket, latticework, stick, board', etc.; 'pull up, raise, lift', etc. Compare also Skt. *ropāyati* 'lift, raise, cultivate', MHG. *lupfen*, *lūpfen* 'lift, rise, move hastily', ON. *lypta* 'lift', *lopt*, Goth. *lustus*, OHG. *lust*, OE. *lyft* 'luft' (cf. author, JGPh. II, 221; Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. s. v. *ropāyati*). Here belong E. *lop* 'cut off, as the top or extreme part of anything, shorten, cut off, or remove, as superfluous parts; cut partly off and bend down; hang down, be pendent, lean to one side; let hang down', *lop* 'hanging down, pendent', *lop* 'that which is lopped from anything, as branches from a tree'.

Root *leu-bh-*: Skt. *lūbhyati* 'wander, be excited, be eager, desire', *lōbhayati* 'confuse, excite, arouse', Lat. *lubido* 'desire, lust', Goth. *liufs* 'dear, beloved', *ga-laufs* 'valued' *us-laubjan* 'allow', *ga-laubjan* 'believe', etc. We have here 'depart from, be excited, be eager', etc., and 'yield to, permit, admit, believe'.

Compare Gk. ἀλώ 'wander, be excited', Czech. *leviti* 'yield', Lett. *ļjaut* 'admit, permit, allow', Goth. *lēw* 'opportunity', Lith. *liāutis* 'cease', *liauba* 'cessation'. For meaning compare Lat. *cēdō* 'go, go away; yield to, grant, permit, allow'.

The idea of 'desire' developed from that of 'quick, excited motion, eagerness'. So OHG. *lōs* 'frei; fröhlich, mutwillig; leichtfertig', MHG. *lōse* 'leichtfertig; lieblich', *lōsen* 'los sein, fröhlich, freundlich sein', *lust* 'freude, vergnügen; verlangen, begierde', Goth. *lustus*, etc.; Skt. *lōlati* 'move to and fro', *lōla* 'swaying, unsteady, eager, desirous'. Compare Gk. σπέρχω 'drive, hasten', Skt. *spr̥hayati* 'strive for, desire eagerly'; Skt. *cōpati* 'move, stir', *kuṣyati* 'be excited, boil', Lat. *cupiō*; and many others.

Root *leu-ġ-* 'pull off, break, tear; pull, bend, twist, writhe, suffer; twist, twine, tie, bind, enclose': Lith. *lūdziu* 'break', Russ. *luznuti* 'strike, thrust', Gk. λυγίζω 'bend, twist, writhe, struggle, suffer', λύγος 'pliant twig', λυγός 'overcome', λυγρός, λευγαλός 'sad, wretched', Lat. *luctor* 'struggle, wrestle', *lūgeō* 'mourn', *luctus* 'sorrow, lamentation', ON. *lykna* 'bend the knees', OHG. *liōhhan* 'pull, scuffle', Goth. *us-lūkan* 'draw out, open', *ga-lūkan* ('draw together'), 'enclose, shut in', OE. *lūcan* 'pull up; intertwine, confine, close', etc. Compare OE. *wriþan* 'twist: bind', *wrāþ* 'angry, harsh, grievous'; *tēon* 'draw, pull': *tiegan* 'connect, tie'. (Cf. on this group Prellwitz, Et. Wb. s. v. λυγίζω, λευγαλός; Schade, Wb. s. v. *lūhhan*; Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Loch, Locke*; Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *galūkan*; Ai. Wb. s. v. *rujāti*; author, JGPh. II, 224 f.) These words certainly need not be separated, on account of their meaning, from Skt. *lunāti* 'cut off, pluck, tear', ON. *lýja* 'beat, strike'.

Root *leu-gh-*: OIr. *logaissi* 'mendacii', *follugaim* 'conceal' (from *\*vo-lugō*), OChSl. *lŭgati* 'lie', Goth. *liugan* 'lügen', etc. (Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb.). We may assume here the same development in meaning as in the root *leud-* above. Compare OE. *logpor* 'wily, clever', Lith. *lūgnas* 'pliant, yielding', *liūgas* 'marsh', i. e., 'bending, yielding ground' (compare *liulýnas* 'bog', *liunas* 'marsh'), *liunginu* 'wag the tail, caress', *luñguriu* 'wag the tail, fawn upon', Dan. *logre* 'wedeln, schwänzeln, (vor einem) kriechen', OHG. *lucchen*, *lockōn*, ON. *lokka*, Dan. *lokke* 'locken', OE. *loccian* 'entice, soothe', MHG. *loger*, *locker*, *lücke* 'locker'. (Cf. Persson, Wz. 25, where the roots *leu-gh-*, *leu-d-*, *leu-s-* are compared; and Noreen, Urgerm-Lautl. 156, where *lügen* and *locken* are combined.)

On this connection compare Skt. *lūna* 'tail': Lith. *liunas* 'marsh': ON. *laun* 'secrecy, secret', Dan. *løn-* 'secret', *i-løn* 'secretly, stealthily'. The common meaning here is 'bend', 'sway'—a meaning which appears in many of the secondary roots derived from *leu-*. It is therefore not necessary to refer ON. *laun* 'secrecy', *leyna* 'conceal' to the root *leu-gh-*.

The root *leu-gh-* or *leu-ġh-* occurs in Goth. *liugan* 'marry', *liuga* 'marriage', Ir. *luige* 'oath', OHG. *ur-liugi* 'war' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *liugan* 'heiraten'). The underlying meaning here is 'bind', which developed as in the root *leu-ġ-* (cf. author, JGPh. II, 224). Or else the development is 'yield to, agree to, promise' as in the root *leu-bh-*: OHG. *lobōn*, *lobēn* 'approve, praise, promise', *gi-lobōn* 'geloben', *gilubida* 'Gelübde', MHG. *verloben* 'geloben, verloben, vermählen'.

Root *leu-q-*: Skt. *lūñcati* 'pull, pluck, tear off, hull, shell', OPrus. *lunkan*, Lith. *lūnkas*, Let. *lūks*, OCHSl. *lyko* 'inner bark, bast', OPrus. *luckis*, NSlov. *luč* 'piece of wood', Serv. *luč*, Russ. *luča* 'rosin' (cf. Berneker, Preus. Spr. 305), Lith. *lūksztinu* 'shell, hull, husk', Skt. *luk* 'falling off, disappearance', *lōka* 'open place, space, world', Lith. *laukas* 'field', Lat. *lūcus* 'grove', OHG. *lōh* 'overgrown clearing', OE. *lēah* 'meadow, field', E. *lea* (cf. Schade, Wb. s. v. *lōh*). This entire group is from the base *leu-qo-*, *lu-qo-* 'pulling, plucking, clearing; pulled, plucked, cleared'. It is from this passive use that the wide-spread IE. root *leuq-* 'be clear, bright, shine' developed: Lith. *laukas* 'bald-faced' (of cattle), Gk. *λευκός* 'bright, clear, light' Skt. *rōkā* 'brightness, light', Lat. *lūx*, Goth. *liuhap*, OHG. *lioht* 'light', *loug*, MHG. *louc*, *lohe* 'flame, blaze', etc. (cf. Prellwitz, Et. Wb. s. v. *λευκός*; Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Licht*, *Lohe*; Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. s. v. *lokās*, *rokās*, etc.)

The development 'pull, pluck, clear; fall away, become clear' occurs in other derivatives of the root, *leu-*. Compare Skt. *lva* 'cut, section, anything cut off', *lāva* 'cutting, plucking': Gk. *ἀλωή* 'clear open space, garden, field' (cf. Prellwitz, Et. Wb. s. v.), Goth. *lēw* 'opportunity' (v. supra), Lat. *lēvis* 'smooth, beardless, rubbed smooth', Gk. *λείος* < \**lēu-io-s* 'smooth, level, even, polished', *λευρός* 'smooth, level, even, polished'.

Closely connected with 'clear, smooth' is the development 'clear, free' as in Gk. *λύω* 'loose, free', Goth. *lūn* 'ransom', OHG. *lōs* 'loose, free', Gk. *ελεύθερος* 'free'.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

## NOTE.

### NEW CONJECTURES ON PARTHENIUS' *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*.

The new edition of Parthenius' *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*, by Edgar Martini (Teubner, 1902) which brings the little series of love-tales up to date by collecting most of the more recent emendations, including those contributed to A. J. P. VII (1886) by the present writer, and which contains besides all the extant fragments of Parthenius' other works, has suggested to me in a re-perusal the following new conjectures :

*Ἔρ. παθ. 21 fin. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Σίθων τὸν τε ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς, μάλα μεγάλην πυρὰν νήσας καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὸν Δρύνατα †οιστεοσιν ἐπισφάξειν καὶ τὴν Παλλήνην.*

This may be a corruption of τοῖος ἦν (τεοσιν) οἶος 'was in a mood to think of killing besides': οἶος had been omitted in its place and afterwards taken in before τοῖος ἦν. This, besides being a not unfrequent fact of palaeography, would easily happen here, because οἶος ἦν was a more common usage than τοῖος ἦν οἶος.

XXVII, 2 *ὅθεν εἰς τοσοῦτον †τε ἐλθεῖν ὥστε ἀπολιπεῖν οἶκόν τε καὶ παῖδας ἤδη γεγονότας.*

Possibly τοσοῦτόν τι.

XXIX, 1 *Ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ Δάφνις Ἑρμοῦ παῖς ἐγένετο σύριγγι †δὴ τε δεξιῶς χρήσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκπρεπῆς.*

Perhaps σύριγγι εἰ δὴ τις δεξιῶς χρήσασθαι.

In the following passages I venture to dissent from Martini.

XV, 1 *παρασκευασαμένη δὲ πυκνὰς ἐθήρευεν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ἐπιφοιτῶσα εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὄρη.*

*πυκνὰς*, I think, may be 'close meshed' nets, sc. *ἄρκυας*; at any rate Zangemeister's view that *υκνὰς* conceals an original *κύνας* must be considered very doubtful. And I see that Drexler holds a very similar opinion to mine, except that he would add *ἄρκυς* instead of mentally supplying it.

XVIII, 1 *νύκτωρ αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου ἐπείσέρχεται ἡ Νέαιρα καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἷα τε ἦν πείθειν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνος οὐκ †ἐδίδου Δία τε ἑταιρίην καὶ ξένοιον αἰδοῦμενος, προσέταξεν ἡ Νέαιρα ταῖς θεραπαίνας ἀποκλείσαι τὸν θάλαμον.*

Heyne conj. *ἐνεδίδου*: but *ἐδίδου* seems here to be used *amatorie*, declined to grant his favours, i. e. withheld them.

In reading these stories, the Ovidian *Ibis* inevitably recurs to the memory. I am not sure, indeed, that XXXV *περὶ Εὐλιμένης* is

not the explanation of one of the most disputed Ibis-distichs, 607, 8.

Qua sua Penteliden proles est ulta Lycurgum,  
Haec maneat teli te quoque plaga novi.

Parthenius' story is as follows: Cydon, a dynast in Crete, had betrothed his daughter Eulimene to a leading Cretan named Apterus (King Apteras, as he is called by Eusebius, Chron. II 30). Eulimene, however, was beloved by another Cretan named *Lycastus*. Some of the Cretan towns having revolted from Cydon and conquered him, he sent to Delphi to inquire by what means he was to be successful against them. The oracle commanded him to sacrifice a virgin: lots were cast, and Eulimene was selected. Lycastus in alarm confessed that he had long loved and consorted with Eulimene. The people assembled, we may suppose, to judge the case, were more than ever determined that she should die. After the execution, Cydon ordered the priest to cut open the womb, upon which she was found pregnant. Then Apterus, incensed at the indignity put upon him by Lycastus, laid an ambushade and killed him.

Reading *Lycastum* for *Lycurgum*, I would then translate the distich thus: 'May the stroke that is in store for you be dealt by the same unlooked for weapon by means of which Lycastus' unborn child punished its father'. The barbarous outrage (on Eulimene's body,) of which Lycastus was the ultimate cause, brought him in his turn the surprise of an equally unlooked for death; in this way the unborn child *punished its father*.

If *Lycastum* in the Ibis-distich was corrupted to *Lycurgum*, it is nothing strange to find *Prataliden* has become *Penteliden*, or *Penttiladen* (so the excellent Gale MS), or *Pentheliden* or *Penthidem*. Such transformations of proper names are common generally; very common in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and in the *Ibis*. What is more to the purpose, we have a corruption of an almost identical kind in v. 447 of this very poem; for *Panthoides* has there become *Penthides*, *Pentelides*, *Pithoides* in different MSS. That *Lycastus* is called *Pratalides* I infer from Anth. P. VII, 449, 450, two epigrams which have become amalgamated, but which are certainly distinct (Stadtmüller). In both, the man on whose tomb the epigrams are supposed to be written is called Πραταλίδας Λυκάστιος which might be either Lycastus, son of Pratalus, or Pratalidas of the town Lycastus. The lemmata in P (the Palatine codex) point to an early doubt on this point: the original lemma εἰς Λυκάστον υἱὸν Πρατάλου τὸν Κρήτη has been erased and εἰς Πρα-

ταλίδαν Κρήτα τὸν Λυκάστιον substituted. Moreover in v. 1 P gives not Λυκαστίῳ (Ionic genitive) but Λυκάστου corrected to Λυκάστῳ | Λυκαστίῳ (Saumaise) must be right, as in v. 7 ὁ Λυκάστιος is indubitable in P, and in both vv. this word occupies the same place, preceding the 5th foot. This doubt probably rose from the fact that Lycastus is alternately the name of a town (Il. II. 647) in Crete, and of a Cretan hero. Eustathius on Il. II. 647 Λύκαστος δὲ ἀπὸ Λυκάστου φασὶν αὐτόχθονος ἢ παιδὸς Μίνως, words which recur in the geographical lexicon of Steph. Byz. This being so, it seems likely that the writer of the original lemma in P believed Lycastus and Lycastius to be both alike names of a *person*: and that the author of the *Ibis*, following the same tradition used Lycastus as the name of a Cretan hero.

The legend being Cretan, I should suppose that the Pratalidas Lycastius of the Greek epigrams was, not, as might be thought from the description of him as successful in love, hunting, dancing and war, an actual contemporary of the poet (Leonidas of Tarentum), but an epichorion hero, for whom he was asked to write an inscription. It is obvious that Parthenius' Lycastus was also such an epichorion hero; but whether the same as the Lycastus of the epigram, whether identical with Lycastus (or Lycastius) son of Pratalus, it is hard to pronounce. Nor can we say with any confidence that the writer of the *Ibis* drew his *Prataliden* from Leonidas; all we can see is that supposing I am right in my conjecture *Lycastum* for *Lycurgum*, he must have been following a *Cretan* legend; such a Cretan Lycastus is found both in Parthenius' tale and Leonidas' epigrams; in the latter with the addition of Pratalidas: it is no remote inference that Pratalidas had become associated with the other name Lycastus, and that in the *Ibis*-distich we have a survival of this association.

That my interpretation of *noui* is doubtful, I am ready to concede. It is of course, possible that some *new kind of weapon*, was employed to snare Lycastus, or that something not usually employed for purposes of death, was turned to that purpose on this occasion. We must be content to remain in doubt until some further account of the incident is discovered. Meanwhile the combination of the double name in the Greek Anthology and its closeness to the *Pentiladen Lycurgum* of the *Ibis* cannot fail to strike any one in the least degree familiar either with the corruptions of the *Ibis* in particular, or the variations of mythological and epichorion legend, so familiar to us in the literature of Greece.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**King Horn, Floris and Blancheflur, The Assumption of Our Lady.** First edited in 1866 by the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, B. D., and now re-edited from the Manuscripts, with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, by GEORGE H. MCKNIGHT, Ph. D., Ohio State University. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, 14. lviii + 171 pp.)

**King Horn: A Middle English Romance.** Edited from the Manuscripts, by JOSEPH HALL, M. A., Headmaster of the Hulme Grammar School, Manchester. (Clarendon Press. lv + 238 pp.)

It is now more than twenty years since the appearance of Wissmann's elaborate edition of *King Horn*. In the meantime the poem has received comparatively little attention from scholars, a fact which seems the more remarkable when we consider its antiquity among Middle English Romances, and the unusually large element which it retains of Old English poetic coloring and metre. Yet enough has been done in the general field of Middle English to make a new edition desirable, as would appear by the almost simultaneous publication of two, and the announcement of a third.<sup>1</sup>

The two before us differ from Wissmann, and agree with each other, in that neither attempts to construct one text from the three MSS, but prints all three versions parallel.<sup>2</sup> Of the two, Mr. Hall's texts appear to be more reliable, and his arrangement of them is more convenient.<sup>3</sup> Beyond this, the disparity between the two editions grows wider and wider, not only in compass, but in authority and utility, with the advantage, it must be said, clearly on Mr. Hall's side.

But a comparison of the two is perhaps hardly fair, since Professor McKnight, as his preface implies, has prepared his edition for the 'ordinary reader,' not, we are left to infer, for the scholar. In his introduction he has condensed in fair proportion the results of various studies of the poem, and barring here and there

<sup>1</sup> In Morsbach and Holthausen's series of Old and Middle English Texts.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Furnivall has superintended this part of Professor McKnight's work.

<sup>3</sup> The latter by mistake prints *te* for *to* in line 591, *dofter* for *doster* in line 265. Printer's mistakes, especially in reference-numbers, swarm in the notes and glossary, and in parts of the introduction the numbering of lines is at hopeless variance with that in the text.

a crudity of style, his presentation is creditable, though hardly characterized by independent judgment.<sup>1</sup>

Less may be said of the notes or the glossary, which are on the whole meagre. The former contain chiefly citations of parallels from Layamon and the romances, many of them borrowed from Wissmann, and not always with acknowledgment. An original comment here and there deserves attention. For example, the three versions generally agree in assigning twelve companions to King Horn, but in one case (Harl. l. 22) we read: 'tweye feren he hadde'. The editor remarks that this text 'here lacks one of the archaic features of the story, referring to only two companions.' But four lines further the same scribe shows unquestionably that when he wrote 'tweye' he was thinking 'twelue', a number which he explicitly mentions, in designation of Horn's companions, in lines 177, 521, 529, and 1434. Professor McKnight finds the poet inconsistent in speaking of a 'grene' as the scene of events which take place 'at Christenmesse'. But 'grene' was even thus early applicable the year round to a grassy level used for any performance requiring extensive room, as in Havelok 2828, where the poet mentions that near Lincoln there was such 'a grene, þat þare is yete als y wene.' In his note on line 27 the editor unaccountably confuses reflexive with impersonal verbs.

In the glossary, compound verbs are entered under the simple form with misleading effect, thus: 'Drinke, v. drink; infin. adrinke.' 'Drinke' and 'adrinke' are distinct words with distinct meanings. Yet with this arrangement once proposed, why are 'awreke' and 'wreke', with almost identical meanings, glossed separately? And if the editor aims to condense his matter, why, in the name of the ordinary reader, give eight variant spellings of Babylon ranging through 'Babyloyne' and 'babyloyne,' or why

<sup>1</sup> The same is generally true of his work on *Floris and Blancheflur* and the *Assumption*. The former is based chiefly on the studies by Herzog and Hausknecht, and the latter upon those by Horstmann and Gierth. Neither quotation marks nor acknowledgment appear in certain cases where convention would require them. For example:

Hausknecht (p. 34): 'Sondern beide Bearbeitungen, Cantare and Filocolo, gehen auf eine ältere gemeinsame Quelle zurück. Diese italienische—oder franco-italienische—Bearbeitung, die zwar wesentliche Verschiedenheiten von dem Cantare in seiner jetzigen Gestaltung kaum hatte, muss in manchen Punkten doch noch ausführlicher und vollständiger gewesen, und an einzelnen Stellen der französischen Ueberlieferung noch näher gestanden haben als das Cantare.'

McKnight (p. xxxvi): 'Rather the two versions go back to a common source. This Italian, or Franco-Italian, version, which probably had no differences of real moment from the Cantare in its present form, must in many points have been more ample and complete, and in individual instances nearer the French tradition, than the Cantare is.'

Hausknecht's edition of *Floris* at no point receives sufficient credit from the editor. Three of the four MSS of *Floris* are printed (Auchinleck is omitted), and three of the five older versions of the *Assumption* (Cambridge Gg 4. 27, 2, British Museum Add. 10036, and a part of Harleian 2382.



a list of seven references to the text under the auxiliary 'con' which are repeated in full under the variant 'gan'? But such profusion is only spasmodic, and the glossary lays no claim to completeness.

The rather impressive dimensions of Mr. Hall's edition may be indicated thus: The introduction occupies 56 pages: the three texts, 89; the notes, 86, all closely printed: and the glossary, 45; to which add a reprint of the later version, *Horn Childe*. Throughout the work, where condensation is possible it has been effected, even in some cases to the point of hardness and obscurity. The introduction contains, with other matter, a new and exhaustive study of the phonology, a study of the inflections, a re-examination of the MSS, which yields a much more reasonable stemma than Wissmann's, and a new theory of origin to the effect that the legend was originally Celtic, but was appropriated by an English poet. In its very brief form of statement this theory is hardly convincing.

The notes are quite the most extensive of any with which a Middle English text has yet been provided. Thus the custom of sending young noblemen to be educated with the prince is illustrated in a note which exceeds the limits of a crowded page. Upwards of a dozen illustrations are cited, ranging from Asser through Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ordericus Vitalis, romances English and French, to records of the custom at the English court in 1474, and interspersed with citations directing the student to records of similar practices among the Celts and the Germans. At least ten other notes on customs or devices of romance assume an equal proportion, nor do the elucidations fall off in number and usefulness at any point. Such abundance is certain to be criticized by more casual observers as overwhelming and altogether disproportionate. It should be remembered, however, that, in a field so ill-supplied with works of general reference, a note ought if possible to realize a twofold purpose, serving as an elucidation not merely of the passage to which it is appended, but also, in so far as time, space, and the skill of the editor permit, of similar passages in other texts. However, the most hurried reader need not feel oppressed by the length of Mr. Hall's commentary, for it is so arranged that one may easily select according to the needs of the moment, and pass over the rest. It thus becomes a repository where in time of need many a student may find already gathered what he must otherwise be at great pains to collect, or go without. The glossary is as full and serviceable as the notes; in fact, the entire work seems to represent years of diligent and careful accumulation, and even surpasses the high standard which Mr. Hall had already set in his edition of *Minot*.

It may seem, indeed, like a rich man's avarice to ask for more. Yet if one were to point out the principal defect of the edition he might find it to be one of temperament, and perhaps could best describe it by saying that the work is not at important

moments sufficiently genial. That is to say, the editor with all his diligence seldom betrays enthusiasm for his work, or reveals a consciousness that he is dealing with a work of art whose excellence, however limited, owes something to the English literature of preceding centuries, and forecasts now and then the glory of English literature in centuries to come. Without attempting more than an illustration, it may be said that the spirit of the sea which asserts itself in the poem is distinctly national, and appears often in the early period. Horn's remarkable apostrophe to his ship, which he bids carry his greetings to his mother, suggests instances in the early poetry in which the ship is thought of as animated.<sup>1</sup>

Apropos of the couplet, 'Of his feire sizte Al þe bur gan liȝte' (K. H. 385, 386) the editor remarks that such characterization of masculine beauty is quite unique, but cites similar descriptions of women in Middle English. It seems worth while to notice the great power of this image revealed by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* (5. 3. 85): 'Her beauty makes This vault a feasting presence full of light;' and by Spenser in *Faerie Queen* (1. 3. 4):

Her angel's face,  
As the great eye of Heaven, shyned bright,  
And made a sunshine in the shady place.<sup>2</sup>

It seems unfortunate that the phonology of each of the three texts was not treated separately, rather than run together in its present somewhat confused form. The fact that the oldest and purest text differs quite decidedly in dialect from the others, renders this the more desirable. The glossary is insufficiently supplied with cross-references, nor is it apparent by what rule the editor has included or omitted the etymologies of the words defined. The absence of the bibliography which he was in a position to compile is much to be regretted, as is also the fact that he has substituted for Sievers' standard classification of ablaut verbs one which is almost entirely unfamiliar.

As already intimated, Mr. Hall's edition will hardly meet the approval of those whose enlightened practice it is to declaim against an abundance of annotation, and even to deplore the

<sup>1</sup> See *Andreas* 267, 446, 448, 513, 496. The *Andreas* contains lines not unlike the formula, 'þe se bigan to flowe,; horn childe to rowe' (K. H. 117, 118); cf. *And.* 258. The English poet's love of the sea is manifest in nearly all modern times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rom.* and *Jul.* 2. 2. 3: 'It is the east and Juliet is the sun;' *Sartor Resartus* 2. 5, near the end, where Blumine is called 'a star, all fire and humid softness, a very light-ray incarnate.' A further example in Middle English is in *Böddeker's Altenglische Dichtungen, Weltliche Lieder*, 10. 23: 'Hire lure lumes liht Ase a launterne a nyht.' Compare old English *Juliana* 166:

Mēn se swētesta sunnan scīma,  
Juliana! hwæt, pū glæm hafast,  
Ginfæste giofe, geoguðhādes blæd!

Cf. also *Juliana* 229.

necessity of any commentary at all. Such protest has a way of making itself appear reasonable and just, and one important office of such thorough work as this is to show the error upon which it rests. For, after all, the question is not one of the quantity of elucidation, but of its quality. A very little bad editing is too much. But if an editor's acquaintance with his text enables him to give as richly and abundantly as Mr. Hall has done, or even more abundantly still, every student and reader—however ordinary—has more reason for gratulation than complaint.<sup>1</sup>

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Lexicon Plautinum. Conscriptit GONZALEZ LODGE, Vol. I. Fasc. I. A-ALIUS. Lipsiae, B. Teubner, MCMI.

There is the same good reason for printing a special lexicon as for printing a critical *apparatus* to a classical author in Latin; the technical vocabulary necessary thereto is of narrow range and capable of expressing much in little. Life seems all too short for the presentation of technical matters in the grammatically complete and rhetorically elegant long hand of the spoken tongues. Now learning babbles in a dozen voices, and some turn fond eyes backward to the unity that was before this Babel, when Latin was the common technical language. Perhaps we shall again return to this when the nations resort to a common coinage, as indeed the Latin races have done already.

From patriotic considerations we may regret that Mr. Lodge's Lexicon is "made in Germany", and introduced with a German preface, but the friends of productive scholarship in this country, whether regulars or mugwumps in their partisan convictions, will readily grasp the politico-economic condition that is responsible for a *Vorbemerkung* in lieu of a 'foreword'.

The first instalment of the Lexicon Plautinum runs into the word *alius* and fills 96 pages. On this scale the finished volume will yield between 1500 and 2000 double-column lexicon-octavo pages. No date is announced for the completion of the work, but a dozen years at the least may be hazarded as a guess.

In the light of considerations as entirely material as these it is clear that the Lexicon Plautinum is a tremendous undertaking.

<sup>1</sup> Since this review was written another work on King Horn has appeared as the fourth number of *Kieler Studien zur englischen Philologie*, edited by Professor Holthausen. It is written by Otto Hartenstein, and entitled *Studien zur Hornsage; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der angelnormannischen Dichtung vom wackern Ritter Horn und mit einer Hornbibliographie versehen*. The bibliography, which appears to be exhaustive, is the most valuable part of the work. For the rest it is a resume of the important investigations and theories dealing with the legend of Horn, and should be useful chiefly as a means of orientation in the subject.

No colleague of Mr. Lodge can invidiously construe the assertion that, in undertaking to confer upon scholarship a complete control of the Plautine corpus, he is engaged upon the most laborious and most valuable single contribution to classical philology ever essayed by an American Latinist.

Not a little highly suggestive work in Latin syntax has already been published by American scholars, and still more, it is generally understood, is in the air, if not already on the press. But there are fashions in syntax. It may be attacked from the point of view of linguistic palaeontology, or syntactical phenomena may be analyzed psychologically. A German scholar fired by the splendid regularity and beautiful precession of the phonetic equinoxes, has united both these points of view in a phlogistic theory of the subjunctive as the invariable polemic mood of the (Roman) soul; and not yet has the gentle, reconciling whisper of a peacemaker suggested that the moods of postulation and expostulation are psychologically one.

Historical syntax has yet its word of insistence to urge, viz.: that we must earnestly seek the archaic (and real) native view of the Greeks and Romans. In this field Mr. Lodge, as the co-worker of Mr. Gildersleeve, has already rendered excellent service by his share in their joint Latin grammar.

Mr. Lodge now proposes to furnish a control of Plautus that must survive, in part, at least, every possible change of fashion. He has set himself to account for the *ipsissima uerba* of the Plautus manuscripts, variant readings and all: and these are eternal verities. Besides, he is citing the conjectural readings that have been received into the great modern editions of Ussing; of Ritschl and his great co-workers, Loewe, Goetz and Schoell; of the two latter in their *editio minor* (*nimisquē multo melior*); and of Leo: and conjectural readings are of the things that perish.

When a scholar undertakes a self-denying piece of work like this it were ungracious to challenge his point of view. Mr. Lodge might more have pleased one with a word index; another with a concordance after the manner, let us say, of Bartlett's concordance to Shakespeare; much might also be said in favor of a scheme that should reveal the metrical status of every word. The omission of conjectural readings, or even of manuscript variants, and the adherence to a good modern text might be recommended by another. All these methods of solving his problem were considered and waived by Mr. Lodge, and to press them now is beside the mark.

All schools of syntacticians must feel grateful for the new means of control Mr. Lodge is offering for Plautus. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance for syntax of the large body of colloquial Latin presented by the Plautine corpus, a full century and a half before the letters of Cicero; and Deecke's protest against the overappreciation of Plautine syntax, cited with approbation by Lebreton in his *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire*

de Cicéron, p. v, would seem to reflect a moment when Deecke the tired schoolmaster held the whip hand over Deecke the great investigator and scholar.

How widely and how minutely Mr. Lodge has conceived his problem, as regards forms (and incidentally textual criticism), definition and syntax, will appear from a glance at the rubric under which he prints the 5-column article devoted to *accipio*, viz.: *I Forma . . . II significatio* A. *de hominibus* 1. *in domum, hospitio, ad se accipere . . .* 2. *addito supplemento a. abl. modi: . . . b. adverbio . . . c. additur locus . . .* 3. *term. techn. cum dat.* B. *de rebus.* 1. *res non molestas accipere: a. . . . b. [pronoun objects] . . .* 2. *similiter; condicionem, laetitiam, sim.: . . .* 3. *res molestas accipere: . . .* 4. *=suscipere . . .* 5. *absolute, de rebus . . .* 6. *a. seq. praepp: ab; . . . ad; . . . ex; . . . b. addito adv. . . . c. aliae locutiones: . . .* 7. *tropice a. = audire . . . apponitur interr. obl. uel infin. . . . b. = intellegere. . . . C. acceptus, adiectivum: . . .*

Should one feel inclined to challenge this classification a comparison with the rubric of the article *accipio* in the new Thesaurus will reveal no direct imitation on Mr. Lodge's part, but rather a thorough independence within the limits of the general lexicographical fashion that may be regarded as canonical for our time.

It should always be borne in mind that classification, however delightful a mental exercise, is but a concession to the inherent mental shortcomings of the human being. Hardly any two will agree where it is necessary to stop in classification. In the Thesaurus rubric, under the objects of *accipio* (II) we find a division *res incorporales*, further subdivided into *a. commoda . . . b. incommoda . . . c. indifferentia . . .* It would seem to require special powers of divination to turn up *c* if one is searching for *nuntium, cognomen . . . accipere*, but to turn to *a* for *fidem* ('pledge'), *uitam, salutem* ('greetings') *tutelam* ('guardianship'), *clientelas, bellum* (i. e. *imperium belli*), *aestimatio (-nem) . . . accipere*. One is reminded of an old division of the human race into *a. saints . . . , b. sinners . . . , c. the Beecher family*.

In finding *infortunium . . . accipio* (Mi. 866) and *supplicium . . . accipere* (Ci. 456) to cite under his no. 3 Mr. Lodge neatly scores off the Thesaurus which cites Terence as the earliest author for *incommoda accipere*. Again on p. 13, in defining *abi* by *indignationis uel laudis particula*, Mr. Lodge surpasses in clearness the Thesaurus (I, col. 66 sq.) which rubricates the same usage under *formulae in comoedia tritae* with the subdivisions *cum improbatione . . . cum laude*. Mr. Lodge's classification under this rubric of *abi* in Mo. 585, which can hardly be less than a fervent and reiterated 'do go away', may be questioned, and Mo. 569 is also not a clear close for interjectional *abi*.

The Lexicon Plautinum also seems in error when it rubricates Truc. 749, *hic ratio accepti scribitur*, under no. 1. and Mo. 304,

*ratio accepti atque expensi inter nos conuenit*, under no. 5. The Thesaurus correctly cites both passages under the substantive *acceptum*: neither Lexicon nor Thesaurus clearly shows that *accepti* in both cases is the technical "credit" of the bookkeeper.

Any one who has ever corrected proof sheets even moderately full of citations must know their enormous liability to error. But, however excusable misprints may be, psychologically considered, they greatly impair the value of lexical work. It is one advantage of the concordance over the lexicon, and perhaps over the bare word index, that the typographical conditions of the concordance are more favorable to the avoidance of errors.

Only a minute and intimate use of the Lexicon Plautinum could reveal its strength or weakness in this regard. The proof-readers of so important a means of control ought to verify every citation. In view of the enormity of this task, perhaps the heads of the larger Latin seminaries in our American Universities might arrange with Mr. Lodge to get competent and responsible members of their student corps to undertake to verify, say, one galley-slip, each. Thus in two or three days an entire fascicle might be verified by joint efforts, thus saving the enormous labor of weeks to one man.

Passing glimpses disclose the presence of typographical errors in the extant fascicle. Under *aceto* II. A. 1st paragraph Mo. 318 reads *non . . . accipient for nos . . . ac.*; on p. 96, col. 1, two lines from the bottom *similia . . .* Mo. 126 should read *similis . . .* Mo. 128.

Errors of complete omission will not reveal themselves to any verification, however minute, but in turning up the thirty references under *altud* it has been noted that Ps. 370 (. . .), 458 should be corrected to Ps. 370 (. . .), Tri. 458.

This notice must not be brought to a close without an expression of fervent gratitude to Mr. Lodge from one who expects to derive great profit from his self-denying labors, and who is keenly sensible of the magnitude of his undertaking. Let us hope that the Lexicon Plautinum will be an earnest of similar work yet to come from American scholarship. Others, perhaps, inspired by the possibility that the financial burden of such publications may be undertaken in future by the Carnegie Institute, may fall into line and direct their energies to work of lasting value.

Every one must be aware that the Harvard Oriental Series is publishing work of very solid value in that field. Yet the Orientalists are but a feeble band, numerically considered. The classical philologists have not published a corresponding amount of solid work, but there exists no similar endowment for classical publication.

An exception may be made in favor of the Yale Bicentennial publications. With the expense of publication assured, there came forth a large number of works of solid import: so fructifying was financial confidence. Similarly we might expect that a general

endowment fund for classical publication would bring forward those of our scholars who work because they must, and so save to solid investigation the stores of energy now diverted to text-book (re)production, barren for any but the publishers. To such an endowment works like Mr. Smyth's 'Ionic Dialect' and Mr. Lodge's 'Lexicon Plautinum' would turn as to their "ONLIE BEGETTER."

E. W. FAY.

Zur Entzifferung der Šafâ-Inschriften. Von ENNO LITTMANN.  
Leipzig, 1901. Pp. ix, 76.

The district bordering upon the lava plateau of Es-Šafâ in Central Syria, south-east of Damascus, abounds with inscriptions rudely carved upon the rocks in a character resembling the South Arabian and Old Ethiopic alphabets. About 400 of these inscriptions were copied by the Count de Vogüé and M. Waddington in 1861-62, and were subsequently published in their great work, *La Syrie Centrale* (Paris, 1865-77). The first successful attempt to decipher them was made by the well-known French epigraphist, J. Halévy, the results of whose studies appeared in a series of articles in the *Journal Asiatique* (1877-82) and were later reprinted under the title *Essai sur les Inscriptions du Šafâ* (Paris, 1882). The language of the inscriptions Halévy found to be a North Arabian dialect whose precise affinities were difficult to determine, while the alphabet employed consisted, he thought, of 23 letters corresponding to the Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet of 22 letters, with an additional character representing the Arabic ح. Halévy also explained the general contents of the inscriptions, which are, for the most part, epitaphs with genealogies of the deceased whose memory they are designed to preserve. The celebrated Ethiopic scholar, Franz Praetorius, who reviewed Halévy's book (*Lit. Centralblatt*, 1883, col. 804-806), gave cordial praise to the excellent work of the French savant, but felt compelled to differ from him in several particulars. He pointed out that a number of characters, considered by Halévy to be merely variants, were really distinct letters, and that the true basis of the Šafaitic alphabet was to be found, not in the Hebrew-Phoenician, but in the Arabic alphabet of 28 letters. Several of these letters Praetorius actually identified. For some time the study of the Šafaitic inscriptions languished, until MM. Dussaud and Macler published, in their *Voyage archéologique au Šafâ et dans le Djebel ed-Druz* (Paris, 1901), 412 inscriptions of this character. M. Dussaud, in his endeavor to decipher these inscriptions, adheres closely to Halévy's methods and results, overlooking Praetorius' valuable remarks. While, therefore, this work makes available for study a large amount of new material, in the matter of decipherment it cannot be said to mark any advance over Halévy's attempt.

Dr. Littmann, who accompanied the American Archaeological Expedition in Syria, 1899-1900, copied 134 Safaitic inscriptions, which, together with those copied by his predecessors, form the basis of his present work. He subjects the whole material to a new investigation and arrives at most important results. Of the 28 letters of the alphabet he finds that 16 were correctly identified by Halévy and five by Praetorius. The remaining seven letters are identified by Dr. Littmann, whose reasoning is in all points most convincing.

He also gives transcriptions of a number of the inscriptions, with translations and analyses, and adds a brief vocabulary of the texts treated, a *Schrifttafel*, and six plates of facsimiles. Dr. Littmann has also discovered the only date as yet found in these inscriptions. At the close of one of the inscriptions copied by him (No. 45) occur the words סנת חרב נבט "in the year of the war of the Nabateans", which can only refer to Trajan's campaign in 106 A. D. Dr. Littmann's work marks a decided advance in the decipherment of the Safaitic inscriptions, which now, thanks to his investigations, stands upon safe and solid ground. It is to be hoped that he will continue his studies and throw further light upon this interesting subject.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

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*Tetrevangelium Sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad fidem Codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum, lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat PH. ED. PUSEY, A. M. auxit, digessit, edidit GEORGIUS HENRICUS GWILLIAM, S. T. B. (Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano MDCCCLCI. 4to, pp. xvi, 608.)*

While the Syriac versions form an indispensable instrument for the textual criticism of the Bible, the versions of the New Testament are of much greater value in this respect than those of the Old Testament, as they were made at a relatively earlier period and are based on a text comparatively free from the corruptions and interpolations which have crept into the text of the Old Testament.

Four Syriac versions of the New Testament are known:—I. The Diatessaron, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, of Tatian; II. The Curetonian Version; III. The Sinaitic Version; and IV. The Peshittâ Version.

By some scholars the Diatessaron of Tatian is believed to have been composed in Syriac, at Edessa, about the year 172 A. D., while others hold that it was originally written in Greek and afterwards translated into Syriac. Although the work was highly



esteemed in the early Syriac Church it is now lost. St. Ephrem wrote a commentary upon it of which an Armenian version<sup>1</sup> has been preserved, and in 1888 the late Cardinal Ciasca published an Arabic version of the Diatessaron which is attributed to Abû-el Faraj ibn at-Tib.

The Curetonian version is probably to be placed in the interval between the years 150 and 250 A. D. It was published in 1858 from a manuscript, in the British Museum, some pages of which were lacking. Some years later Brugsch found the missing pages, which are now in the Berlin Museum, and they were published in 1872 by the late Dr. William Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.<sup>2</sup>

The Sinaitic version, which seems to be of somewhat later date than the Curetonian, was discovered by Mrs. A. Lewis in the Convent of St. Catharine, on Mt. Sinai, and was published by its discoverer in 1894.<sup>3</sup>

While the date of the Peshittâ version of the New Testament cannot be definitely fixed, it was certainly in general use as the authorized text before the end of the 5th century A. D. when the separation of the Eastern and Western Syriac Churches took place, and it then contained, not only the four Gospels, but the Acts, the First Epistle of Peter, the First Epistle of John, the Epistle of James, and the Epistles of Paul. Although later than the other Syriac versions, the Peshittâ has a higher critical value on account of its very faithful and literal rendering of the original. The first edition of the Peshittâ version of the New Testament was published by Widmandstadt, at Vienna, in 1555. This edition has since been frequently republished in whole or in part: in the Polyglot of Paris, 1645; at Leyden, in 1630 by Pococke; in the well-known editions of Gutbir, Schaaf, and Lee; and more recently at Urmia in Persia, and at Mosul in Mesopotamia.<sup>4</sup> But in view of the importance of the subject and of the great progress of Semitic studies in recent years, a critical revision of the published text of the Peshittâ has long been urgently needed.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Moesinger, Vienna, 1876. In 1881, Zahn attempted to restore the Diatessaron on the basis of this work. See also H. Hill and A. Robinson, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentaries of St. Ephrem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896; Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, London, 1895; Goussen, *Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis Versio Sahidica*, Leipzig, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Cureton, *Remains of a very ancient Recension of the Gospels*, London, 1858; W. Wright, *Fragments of the Curetonian Gospels*, London, 1872.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. A. Lewis, *The four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Syriac palimpsest*, Cambridge, 1894. See also, *Some pages of the four gospels*, Cambridge, 1896; A. Merx, *Die vier Kanonischen Evangelien*, Berlin, 1897; Holzley, *Der neuentdeckte Codex Syrus Sinaiticus*, Munich, 1896; A. Bonus, *Collatio Codicis Lewisiani rescripti*, Oxford, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> The distinguished native Syriac scholar Father Paul Bedjan has, for some years, been engaged in the preparation of a new critical edition of the Peshittâ version of the Old and New Testaments, which is to be printed at Leipzig from the beautiful Syriac types of W. Drugulin.

Many years ago the late Philip Edward Pusey, son of the well-known Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, began to collate ancient manuscripts of the Peshittâ in order to discover how far the traditional text, first published by Widmandstadt and reproduced with little alteration by subsequent editors, might be considered to represent the text prevalent in the ancient Syriac Church. After Mr. Pusey's death the work was continued by Mr. G. H. Gwilliam, in whose hands the critical materials accumulated to such an extent as to necessitate a considerable expansion of the original design. Thus, although Mr. Gwilliam was the final editor, the present volume results from the labors of both scholars. The thorough, and at the same time the arduous, nature of their work may be gathered from the fact that the text of this new critical edition of the Peshittâ Gospels is based on the evidence of no less than forty-two manuscripts proceeding from various localities, and dating from the 5th to the 12th century. All this abundant material has been carefully collated, the results of the numerous collations have been utilized with sound judgment and scholarship, and the whole work is edited with great skill and conscientious accuracy. The investigations of the editors establish the fact that the text of the editio princeps of 1555 is almost identical with that of the most ancient manuscripts. But while the traditional text of the Peshittâ is thus in large measure confirmed, the editors have been able to make valuable emendations in a number of passages where the manuscripts used by Widmandstadt were defective or corrupt. The vocalization follows in the main the Jacobite Massoretic manuscripts, but in the notes the Nestorian Massora is frequently cited. In accordance with the arrangement of the most ancient manuscripts, the text is divided into paragraphs, and the Syriac system of sections and canons, here for the first time given in full, is indicated throughout. A very faithful and literal Latin translation adds greatly to the value of the work. The book is of convenient size, and its typography and general arrangement are excellent. In the *Tetrevangelium* we have an edition of the Peshittâ Gospels which fully meets the critical requirements of modern scholarship, and the editors have earned the thanks of all biblical scholars for their valuable work.

GABRIEL OUSSANI.

## REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXIX (1900).

Janvier.

P. Meyer. Notice du Ms. Rawlinson Poetry 241 (Oxford). 84 pages. This manuscript contains copies of the following Old French poems: Proverbes de Boon; La Plainte d'amour; Poème sur l'Amour de dieu et sur la Haine du péché; Dialogue entre l'évêque Saint Julien et son disciple; Miracles de la vierge par Éverard de Gateley; Extraits du Manuel des Péchés; Traduction du Speculum Ecclesiæ; Les Neuf filles du diable; Les Quatre temps de l'an; La Petite philosophie; Le Lunaire de Salomon; and L'Antechrist.

W. A. Neilson. The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties: A Note on the Sources of the Eighth Novel of the Fifth Day of the Decameron. 9 pages. (Bryn Mawr).

G. Huet. La Traduction française des Martins de Maerlant. 11 pages.

Mélanges. F. Lot; G. Paris (*bis*); Arthur Piaget; Louis Havet.

Comptes rendus. Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Gustav Gröber (G. Paris). (Also J. Loth, Note sur Cath Paluc). Albert Stimming, Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone (G. Paris). G. A. Cesareo, Le Origini della Poesia lirica in Italia (A. Jeanroy). C. Decurtins, Rætoromanische Chrestomathie (Jacques Ulrich.)

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. XXIII, 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, LXXXVIII-CI (S. D. G.).

Chronique. Account of the researches of A. Guesnon and E. Schröder.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 30 titles. King Arthur and the Table Round, by William Navell. The Isopo Laurenziano, by Murray Peabody Brush ("M. Brush nous a donné un excellent travail, intéressant à divers points de vue"). The Technique of the French Alexandrine, by Hugo Paul Thieme. Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant, by John E. Matzke and Ch. Bémont ("Étude fort bien faite").

Avril.

A. Thomas. Étymologies Françaises. 48 pages. The etymologies of fifty-nine words are discussed in his usual careful critical manner.

G. Paris. Sur Huon de Bordeaux. 10 pages.

G. Doncieux. La Chanson du Roi Renaud: Ses Dérivées romanes; Sa Parenté celtique et scandinave. 38 pages. The writer enumerates some sixty French and Provençal versions, as well as eight in the Piedmontese dialect.

Mélanges. Hermann Suchier; A. Thomas; G. Paris; Charles Joret.

Comptes rendus. F.-Georges Mohl, Introduction à la chronologie du latin vulgaire: Le couple roman *lui: lei*, ses origines et son histoire dans les dialectes vulgaires de l'empire romain (Mario Roques). 21 pages. Hermann Suchier, Aucassin und Nicolette, 4<sup>te</sup> Auflage (G. Paris). Pierce Butler, Legenda aurea, Légende dorée, Golden Legend (P. Meyer). H. Guy, Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de le Hale (A. Jeanroy). Ch. Guerlin de Guer, Essai de dialectologie normande (J. G.).

Périodiques. Revue des langues romanes, 4<sup>e</sup> série, t. X, nos. 6-12; 5<sup>e</sup> série, t. I, t. II, nos. 1-4 (P. Meyer). Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. XXIV, 1, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil., XX (E. M.). Studi glottologici italiani (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Société des anciens textes français. Homenaje á Menéndez Pelayo. Annales de Bretagne. Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 6 titles. The Troubadours at Home, by Justin H. Smith, 2 vols.

Juillet.

O. Densusianu. Sur l'Altération du C latin devant E, I, dans les langues romanes. 13 pages.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Etimologías españolas. 46 pages. The etymologies of some seventy-four words are discussed.

F. Lot. Le Roi Hoël de Kerahès, Ohès le vieil barbé, les "Chemins d'Ahès," et la ville de Carhaix. 23 pages.

Paget Toynbee. Benvenuto da Imola and the Iliad and Odyssey. 13 pages. "One of the striking features of the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola on the *Divina Commedia* is the frequency of his references to Homer."

Mélanges. G. Paris; Eugène Ritter; Charles Bonnier; G. Paris (*bis*).

Comptes rendus. F.-G. Mohl, Les origines romanes: Études sur le lexique du latin vulgaire (A. Thomas). Hugo Schuchardt, Romanische Etymologien (A. Thomas). Gustaf Lené, Les substantifs postverbaux dans la langue française (G. Paris). Rudolf Tobler, Die altprovenzalische Version der "Disticha

Catonis" (P. Meyer). A Vidal et A. Jeanroy, *Comptes consulaires d'Albi* (P. Meyer). Matteo Bartoli, *Ueber eine Studienreise zur Erforschung des Altromanischen Dalmatiens* (Mario Roques). V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne* (A. Thomas). Lettre de M. F.-Geo. Mohl, et réponse de M. Mario Roques.

Chronique. Obituary notices of Charles Revillout, Alexandre Budinszky, Léopold Hervieux, Johann Alton, M. le comte Cais de Pierlas, J.-Fr. Bladé.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 41 titles. Spanish Etymologies, by John D. Fitz-Gerald. Alliteration in Italian, by Robert Longley Taylor. The Lays of Graellent and Lanval and the Story of Wayland, by William Henry Schofield.

Octobre.

A. Longnon. Un Vestige de l'épopée mérovingienne: la Chanson de l'abbé Dagobert. 12 pages. "Grace aux beaux livres de MM. Pio Rajna et Godefroid Kurth, il est désormais impossible de nier que les faits historiques de la période mérovingienne aient donné naissance à un certain nombre de chants épiques."

E. Galtier. Byzantina. 27 pages. Various Old French legends and stories are traced back to Byzantine sources.

P. Meyer. Le Psautier de Lambert le Bègue. 18 pages. With a facsimile of British Museum, Addit. 21114, fo. 7.

C. Salvioni. A Proposito di Amis. 13 pages. Etymological discussion.

Mélanges. Paget Toynbee; Auguste Longnon; Oliver M. Johnston; R. J. Cuervo; Charles Joret.

Comptes rendus. Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Hermann Suchier (G. Paris). Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen, von Dr. Wilh. Bruckner (C. J. Cipriani). Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaun, p. p. Emmanuel Walberg (G. Paris). Le Chevalier à l'Épée, edited by Edward Cooke Armstrong (G. Paris). Juan Manuel, El libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio, hrsg. von Hermann Knust u. Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld (María Goyri).

Note de M. F.-Geo. Mohl. J. Loth, Le nom de Carhaix: Réponse de M. Ferdinand Lot.

Périodiques. Studj di Filologia romanza, vol. VIII (P. Meyer). Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. XXIII, 2-3, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Zeitschrift für französ. Sprache und Literatur, XIX, 2-XXI, 2 (A. Jeanroy). Bulletin historique et philologique, année 1896 (P. Meyer). Bulletin de la Soc. des anc. textes français, 1899; Sechster Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumän. Sprache zu Leipzig (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Samuel Berger, L. Petit de Julleville and Gustave Meyer. Dictionnaire général de la langue française, par MM. Ad. Hatzfeld, Arsène Darmesteter et A. Thomas.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 27 titles. The Round Table before Wace, by Arthur C. L. Brown.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LVII, parts 1, 2.

Pp. 1-7. Ueber eine besondere Bedeutung von γάρ. J. M. Stahl. In Thucydides, III 40, 4, γάρ has a restrictive force: *ei γάρ οἱ τοὶ ὁρθῶς ἀπίστησαν*, "*Freilich* wenn diese mit gutem Grunde abgefallen sind." Compare III 43, 4; Plat. Crat. 393 C; Aesch. Pers. 462 (Weckl.); Antiph. v. 36; Plat. Legg. 794 C; Dem. XX 117, etc.

Pp. 8-47. Ueber den Verfasser der X libri de Architectura. H. Degering. The first instalment of a long article which examines, and refutes, Ussing's opinion that this work is a forgery of the third or fourth century. This first part discusses the relation of Pliny and Athenaeus to Vitruvius.

Pp. 48-54. Zwei alte Terenzprobleme. F. Schoell. (1) In the sixth line of the prologue to the *Heauton Timorumenos duplex* may have the meaning which διπλούς sometimes has; compare Catull. LXVIII 51, duplex Amathusia; Hor. I 6, 7, duplex Ulixes; Ov. Am. I 12, 27. The line implies nothing as to Terence's practice of *contaminatio*, but contains rather a judgment of Terence upon the original play of Menander. In the third line *primum* and *deinde* should be transposed. (2) The text of Andria, 51-2, is hopeless: *liberius* looks like a gloss.

Pp. 55-75. Zu Achilles Tatius. F. Wilhelm. The two discussions in Achilles Tatius about the love of women and the love of boys—I 8, 1-9, and II 35, 3-38 (Hercher)—are modelled on various earlier discussions upon similar themes: Plato (Phaedr., Phaedo, Symp.), Xenophon (Symp.), popular literature (now lost) *περί ἔρωτος*, *περί κάλλους* and *περί γάμου*, Lucian (especially the *Ἐρωτες*) and Plutarch (Erot.), the Hellenistic elegy, etc.

Pp. 76-136. Kaiser Marcus Salvius Otho. L. Paul. A very long article—excellent but, from its nature, unreportable.

Pp. 137-51. Aus dem zweiten Bande der Amherst Papyri. L. Radermacher. Remarks on some of the classical fragments lately published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt.

Pp. 152-6. Die Inschrift der Aphaia aus Aegina. M. Fränkel.

Miscellen.—Pp. 157-8. O. Schulthess. Zum I. Strassburger Archilochos-Fragmente. Read *ἐφφρόν[ης σκότῳ]* in the third line.

—Pp. 158–9. L. Radermacher. Dionys. de Lysia p. 32, 12 (p. 496 R). Read τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἐπὶ τῶν, κτλ.—Pp. 159–63. F. Schöll. Zu Pseudo-Sallusts *Invectiva*.—Pp. 163–5. F. Schöll. Die Verse des 'Vallegius' in der Vita Terentii.—P. 166. K. Zangemeister. Zu Ammianus Marcellinus. In 30, 5 § 19, for *pulserat consuetu* read *fulserat consuete*. The adverb 'consuete' occurs also in Ammianus 23, 2 § 8.—P. 166. G. Knaack. Zu dem sogenannten Lactantius Placidus.—Pp. 167–8. P. v. Winterfeld. Zu Avianus.—Pp. 168–9. K. Zangemeister. Erstarrte Flexion von Ortsnamen im Latein.—Pp. 169–70. K. Zangemeister. SECVS statt SECVNDVS und Aehnliches.—Pp. 170–1. K. Zangemeister. Das stigma in lateinischer Schrift. The sign for 'st' is found in an inscription of the first half of the first century A. D. (=Corp. XIII n. 6948\*). This is apparently the earliest known example of it in Latin writing.—Pp. 171–3. H. Usener. DIVVS ALEXANDER. Johannes Chrysostomos in the twenty-sixth homily on the second epistle to the Corinthians (t. X p. 624\* Montf.) mentions an Alexander who was deified by the Roman senate. This was Alexander Severus, not Alexander the Great; see Aelius Lampridius, c. 63, 'senatus eum in deos retulit'.—Pp. 173–6. L. Ziehen. Das Amphiktyonen-Gesetz vom Jahre 380.

Pp. 177–95. Milch und Honig. H. Usener. On the use of milk and honey in the baptismal rites of the early Roman church. This must have been due to the old heathen ideas of heaven, such, for example, as underlay the worship of Dionysus.

Pp. 196–204. De fragmentis scriptorum apud Nonium servatis. W. M. Lindsay. The various books from which Nonius quotes are always cited in the same order. Moreover, within the single books of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* the passages cited seem to keep the same order as in their original setting. It is thus possible to determine the true order of several of the fragments which he has preserved, fragments, for example, of Lucilius, Sisenna and Varro.

Pp. 205–30. Hellenistische Studien. G. Knaack. I. A detailed study of the story of Scylla daughter of Nisus.

Pp. 231–51. Die Epochen in Varros Werk *De gente populi Romani*. H. Peter. Virgil's combination of the Etruscan theory of 'saecula' with the theory of the 'magnus annus,' at the completion of which a new era would begin, seems to have been derived from Varro.

Pp. 252–58. Zu der Inschrift der Aphaia auf Aegina. A. Furtwängler. A reply to an article by M. Fränkel (Rh. Mus. LVII, pp. 152–6). The οἶκος of the inscription was a temple, not a "dépendence" of a temple of Artemis, as Fränkel has maintained.

Pp. 259–64. Legionen des Orient auf Grund der Notitia dignitatum. K. Mangold.

Pp. 265-77. ΤΥΦΛΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. C. Fries. The tradition of the blindness of Demodocus, Homer, the Chian singer of the Delian hymn, Thamyris, etc., is perhaps due to Egyptian influence.

Pp. 278-84. Ueber eine Scene des euripideischen Orestes. L. Radermacher. The lively scene which tells of the disappearance of Helen and the capture of Hermione may have been modeled on the adventure of Hercules with Busiris (Apollod. II 5, 11).

Pp. 285-300. Herkulanensische Bruchstücke einer Geschichte des Sokrates und seiner Schule. W. Crönert.

Pp. 301-10. Ländliches Leben bei Homer und im deutschen Mittelalter. M. Siebourg. The scenes of country life which Hephaestus portrayed on the Shield of Achilles are illustrated from certain legal documents which refer to country life in medieval Germany.

Miscellen.—Pp. 311-2. G. Wörpel. Ad libellum *περί ὕψους*. Defends the reading *μοι δοκῶ*, pag. 4, 10 (ed. Jahn-Vahlen); compare Strabo X. p. 452; Xen. Cyrop. V 4, 37; Plotin. Enn. I 6, 8; etc.—Pp. 312-14. F. Schöll. Vir bonus dicendi peritus. Protests against O. Ribbeck's interpretation of this phrase, "ein guter Mann, Sohn Marcus, ist des Wortes mächtig," also against L. Radermacher's assumption that Cato derived it from Diogenes of Babylon.—Pp. 315-16. Atticaster. Böotisches. Notes on two epigrams published B. C. H. XXIV, p. 70, and Sitzungsbd. Berl. Akad. 1901, I p. 905.—Pp. 316-18. M. Ihm. Zu lateinischen Inschriften.—P. 318. E. Wölfflin. Die Reitercenturien des Tarquinius Priscus.—Pp. 318-20. E. Lattes. Zu den etruskischen Monatsnamen und Zahlwörtern.

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## REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XXV.

### No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-42. Third article of B. Haussoullier on the Seleucidae and the temple of Didymeon Apollo. Several inscriptions, some of them discovered by the author and hitherto unpublished, are utilized in a very able and interesting investigation of the subject treated in the previous articles (Rev. de Phil. XXIV, pp. 243-271, 316-332).

2. Pp. 43-5. J. L. denies that *dum* = "while" (*tandis* *que*) can be construed with the subjunctive. He examines the passages that might seem to support this construction. He thinks that Phaedrus may have written (I. 4, 2 f.): *Canis, per flumen, carnem dum ferret, natans, | lympharum* etc.; that is *natans per flumen, dum ferret* (= *ut auferret*).



3. Pp. 45-9. J. L. emends eight passages of Theognis.
4. Pp. 50-65. W. M. Lindsay publishes, with some changes, a collation of the Cambridge MS of the fourth book of Nonius, left in the papers of the late J. H. Onions.
5. Pp. 66-71. G. Rodier offers conjectures on twenty-seven passages of Alexander Aphrodisiensis de Fato.
6. Pp. 72-81. Book Notices. 1) G. M. Edwards, *The Hellenica of Xenophon, Books I and II*. Cambridge, 1899. Georges Vatelot mentions this work very favorably. 2) *Xenophontis expeditio Cyri*. Recensuit Guilelmus Gemoll. Editio maior. Lipsiae, 1899. Commended by Georges Vatelot, who proposes a few improvements. 3) Albert Wellauer. *Étude sur la Fête des Panathénées*. Lausanne, 1899. G. Vatelot analyzes this doctor dissertation, finding it a valuable contribution to the subject, and suggesting several improvements. 4) *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*. Iterum edidit Adolphus Roemer. Leipzig, 1899. Albert Martin gives a brief analysis and commends the changes from the first edition. 5) *De nominibus bucolicis scripsit Carolus Wendel*. Leipzig, 1900. Briefly analyzed by A. M. who finds in it no addition to our knowledge. 6) *Dionysii Halicarnasei opuscula*, Ediderunt H. Usener et L. Radermacher. Leipzig, 1899. Highly praised by Albert Martin. 7) *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*. II. *Codices Venetos descripserunt* G. Kroll et A. Olivieri. *Accedunt fragmenta primum edita a Boll, Cumont, Kroll, Olivieri*. Bruxelles, 1900. Analysis by Albert Martin. 8) Ettore Pais. *Storia di Roma*. Vol. I, parte II. Torino, 1899. Philippe Fabia finds this part as praiseworthy as the first. The work is critical and overthrows many old structures. 9) *Schüler-Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede für L. Murena, von Hermann Nohl*. Leipzig, 1900. Mentioned by R. Harmand, who finds the notes rather few and brief. 10) *Ciceros Ausgewählte Reden, erklärt von Karl Halm*, II Band. *Rede gegen Q. Caecilius, Anklage-Rede gegen C. Verres, IV et V.—10<sup>e</sup> Auflage*, besorgt von G. Laubmann. Berlin, (1900?). R. Harmand finds the commentary excellent, but regrets some defects. 11) *Gaii Iuli Caesaris commentariorum de bello civili liber tertius*, by A. G. Peskett, Cambridge, 1900. R. Harmand considers this a good work, but makes some adverse criticisms. 12) Giovanni Oberziner. *Le guerre di Augusto contro i popoli alpini*. Roma, 1900. Highly praised by Philippe Fabia, who regrets that the book is not attractive in style nor make up, and that the title is not sufficiently comprehensive. 13) *Tacite, Oeuvres complètes, annotées par MM. Constans et Girbal*. Paris, 1893-99. H. Bornecque says "Dans l'ensemble, c'est la meilleure édition de Tacite que nous possédions." 14) Alcide Macé. *Essai sur Suetone*. Paris, 1900. This doctor dissertation of 450 pages is highly commended by Philippe Fabia. 15) *The Establishment and Extension of the Law of Turneyesen and Havet*, by Lionel

Horton-Smith. Louis Duvau (who justly thinks the name of Havet should precede in the name of the law) finds nothing essentially new in this work, and rejects the conclusion arrived at in the excursus on 'haud'.

16. Pp. 81-4. List of books received.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 85-8. The games in honor of the proconsul Q. Mucius Scaevola, by P. Foucart. An interesting discussion based upon some inscriptions, which, though mutilated, the author ingeniously restores by comparison.

2. Pp. 89-91. The family of Herodes Atticus. By P. Foucart. Discussion of a few Greek inscriptions that bear on the subject.

3. Pp. 92-3. Th. Kakridis writes a critical note on Plaut. As. 99 f.

4. Pp. 94-101. Critical discussion of eight passages of Ter. Phormio, by Louis Havet.

5. Pp. 102-9. Plato and the origin of minerals, by F. de Mély. The author examines Plat. Tim. 354 c, 365-9, and shows that Plato, for want of an established terminology, used words, such as *ὄρυς*, in senses that have been misunderstood. Mély, who is preparing a work on Greek science, ascribes the genesis of the science of Mineralogy to Plato.

6. P. 109. Émile Chatelain emends Plin. N. H. VIII, 165.

7. Pp. 110-123. Language and style of Victor of Vita, by F. Ferrère. In this article peculiar forms and meanings of words are illustrated; in a second article the syntax is to receive attention. It is pointed out that many of the provincialisms of Africa are found also in other provinces; still it is not denied that there is an "Africitas."

8. Pp. 123-4. Bruno Keil publishes a note on the town of Baris mentioned in one of the inscriptions used by Haussoullier in his articles on the temple of Didymean Apollo. He uses the facts deduced to throw light on Sacri Sermones of Aelius Aristides.

9. Pp. 125-45. The Seleucidae and the temple of Didymean Apollo (fourth article), by B. Haussoullier. By means of a papyrus and some inscriptions (one unpublished) the author, with great learning and ingenuity, makes very important contribution to the confused history of Seleucus II (Callinicus).

10. Pp. 146-51. A new milestone of Lydia, by B. Haussoullier. The stone, now in the mosque at Koz-bounar, marked the eleventh mile from Ephesus, and has three other inscriptions, one of which contains the name of Fl. Cl. Dulcitius, Proconsul, somewhat mutilated. Haussoullier gives an account of this man, and fixes the dates of the inscriptions.

11. Pp. 152-62. Book Notices. 1) Table analytique des dix premiers volumes des Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, par Émile Ernault. Paris, 1900. L. D. pronounces this carefully prepared table an indispensable complement of the Mémoires themselves. 2) H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, La civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'épopée homérique. Paris, 1899. Louis Duvau gives an appreciative account of this work, which possesses a psychological rather than a historical interest, and is more instructive to a reader of Caesar than of Homer. 3) Omero. L'Iliade commentata da C. O. Zuretti, vol. II, libri V-VIII. Torino, 1900. Highly commended by E. Chambry, who finds some insignificant faults. 4) The Odyssey of Homer. Book XI edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by J. A. Nairn. Cambridge, 1900. Very favorable notice by E. Chambry. 5) The Ethics of Aristotle, edited with an introduction and notes by J. Burnet. London, 1900. G. Rodier makes favorable comments on this work as a whole, and then adds that some exceptions must be taken. These he illustrates by criticizing the treatment of thirty-two passages of the first book. 6) Plutarque, de la Musique, *Περὶ Μουσικῆς*, édition critique et explicative; par H. Weil et Th. Reinach. Paris, 1900. Louis Laloy describes this book in highly appreciative terms, and objects to only one emendation. 7) Favonii Eulogii Disputatio de Somnio Scipionis ed. Alfred Holder. Leipzig, 1901. Brief and favorable notice by G. Rodier.

12. Pp. 162-4. List of books received.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 165-88. The renting of the sacred domain of Zeus Temenites (Amorgos), by J. Delamarre. Very able and interesting critical discussion of an inscription of Amorgos, which had been previously published and discussed by others. The author, after a careful examination of the original in Amorgos, has been enabled to make many corrections and practically to restore nearly the entire inscription.

2. Pp. 189-96. Discovery of a fragment of a manuscript of Horace, by Pontus Sjöbeck. The author found in the University of Lund a parchment containing Hor. Od. III 4, vv. 12-65, with marginal scholia and interlinear notes, all of which he publishes.

3. Pp. 197-219. Syntactical compounds and the Porsonic law in Greek iambic trimeters, by G. Dottin. It is not possible to compress into a brief space the substance of this elaborate investigation abounding in statistics. The object of the article is not to account for seeming violations of Porson's rule, but by means of these to throw light on the question of syntactical compounds or closely united groups of words. The article is preliminary to a work the author is preparing on the separation of words in the iambic trimeter.

4. Pp. 220-24. Plaut. Aul. 3-8, by J. Chauvin. The passage and the various emendations are discussed, and more satisfactory emendations proposed. A note on vv. 10-12 is added.

5. Pp. 225-31. Critical discussion of six passages of Ter. Phormio by Louis Havet.

6 Pp. 232-4. R. Cahen defends and explains the "archetype" reading, *tantum sit causa timendi*, in Ov. Met. IX. 557.

7. Pp. 235-52. Apropos of a recent edition of Thucydides, by Daniel Serruys. The edition of H. S. Jones in the *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis* is reviewed in the main favorably, but exception taken to his views concerning the MSS. The author then discusses at some length the whole subject of the tradition of Thucydides, giving numerous collations by way of illustration.

8. Pp. 253-60. Corrections of the text of Gregorius Nazianzenus, by A. Misier. Twenty odd passages emended, some in the Sermons, others in the Letters.

9. Pp. 261-82. Book Notices. 1) *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux et Revue des Universités du Midi*. Table des tomes I à XX (1879-98), par Eugène Bouvy. Bordeaux; Paris. Briefly mentioned by L. D. The title sufficiently describes the work. 2) H. Francotte. *L'Industrie dans la Grèce ancienne*, tome I. Bruxelles, 1900. Analyzed at some length by Gustave Lefebure, who, recognizing the great value of the work in many respects, still takes issue with some of its leading doctrines. 3) *Euripides Iphigenia auf Tauris* herausgegeben von Dr. Siegfried Reiter. Leipzig, 1900. Reviewed by E. Chambry. The work is intended for pupils and for private reading, but will be found not only excellent for these, but very useful to scholars. 4) *Aristote. Traité de l'âme*, traduit et annoté par G. Rodier. Paris, 1900. Jules Lebreton, though hesitating to accept some few details, commends this work highly. It is rather philosophical than philological. 5) *Aristotelis qui fertur de Melisso Xenophane Gorgia libellus*, edidit Hermannus Diels. Berlin, 1900. Brief and favorable mention by Jules Lebreton. 6) *Lucianus. Recognovit Iulius Sommerbrodt*. Vol. III. Berlin, 1899. E. Chambry finds this critical work very important, but condemns some of the emendations as being rash and unnecessary—a fault which he ascribes to the influence of "le téméraire Cobet." 7) *Die Paraphrase des Enteknios zu Oppians Kynegitika* von Otto Tüselmann. Briefly mentioned by Albert Martin. The work, so far as books II and III are concerned, is an editio princeps. The reviewer, commending the work, calls the author's attention to a MS which might have proved useful. 8) Alf. Franke, *De Pallada epigrammatographo*. Leipzig, 1899. Also Hugo Stadtmüller, *Anthologia graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, Vol. II, pars prior. Leipzig, 1899. Albert Martin notices these two works together. The former he pronounces very erudite and bestows equal praise upon the latter, with one slight exception. 9) Johannes Raeder, *De Theodoreti Graecarum affectionum curatione quaestiones criticae*. Hauniae, 1900. Briefly described by A. M. 10) Ernst Berger, *Stylistique latine, remaniée par*

MM. Max Bonnet et Ferdinand Gache, 3<sup>e</sup> édition. Paris, 1900. R. Harmand considers this an originally excellent work made still better. 11) The Captivi of Plautus edited with notes etc., by G. E. Barber. Boston, 1900. A. Cartault describes the work. 12) Q. Ennio. I frammenti degli Annali editi e illustrati da Luigi Valmaggi. Torino, 1900. Favorably mentioned by A. C. 13) Caroli Pascal. Commentationes Vergilianae, 1900, Mediolani-Panormi. A. Cartault recognizes the ingenuity and erudition of the author, but rejects and combats his conclusions. 14) Le liriche di Orazio, commentate da Vincenzo Ussani, volume I. Gli Epodi, 1<sup>o</sup> libro delle Odi. Torino, 1900. R. Harmand finds some merits and many faults. 15) Σπ. Βάσης. Παρατηρήσεις εἰς Προπερίου ποιήματα (Ἀθηνά, XII. 3 pp. 318-43). Ἀθήνησιν, 1900. A. Cartault commends this article, but finds a few inadmissible things. 16) P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium libri quinque. Revisione del testo e commento a cura di Enrico Cocchia. Torino, 1900. Mentioned very unfavorably by A. C. 17) R. Ehwald. Exegetischer Kommentar zur XIV. Heroide Ovids (Programm, Gotha Gymnas.). Gotha, 1900. Mentioned favorably by A. Cartault, who proposes a few corrections. 18) P. Papini Stati Silvae Krohni copis usus edidit Alfredus Klotz. Lipsiae, 1900. A. Cartault sums up the results of this critical work, which he considers epoch-making in the history of the text of Statius, but not by any means final. He discusses a number of points in which he does not agree with Klotz. 19) D. Junii Juvenalis Saturae con note di Enrico Cesaro. Libro I, Satira I. Messina, 1900. A. C. says that this work is practically a reproduction of the excellent edition of Friedländer with some useless additions. 20) Ciceros ausgewählte Reden, erklärt von K. Halm. Dritter Band. Vierzehnte Auflage besorgt von G. Laubmann. Berlin, 1900. Henri Bornecque sais "il est inutile, je crois, de faire l'éloge de cette édition de Cicéron, que les éditeurs de tous les pays imitent ou copient, souvent sans le dire." 21) Cicéron. De Oratore I, texto riveduto ed annotato da Antonio Cima. 2<sup>a</sup> Edizione. Turin, 1900. Henri Bornecque praises this work. 22) L. Fighiera. La lingua et la grammatica di C. Crispo Sallustio. Savona, 1900. Henri Bornecque analyzes the work and commends it, but thinks it might be advantageously compressed a little. 22) W. C. Summers. C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina. Cambridge, 1900. Mentioned by Henri Bornecque. "C'est surtout une édition de vulgarisation"—and a rather poor one. 23) L. Lévy, Quo modo Tiberius Claudius Nero erga senatum se gesserit. Paris, 1901. A. Jardé states the conclusions reached, and, admitting the care and penetration of the author, raises and discusses several objections.

10. Pp. 283-4. List of books received.

No. 4.

1. Pp. 285-8. On a new edict of the emperor Julian, by H. Dessau. The edict is found in the publications of the Graeco-

Roman section of the Egypt Exploration Fund, No. XX, p. 116 f. Hitherto it has been ascribed to Severus Alexander; but Dessau replies to the objections raised against Julian as the author, and produces convincing arguments in his favor.

2. Pp. 289-94. On the Manuscripts of Thucydides, by H. Stuart Jones. A reply to, or criticism of, the article of Daniel Serruys. (See above, No. 3, art. 7).

3. Pp. 295-310. Critical notes on twenty-seven passages of Ter. Phormio by Louis Havet. (Continuation from pp. 94 ff., pp. 225 ff.) These notes, which thus far extend to v. 664, are indispensable for students, especially editors, of the Phormio.

4. Pp. 311-12. In Ter. Haut. 69 Theophanes Kakridis defends the full stop at the end of the verse (*after denique*).

5. Pp. 313-19. Orphica Fr. 221, 227, 228, 254 (Abel) ably discussed by Paul Tannery.

6. Pp. 320-36. Language and style of Victor of Vita, by F. Ferrère. Second article (see above, No. 2, art. 7). These interesting articles cannot be epitomized intelligibly.

7. Pp. 336-8. Note on an inscription of Troezen, by B. Haussoullier. The inscription had been edited and annotated by its finder, Ph. E. Legrand. H. discusses the part of it that relates to the restoration of reprisals.

8. P. 338. B. H. publishes a note on the Milesian Lichas, son of Hermophantos.

9. Pp. 339-45. Book Notices. 1) Euripidis Fabulae. Ediderunt R. Prinz et N. Wecklein. Lipsiae, 1899. E. Chambry praises this work very highly, and suggests some slight improvements. 2) Euripides. Hippolytos con introduzione commento ed appendice critica di Augusto Balsamo. Parte prima (testo critico e commento). Firenze, 1899. E. Chambry commends the commentary, but awaits the publication of the critical appendix before criticizing the text. 3) K. Kalbfleisch.—Papyri Argentoratenses. Progr. Univ. Rostock, 1901. Briefly described by Paul Graindor. 4) Hermann Peter, Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur. Abhandlungen der philolog.-hist. Klasse der königl. Sächsch. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Band XX, No. 3. Leipzig, 1901. A. Judé finds this work very valuable, but regrets some faults. 5) F. Beck, Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans (Diss. inaug., Munich). Munich 1900. A. Cartault analyzes this work at some length, recognizing its merits, but not agreeing with the author on all points. 6) Richard Hildebrandt, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Gedichtes Aetna. Leipzig, 1900. Commended by A. Cartault, who does not however, approve every detail.

10. Pp. 346-8. List of books received.

The Revue des Revues, begun in No. 2, is completed in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

## BRIEF MENTION.

I have a certain sympathy with DITTMAR, as I tried to show in my too brief mention of his *Studien zur lateinischen Moduslehre* (A. J. P. XX 113). The emotional side of the moods has not been sufficiently emphasized and so far I am in accord with him, but the emotions cool in passing through the medium of speech, if we dare not use λόγος of the early time. Pure emotion is inarticulate and does not fall within the sphere of language proper. It is well enough to imagine the indicative as a pool of Bethesda, which is moved by the spirit of strife into subjunctive, subjective and polemic ripples, but how are we to measure the ripples? Surely Herr DITTMAR takes himself too seriously when in one of his recent outgivings he says: Der Konjunktiv <weist> auf die seelische Depression des Sprechers hin, der Acc. c. inf. auf die seelische Extase, der Indikativ auf die seelische Ataraxie. Diese drei Modi stehen im engsten Zusammenhang mit der Wirklichkeit und der realen Welt der Dinge. Ihnen steht gegenüber der Optativ welcher uns aus der Welt des Seins in die des Scheins, aus dem Reiche der Realität in das Gebiet der die Fesseln des Raumes und der Zeit, der Kausalität und Realität sprengenden Phantasie führt. Damit ist ein fester Boden gegeben auf dem weiter gebaut werden kann (Berliner Phil. Woch. 22 März 1902). 'Fester Boden' seems to me a strange term for the troubled sea of emotion; and, what is more, the psychic state of the speaker will not help us to reproduce the phenomena. The ἀραξία of the utterance does not necessarily reflect the ἀραξία of the utterer. The indicative in certain constructions produces the undeniable effect of grimness and grimness is a false ἀραξία. Nothing can be more illuminating than a survey of the constructions of the verbs of emotion, constructions which show the reciprocal play of heart and brain, but these are things that are not to be mastered by the simple process of phrase-making. He who wishes to see the beauty of the Queen we call Language must stand where Gyges stood and gaze as Gyges gazed.

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Apart then from the eloquence there seems to be little new in the practical outcome of DITTMAR's programme. Other grammarians have called the indicative the mood of quiet assertion; the dubitative subjunctive, the subjunctive of fear and dread, of apprehension and embarrassment, is not a stranger, even if we have not learned to call it the mood of depression; and the optative

mood is still the ideal mood, the mood of the fancy. The accusative with the infinitive is nothing but the object effected, the thing generated, and like all generation demands the forthputting of energy, ecstatic energy, if one chooses. No one who has served an apprenticeship on a political newspaper as a flyer of editorial kites, as a manufacturer of nicknames, will be much impressed by the interminable terminology that is invading the grammatical domain; and I am disposed to do penance for my humble part in enlarging that nomenclature. There are hosts of phrases that might be used with some color of propriety. Why not call the indicative the mood of sapience? Sapience involves *ἀραπαγία*. Why not call the unreal indicative the mood of resipiscence to match the imperfect of *expergefaction*, the imperfect with *ἀρα*? Or we might call the optative the mood of illusion and then the unreal indicative would fitly be the mood of disillusion. Why not? But I forbear. In a recent number of the *Journal* I made light of the abomination of desolation spoken of by Benjamin, the prophet (A. J. P. XXIII 1, note), but I must confess that I too am beginning to dread lest we grammarians become 'chimaerae bombinantes in vacuo' and that vacuum the classroom; I too am beginning to dread lest what the late epigram says of the rhetorician prove true of the grammarian:

Χαίρει', Ἀριστείδου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπὶ μαθηταί,  
τέσσαρες οἱ τοῖχοι καὶ τρία σὺνέλια

which some rhymester, emulous of Mrs. Browning's consonances, has imitated thus:

I'm a success, sir, I'm a success, sir,  
Seven steady students are at each lecture,  
Four walls and three desks, sir.

II. 19, 92-3 we read:

τῇ μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδεὶ  
πίλνεται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράτα βαίνει.

In Plato's *Symposium* 195 D Agathon presents the following variants. For τῇ (Aristarchos) he has τῆς, and for ἐπ' οὐδεὶ he has ἐπ' οὐδεος and, as Stobaeus in quoting Plato (*Floril.* LXIII 36) quotes τῆς and οὐδεος, we may well acquiesce in the Platonic text. Now superstition about the authority of quotations as against the received text has long been exploded. Everything depends on the quoter. A pedantic grammarian who believed in verifying references might be considered seriously; but the healthy ancient like the healthy modern quoted from memory and memory is tricky. Every now and then some newspaper article sets the masses right, but on they go again using French that is anything but French, misquoting Shakespeare and the Bible, chief of all,



murdering the author of Hudibras, twisting Pope. An amusing list of inexactitudes in the way of quotation may be found in Ezra Abbot's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; and Dean Farrar's singularly comprehensive and singularly inaccurate memory was shown up by Mr. Jeans in the *Classical Review* V (1891) 279. As for the specimen on hand I cannot agree with Professor HOWES (*Harvard Studies* VI 201), in thinking that 'Plato may well be preserving an old tradition in the form οὐδεις'. There is absolutely no warrant for οὐδεις. As for τῆς, which according to Professor HOWES has only the authority of the scholion Ven. A, and we might add the Genevese scholion, Ludwich says that most of the MSS of Homer have τῆς, the smaller number τῇ with Aristarchos.

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Now we all know Plato's naughty ways with poetry, how prone he is to fit his poetical quotations to the body of his work by prose flanges, so to speak; how he turns the order topsy-turvy to the befoolment of such amateurs as Mr. Pater (*A. J. P.* XV 93), how he plays with the diction of the original, 'like a sunbeam that has lost its way on an old wall', to quote M. Taine's pretty words about Shakespeare. In the passage before us the epic vocabulary is kept, but it looks to me very much as if Plato had put the preferentially prose syntax for the preferentially poetic syntax. In prose, parts of the body as parts of the body, take the genitive, and when the grammarian Lesbonax wished to present an extravagant form of the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον, he manufactured ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ which corresponds to the negro French 'tête à l'homme', and the example is certainly deterrent (*A. J. P.* XXIII 22). How steady the use is, it may be well to bring to the consciousness, especially as it is distinctly partitive. The dative gives a different turn. See my note on *Pind. O.* 6, 5. On these diamonds of speech pivot the wheels of poetry. How many generations of men repeated 'facilis descensus Avernī'. Who would put 'Avernī' back now instead of the semipersonalizing dative? 'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming'. And finally, as between ἐπὶ with the dative and ἐνί with the genitive, the dative is more poetic (*A. J. P.* XVIII 119), and so we find in Δ 443: ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

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In the preface to his annotated edition of *Homer's Odyssey*, Books XIII-XXIV (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press), Mr. MONRO says that the volume is designed as a continuation of the commentary on the *Odyssey* begun more than twenty-five years ago by Dr. RIDDELL and completed by Dr. MERRY. The second edition of the Riddell-Merry book appeared in 1885 and after another long interval during which Homeric studies have not

stood still, the Riddell-Merry-Monro *τρικάριος Ὀδύσσεια* is there with its twenty-four books. To form a just judgment of Mr. MONRO's continuation, it would be necessary to study the limitations of the task, to examine how far the work of Mr. MONRO's predecessors has anticipated him or haply has hampered him, but we are only too glad to welcome any contribution that so eminent an Homeric scholar, as Mr. MONRO is, chooses to make to our stock of knowledge. The truth about the edition, as about so many editions by specialists, is that the editor does not condescend to men of low estate and that the points that he touches are only such as interest himself. Of course, in a work addressed to scholars, not schoolboys, we do not expect trivialities, but Homeric research has been so active that only Homeric specialists can hope to be perfectly up-to-date; and what Mr. MONRO gives us in his notes deals largely with his present views of moot points. References to the editor's admirable Homeric Grammar form the stock of his grammatical explanations and therefore there is little new in that line. When a professed grammarian writes a commentary, he is naturally more alive to all the phenomena that he has registered in his grammar than the ordinary editor would be, and the observations already made are apt to absorb his attention. Of especial interest are the appended essays, which have to do with such important problems as the Composition of the Odyssey, the Relation of the Odyssey to the Iliad, Homer and the Cyclic Poets—a favorite domain of Mr. MONRO's—the Time and Place of Homer and the Homeric House. As I have said before, the delight of being an Homeric scholar has the terrible drawback of the necessity of taking up a definite position on these much debated questions. No sooner do we yield to Reichel than we are roused from our supineness by Robert, and no sooner do we rebuild the palace of Odysseus than the latest news from Knossos makes us reconsider our plans. That Mr. MONRO has gone into the mellay of Homeric controversy reluctantly is fairly evident from his preface, and we are all the more grateful to him for his clear and succinct account of modern research, because we appreciate the sacrifice he has made.

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One day I was making my moan to my old fellow-student, Professor WHITNEY, about my hopeless quest of typographical impeccability. The higher the standard, the flatter the failure. But small comfort did I receive from that careful scholar, who professed that he himself had withstood all the assaults of the printer's devil, that adversary of the philological soul, on whom the philological soul often unloads more than is his due. I listened and waited and not in vain. A few months after our talk, the printer had found the heel of the invulnerable Achilles. A leaf had lighted on the back of 'der gehörnte Siegfried' of philology.

The types had put 'older' for 'other' and made inerrant WHITNEY responsible for a sad heresy (see A. J. P. XIV 138). For my own part, nothing reconciles me to a typographical error. I admire but I cannot emulate the temper of the fine old Athenian gentlemen described by Aristophanes,

εἰ δέ που πέσοιεν ἐς τὸν ὄμον ἐν μάχῃ τινί,  
τοῦτ' ἀπεψήσαντ' ἄν, εἴτ' ἡρνοῦντο μὴ πεπτωκέναι,

and find myself intoning the tragic lament:

χωρεῖ πρὸς ἥπαρ γενναία δῆη.

From this preamble it will readily be divined that I am in trouble again. Not only does the last number of the Journal show here and there typographical slips of an elementary sort, which the benevolent reader will correct without further ado and the malevolent reader will point at with scorn, but I find myself committed to a sentence which is exactly the reverse of what I intended to write, a blunder which is mine alone. On p. 108 l. 22 from bottom read 'I should not proceed to reverse the old tenet which represents the genitive as *dependent on the nominal element of the verb rather than on the verbal element of the noun*'. Compare the foot-note of the same number, p. 22. As I have already said, the early relations of Indo-Germanic lie beyond the range of my speculations. All that I try to make out is the Greek conception. Paul says that adnominal and adverbial genitive have distinct functions in Indo-Germanic, *a fortiori* in Greek. Are they parallel in the Greek mind, or which is subordinate to which? To me it does not seem that the predominance of the adnominal genitive has been overthrown, and I am interested to see that Delbrück's contention that the adverbial genitive was the older is not yielded by the latest investigator VAN WIJK, who, by the way, following the lead of STREITBERG, maintains in a dissertation just published at Zwolle, *Der nominale Genetiv Singular im Indogermanischen*, that the genitive singular in Indo-Germanic is originally identical with the nominative, σκῶπός, for instance, differing in the last analysis from σκῶψ (\*skēp-es) only in the matter of accent. This view helps us to understand the adnominal genitive, the function of which is to form temporary compounds with the noun, but VAN WIJK's explanation of the adverbial genitive on the same basis seems to halt. But of this more hereafter.

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EDITED BY  
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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## I.—PROBLEMS IN GREEK SYNTAX.

### III.

From moods and modal particles we pass over to the tenses and consider first those temporal relations that are common to all the moods, the so-called *status actionis* or kind of time, that which makes *δίδου* to differ from *δος*, *ἦν διδῶ* from *ἦν δῶ*, *διδούς* from *δοίης*, *διδόναι* from *δοῦναι*, *διδούς* from *δούς*, as well as *ἔδιδόμεν* from *ἔδομεν*. For these are the universal relations and, which is especially important, these were the relations to which the Greeks were sensitive from the beginning to the end, so sensitive that experienced Grecians have acknowledged their inferiority in this regard to the poorest *Graeculi*.<sup>1</sup> What the original scheme of the tenses was need not trouble us here. The categories of past, present and future to which we cling despite our own language, which has no future, these categories are not vital. Out of durative or

<sup>1</sup> Blass, G. N. T. G., § 57, 'This distinction is observed in the N. T. with the same accuracy as in classical Greek.' Cf. A. J. P. XI 107. On the other hand, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Lesebuch, Erl., p. 215, says: Der Unterschied zwischen den Imperativen des Praesens und des Aorists wird in der vulgären Rede vernachlässigt. On the domination of the aor. imper. in certain spheres see my remarks on Justin Martyr, Apol. I 16, 6. Doubtless the problem is often a very delicate one, as in Eur. Hipp. 473: ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη παῖ, λῆγε μὲν κακῶν φρενῶν, | λῆξον δ' ὑβρίζου· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο πλὴν ὑβρις | τάδ' ἐστί. Is this change a mere matter of *metri causa*? Or, to use the consecrated formula, does *λῆγε* give a general and *λῆξον* a specific command, the specification being made by *ὑβρις τάδ' ἐστί*, or does *λῆγε* connote impatience (S. C. G. § 405) as the aorist connotes urgency?

progressive, out of aoristic, ingressive, complexive, completed action, one can get by combination temporal relations enough to satisfy life.<sup>1</sup> And yet respectable scholars, more than respectable scholars, have slighted or sneered at the *status actionis* of the extra-indicative moods, and, whilst they accept and expand the traditional differences between ἵφευγον and ἵφυγον, pass over lightly or ignore the difference between φεύγειν and φυγεῖν. Of course, this is a sad inconsistency, because ἵφευγον differs from ἵφυγον only as φεύγειν differs from φυγεῖν. But, of late years, a disposition has been shown to efface this inconsistency also, and the differences between imperfect and aorist have been wiped out by various scholars, notably by one from whose native familiarity with two distinct preterites one would have expected a different attitude.<sup>2</sup> But the French *prétérit défini* is a book tense, and the French imperfect, while it helps us to understand the Greek imperfect, helps us also to misunderstand it. In fact, there are few domains in which national variations are so puzzling as in that of the tenses. With all the practice of long residence and all the advantages of hard study the foreigner bewrays himself by the tenses. This is true of the German in America, of the American in Germany. This was true of the Roman writer of Greek, and the use of the tenses is one of the marks by which the Latinizing writer of Greek is detected. Too many pluperfects, too few imperfects.<sup>3</sup> But just now we are dealing not so much with the past-imperfect and the past-aorist as with the imperfect in general and the aorist in general, the progressive tenses and the aoristic tenses.<sup>4</sup> True, the differences are often hard to translate, sometimes impossible of translation. But what concerns us here is the direct perception of the differences between such temporal relations, not the difficulty of rendering these differences into an alien tongue. We may resort to special periphrases, we may use auxiliary verbs to bring out the distinctions, we may even go as far as Curtius has done and make use of different verbs for different tenses, just as in Greek itself ἤλθον is the practical aorist of εἶμι and ἐπάραξα the practical aorist of ῥύπτω.

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XXIII 106.

<sup>2</sup> Riemann in the *Mélanges Graux*, 585-598. See now Riemann and Goelzer, p. 250 and p. 832.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. P. XIV 104; XVI 259.

<sup>4</sup> For which I have recently proposed the terms 'paratatic' and 'apobatic', A. J. P. XXIII 106.

All that interests us here is the establishment of the fact of the feeling. Once the feeling was almost universally admitted, but objections have not been wanting. There is the *metri causa* argument, to show that the distinction, if any, is overborne by the march of the verse. There is the parallel passage argument, the argument that has been used triumphantly to show that there is no difference between this future and that future. If one admits that *metri causa* may suffice to efface slight differences, the inch of concession becomes an ell whereby to measure all Greek. If one attempts to show that two passages may have the same general meaning and yet a very different coloring, one cannot expect a patient hearing from those who think that it is very much the same thing whether you use two finite verbs or one finite verb and one participle.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of all cavil there are passages in which the Greek author himself makes a point that turns on the shift of the tenses, and to these we can look with confidence as proofs that the distinction is not dead. It is at most dormant. It can be roused to life whenever needed. And if this is so, the style of an author will be very different according as these modal tenses are always used sharply and clearly, or as he slurs distinctions which must have been national.

Not least interesting nor least convincing in this range of studies are the fixed formulae; for in these formulae we have the record of distinctions that must have been sharply marked to the early speakers of the language. What may seem subtle to us could not have been subtle, to begin with. Such a formula is the coincidence of the kind of time in *φθάνω* and its participle. It is a regular paradigm, *φθάνω ποιῶν, φθάνω* (hist. pres.) *ποιήσας, φθίσσμαι ποιήσας, ἔφθασα ποιήσας, παύ—ἔφθακα πεποιηκώς. φθάνω* and the participle are, if not absolutely faithful to each other, at least reasonably so through all generations of Greek. It is an example of conjugal fidelity worthy of all admiration.<sup>2</sup> The participle of *λανθάνω* is not so constant and the participle of *τυγχάνω* is as inconstant as *τύχη* herself.

In studying the tenses of a foreign language it is especially desirable to get rid of one's native ply; and yet, as it is impossible to get rid of it, the next best thing is to make allowances for it. So in studying the Greek present we must

<sup>1</sup> For Homeric examples see T. D. Seymour, Transactions of American Philological Association, XII 81.

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P. XII 78-9.

remember that we have two familiar periphrases for the present for which the Greek has no exact parallels, the so-called progressive 'I am walking', which is not adequately rendered by βαδίζω εἰμι, and 'I do walk', which produces an impression akin to βαδίζω δῆ. We are prone, therefore, to analyze the Greek present as we are usually forced to analyze the Greek future, as we are forced to decide between the periphrastic 'shall' and 'will'. To the Greek the present was an indefinite tense. In familiar language it answered for present, it answered for past, it answered for future. It is universal: 'The sun rises in the East and sets in the West'. It is particular: 'The sun sets behind a cloud'. And this suffices. But we cannot help asking: Is it originally progressive or, if you choose, durative? Is it originally aoristic? Or, have we one set of forms that are progressive, one that are aoristic? Was there, for instance, the same difference between a long present form and a short present form that we feel between ἀγινώσκω and ἄγω? All that can be said with approximate confidence is that a typical difference having set itself up between imperfect and aorist in certain forms, the present associated itself with the imperfect and became by preference durative, by preference progressive. When, therefore, an aoristic present was needed, the aorist itself was employed. We who have learned to feel the augment as the sign of the past time may have our sensibilities shocked, but we have to unlearn that feeling; and in any case the fact is there, and it is impossible to explain all the uses of the aorist side by side with the present by a resort to the paradigmatic aorist or to the empiric aorist. It is an interesting phenomenon that the so-called gnomic aorist holds to its augment in Homer with a tenacity that is very strange in view of the fact that gnomic aorist and present are so often paralleled.<sup>1</sup> True, the paradigmatic aorist has its legitimate use in proverbs, which are largely abridged parables, abridged stories. A typical action is good for all time. The empiric aorist appeals to experience as the Preacher appeals to experience. 'The thing that hath been it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun'. But the

<sup>1</sup> Platt, E. J. of Phil. XIX (1891): 'The general rule is that the gnomic aorist in old Epic poetry takes the augment. Exceptions are so few as to be practically non-existent'.

paradigmatic and the empiric explanations do not satisfy the feeling in passages in which the shift from present to aorist is clearly a shift from durative to complexive, from progress to finality, and it is just these passages that show how alive the Greek is to the kind of time.<sup>1</sup> If the Greek had used throughout his literature the historical present for the past, the aoristic feeling of the present might have been more pronounced, but the historical present, belonging as it does to the household stock, seems to have been tabooed as vulgar by the epic and the higher lyric.<sup>2</sup> There is not an example in Homer, and I have challenged all that have been cited in Pindar (I. E., cii). It was the drama, which is chiefly representative and not narrative, that ventured to bring it back. Once rehabilitated by the drama, it became common in prose and was used freely by historians and orators, not, however, without individual differences, which it might be worth while to scan more narrowly, but it was never, perhaps, employed so recklessly as among the Romans, who are sadly given to overdoing. In English the historical present is in like manner apt to be overdone by flashy writers, and is not unfrequently sought by those who wish to be lively at all hazards. The historical present is a well-known weakness of Dickens. As Augustine Birrell says, 'What can be drearier than when a plain, matter-of-fact writer attempts to be animated and tries to make his characters live by the futile but easy expedient of writing about them in the present tense?' As a future the present is used only in those verbs in which the will is the deed. There are very few. Nor does the present for the future show itself much in the Greek dependent sentence, whereas it reigns in idiomatic English. The Greek absolutely riots in futures of every shade and seldom calls on the *praesens propheticum*, which is reserved for solemn occasions. We are in the region of 'Burdens' and 'Warnings'. 'Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty and maketh it waste and turneth it upside down'.

<sup>1</sup> The passages in my S. C. G. § 260 might have been multiplied, perhaps ought to have been multiplied. The aorist produces an effect of finality akin to the perfect, of which the aorist is often the shorthand. In S. C. G. § 257, which has been freely criticised, read, 'the gnomic perfect < is based > on experience < real or imaginary (vision) >'.

<sup>2</sup> See now S. C. G., § 200, and cf. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 229: 'The Historical Present is scarcely to be met with in Old English; but there are numerous instances of it from the thirteenth century down to our times. Frequent in Chaucer and Elizabethan writers'.

The Greek future is, for us, as has been intimated, an untranslatable tense. In every simple sentence we are obliged to differentiate and as the use of 'will' and 'shall' has varied greatly from the time of Shakespeare to our own days and still varies in different localities, the difficulty of rendering is greatly enhanced. But the translation should not be allowed to get between us and the Greek future. We encounter a like puzzle in every direction, we encounter it in the Latin future, in the Romance future, which no native analyzes into 'will' and 'shall'. In the leading clause the negative is *οὐ*, but in the dependent clause with the exception of the descriptive relative the negative is *μὴ*. In the one it is indicative, in the other it is, for want of a better word, imperative. Now according to Dr. Rutherford, who is a Scotchman, the future indicative in an *εἰ*-clause is to be translated by an emphatic 'will',<sup>1</sup> but I am not certain that I always understand a Scotchman's 'will'; and the American 'will' is not uniform. 'We will' for 'we shall' is exceedingly common over the whole country and is not a specifically Southern error, as has been charged: and even those who make the book difference between 'shall' and 'will' are apt to lean too much to 'shall' and others who manage to keep 'shall' and 'will' apart in statement are prone to fuse them in the question and in indirect discourse and, then again, those who are decent enough in the matter of 'shall' and 'will' are reckless in the matter of 'should' and 'would', to which the same principles apply. I should therefore prefer not to accept Dr. Rutherford's uniform translation of an emphatic 'will' for *εἰ* with future indicative and yet it is but fair to say that the 'shall' by which we are prone to render *εἰ* with future indicative in contradistinction to *ἐάν* with the subjunctive seems to be more formal, minatory, legal in its tone now than it was centuries ago. Let us, therefore, put translations aside for a while and say: It is enough if we associate the imperative idea with the *μὴ* future of the dependent clause. In the independent sentence there is no *μὴ* future. There the negative is *οὐ* and the so-called imperative future with *οὐ* is not an imperative but a familiar prediction, which involves either absolute control or foreknowledge absolute. It is the address to a slave, to a familiar, and all the mildness of its imperative use is the merest fancy. 'Thou shalt not steal' is not the rendering of the Greek *οὐ κλέψεις*. The Hebrew has the negative of prediction. The command is addressed to the servant of the Most High.

<sup>1</sup> First Greek Syntax § 285.

The Greek future does not escape the question of its modality nor does it escape the question as to the kind of its time. Is it undifferentiated or does it lean toward progressive action on the one hand or toward complexive action on the other? The close resemblance in form—I waive all questions of origin here as elsewhere—the close resemblance in form to the first aorist subjunctive may have given it a ply in the aoristic direction and a remarkable indication of that is the steadiness of *φθάσω* (*φθήσομαι*) with the aorist participle, but whatever its natural affinities, the Greek prefers other expressions than the future indicative for more exact relations of future time. The future indicative has, it is true, established itself in the independent sentence but in the dependent sentence it is confined to a limited sphere from which it has not succeeded in ousting the more exact expressions of temporal relations such as *ἵνα* and *ἵνα* with present and aorist subjunctive. It has not forced its way into temporal sentences of limit such as *ἕως ἄν* and *πρὶν ἄν*. *ἥν* with present and aorist subjunctive outnumbers *εἰ* with future indicative and the generic relative prefers *ὅς* *ἄν* with present and aorist subjunctive. Nay, even in the leading clause, the optative with *ἄν* disputes the territory with the future, and the positive future is balanced by the negative optative with *ἄν*. This desire for an exact future is characteristic of the language and gives rise to complicated periphrases, but nowhere is it shown more strikingly than in the exactness with which the comparatively late first future passive is used whenever there are two competing forms. In the *De Compositione* Dionysios bids us consider whether we shall use *ἀφαιρήσομαι* or *ἀφαιρεθήσομαι*,<sup>1</sup> but Dionysios is thinking of the rhythmical effect merely. The modern grammarian is thinking of the kind of time. *ἀφαιρήσομαι* is durative and may be compared with the verbs of depriving, *ἀφαιρεθήσομαι* is aoristic; and the conviction of the justice of this distinction caused Blass to revise his scheme of the tenses in the new edition of Kühner, as is well known.<sup>2</sup> We see then that the survival of the original modal sense of the future, the range of its employment as an imperative, the replacement of it by other moods, all these belong to aesthetic syntax as well as to every-day syntax: and so does the use of the future as a gnomic

<sup>1</sup> *De comp. verb.* 43 (R): καὶ ἀφαιρήσομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφαιρεθήσομαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα . . . μετασκευάζει τὰς λέξεις ἵνα αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἀρμοσθεῖσαι καλλίους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύτεραι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Teil I., Bd. II., S. 585 with Bd. I., §190.

tense, so does the traveller's future of Herodotos, by which the story-teller enters into confidential relations with his listener.

The future perfect has little range in Greek. It is a rare form. Grammarians tell us that it is not formed from pure verbs that begin with a vowel. If one chooses to consider *ᾠφελήσομαι* a future perfect what is there to prevent it? And the context might demand it. In its narrow range the future perfect has its full rights. There is no abatement of its force in *δεδήσομαι* or *πεπράσομαι* any more than there is an abatement in the force of the perfect imperative. *εἰρήσεται* has the same sphere as *εἰρήσθω*.<sup>1</sup> That the future perfect occurs chiefly in the dramatic poets is due not to the iambic metre at the close of the verse, as has been maintained. That is a mere coincidence of position with sense. Where else shall we look for finality if we are not to look for it in the future perfect and at the end of the verse? When Aias says: *τὰ . . . τεύχη κοῖν' ἐμοὶ τεθάνυσται*, who would dare to write *ταφήσεται*, no matter how the metrical Moloch might smile with its iron jaws?

To the sphere of the present belongs the perfect. Everybody recognizes now that in the perfect form, as elsewhere, reduplication, has only to do with the character of the action, that we have to make a variety of classes, that we have to sunder f. i. the onomatopoetic perfect and the emotional perfect from the perfect of completion. And yet it is not so very many years since 'I have set up a yell and therefore am yelling' was gravely put forward as an explanation of the tense of *κέκραγα*. Few would venture nowadays to explain *τέτριγα* and *δέδια* as perfects of completed action. Verbs of perception, verbs of gesture have passed into the intensive category, not always with so clear a right. Of course the large use of such perfects is to be sought in the poetical sphere—which is the sphere of fancy and emotion and need not detain us—but a word as to the sphere of the ordinary perfect may not be amiss.

In practical life the perfect was much more frequently used than we might gather from a general survey of the literature; and in fact, the nearness of any department of literature to practical life may readily be measured by the perfect. The perfect belongs to the drama, to the orators, to the dialogues of Plato. The drama, to be sure, is under the thrall of verse and the perfect is a heavy form and suffers a replacement by the aorist; and yet it is of not infrequent occurrence. In history the perfect has no place outside

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XVII 518 and S. C. G. § 279 foll.



of the speeches and the reflective passages in which the author has his say. One would hardly expect a dearth of perfects in an author like Polybios, head of the pragmatist school of historians. Statistics are a bugbear to many, and perhaps the statistics of the perfect would not be profitable. In the absence of statistics, turn over the leaves of Veitch's *Irregular Verbs* and see in what authors perfects most do congregate. I have just alluded to the replacement of the perfect by the aorist, which, as I have said elsewhere, may be used as the shorthand of the perfect (A. J. P. XIV 105). The aorist has a strong affinity for the negative and we often find the tenses so associated that the negative thought is expressed by the aorist, the positive by the perfect. Then whole ranges of verbs form no perfect that we know of, and many of the perfects that figure in our grammars are due to the mechanical manufacture of an artificial period, to the desire of completing a paradigm such as gave birth to the various unrealities that were wont to figure under ΤΥΠΤΩ, though in view of the fact that even in the best period there are so many isolated perfects, we ought not to be too hasty in damning the *Graeculi*, whom it is so easy to damn.

In consideration, then, of all these cross-calculations it will be admitted that the stylistic study of the use of the perfect is a complicated problem and perhaps all that can be formulated with certainty is that the very large use of the perfect in any sphere shows too much analysis and is a mark of decline, and in later Greek suggests Roman influence—the same influence that manifests itself in an undue use of the pluperfect.

The three historical tenses were used with full consciousness by the Greeks of the best period, by the Greek of the period in which imagination and reflection held perfect balance; and the distinction between imperfect and aorist and the distinction between aorist and pluperfect play a large part in syntax and yet not too large a part. The formulae are too vague, the observations too superficial; too little attention has been paid to the sphere of usage, so that assaults on the traditional distinctions are not surprising. These assaults have had for their object mainly the levelling of imperfect and aorist; for the difference between aorist and pluperfect is too evident to be ignored. Indeed, if we study the passages in which the Greek makes a point on the shifting use of the three historical tenses, it does not readily appear how any student of the Greek language who has to deal with practical phenomena could allow a theory of origin

to interfere with the facts of usage. There might be room for carping when the three historical tenses as used in the same sentence come from different verbs, but what is to be done with the classic passage in Herodotos, in which the same verb is used, the tense shifting as if the historian were giving a lesson in grammar.<sup>1</sup> The difference thus made is the typical difference, which may be obscured here and there, which can never be effaced. Much has been made of a small and ancient group of verbs in which we have indifferent preterites—*ἦν*, *ἦα*, *ἔφην*—though even these are not indifferent throughout, and let us frankly say that for aught we know the group may have been much larger. Nay, it may be conceded that the whole difference between aorist and imperfect is in all likelihood the result of a gradual differentiation. *ἔτραπον* the aorist of one dialect is the imperfect of another. But the differentiation is there. Just as in another sphere we say that whatever *ἰστοφανόσατο* may have been in the beginning, it becomes rigidly middle, so it may safely be said that an imperfect in the classic language is never interchangeable with the aorist, though the shift from one to the other is often so subtle as to escape our analysis, and we have to resort to the imponderable category of 'feeling'. The best contrasted definitions do not avail throughout. We call the aorist the tense of statement, the imperfect the tense of description; we call the aorist the complexive tense, the imperfect the tense of evolution. We say that the aorist gives the sum, the imperfect the items. We say that the imperfect is the tense of actual vision, the tense of sympathy. The aorist appeals more to the intellect, the imperfect more to the eye. The aorist descends like lightning, the imperfect comes down like a pall. There is an aorist of eagerness, an imperfect of reluctance; and so on through a long array of metaphors. And yet a simple *ἔλεγε* where one might use *εἶπε* drives Cobet to set up a peculiarity of the Ionic dialect, and his fine remark on the propriety of the imperfect for the *oculati testes* (N. L. 409) is wasted on himself. *ἔπεμπον*, *ἐκέλευον*, *ἔλειπον* have evoked a variety of explanations.<sup>2</sup> The artistic imperfect *ἐποίησε* seems to have puzzled

<sup>1</sup> See now S. C. G., § 264.

<sup>2</sup> The aorist of eagerness is the so-called dramatic aorist which figures in all the grammars (S. C. G., § 262), but I did not have the heart to add another category to my exhibit of the imperfect in spite of my own note on Pindar, O. 6, 45: *ἔλειπε*, 'She had to leave'. Cf. Il. 19, 288, and Eur. H. F. 554, with the note of Wilamowitz.

the ancients themselves, and the almost sentimental explanation that we find in Pliny has been accepted with rapture and cited over and over again as an illustration of the modesty of the Greek artist, who lingered lovingly over his work and never counted himself to have attained, until some pitiless statistician found out that the early artists had no such sentimentality, and now the prosaic explanation which parallels *ἔποίη* with *ἔτεκε*, 'was the maker' with 'was the mother', has thrust out the other.' And yet the other may have been superinduced. The artists of modern times who have accepted Pliny's explanation, and have inscribed on their work *faciebat* in good faith, must have had partners in their error among the antique artists, for Pliny's contribution to the theory of the tenses was doubtless a tradition of the studio. Nay, even Pindar lends color to the tradition when he sings: *αὐλῶν τεύχε* (sc. *παρθένος*) *πάμφωνον μέλος*, where we see the Virgin Goddess fashioning the melody. But the aorist follows, *εὔρεν θεός*. (P. 12, 19.)

In the list of traditional differences between aorist and imperfect given above, the reader may miss the formulae of 'prolonged' and 'momentary' action. Few formulae have done more harm than these. Tense of duration, tense of momentum, would not be so objectionable, but, unfortunately, duration has to be explained and the seat of the duration put where it belongs, in the eye of the beholder, in the heart of the sympathizer, and not in the action itself. Describe a rapid action and you have the imperfect. Sum up a long action and you have the aorist. Definite numbers take the aorist with a fateful regularity, if there is no interruption to the series.<sup>1</sup> The negative takes the aorist as a rule, the imperfect only when there is something countervailing, something that has to be opposed, so that the negative with the imperfect often gets a modal translation, just as we say in English 'The door would not shut'. So in Latin the historical tenses of verbs of hindering are limited to the imperfect sequence. Hindering involves opposition to will, involves resistance to pressure.

<sup>1</sup> See S. C. G., § 213, footnote. Ulrichs's remark occurs in his *Chrestomathia Pliniana*, Einleitung, XIV. Add Meisterhans<sup>2</sup>, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> So in any kind of Greek that is Greek, Hebrews 3, 17: *τίσιν δὲ προσέχθισεν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη*. The catena can easily be effected and in my *Syntax* § 244 I did not care to multiply examples, which any index that has numerals in it will increase indefinitely. Examples with the non-indicative moods, however, are not so common, and I am sorry that I did not cite Dem. 50, 39: *τὸν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ χρόνον τριηράρησεν τοὺς ἐξ μῆνας*.

Much can be done in the way of observing the spheres in which the imperfect moves, the verbs that it prefers, and analysis has not exhausted its resources, though, of course, much will always be left to immediate feeling and Queen Grammar will lose her rights. In shifting from one language to another, one has to acquire a different set of tentacles. As a tense *ἔλεγε*, 'dicebat', 'disait', 'said', 'sagte' may be called by the same name and may have the same function and yet demand a different treatment. Our English imperfect has collapsed into an aorist, so much so that the progressive is used when we need certain phases of the imperfect, and yet the aoristic use of our imperfect is in need of reinforcement, and when we use the negative, which has affinities with the aorist, we use the reduplicated aorist 'did'. Nay, we Americans shocked the late Mr. Fitzedward Hall by going so far as to say 'did not have', which, I am ready to believe, is abominable. In South Germany the imperfect is less used; and in French the imperfect is used in a way that seems to be nearer to Greek than it is to Latin. There are no statistics to show what is the proportion of imperfect to aorist in Greek compared with the proportion of imperfect to historical perfect in Latin. It has been maintained of late on the basis of a very imperfect induction that the Roman did not use his imperfect so freely as did the Greek, and it is *a priori* very likely, but the conditions are so complicated that mere counting will not suffice. To plunge into Caesar's Gallic War and Xenophon's Anabasis and emerge with a bushel-basket of statistics will not serve. The spheres are not exactly the same, and oh! the difference of authors, apart from the nationality.<sup>1</sup> The large use of the imperfect in Greek may, however, well be considered a note of *naïveté*, but that note of *naïveté* is lost in the transfer to English, to German. The English progressive would be intolerable for any length of time and is excluded from a certain range of verbs. 'I was loving' of our paradigms is an impossibility. The German imperfect does not produce the same impression as the Greek imperfect, and as the South German is more *naïf* than the North German, one might have to substitute the perfect and save the tone at the expense of the tense. Here, then, on what some would consider the very threshold of the language, we meet a problem that is to be solved by sympathy and sympathy alone. The open sense of the student is the only open sesame.

<sup>1</sup>A. J. P. XIV 105.

The pluperfect, which figures so largely in Latin, has a much more modest *role* in Greek. It is made up in very much the same way, but it is a relatively heavier form, and the notion of antecedence in the past which gives the Latin pluperfect so wide a scope is jauntily borne in Greek by the aorist. The aorist is not so exact as it might be; but the Greeks were satisfied with a hint. The Greek pluperfect is to the imperfect what the perfect is to the present. It hunts in couples with the imperfect and aorist, and should be studied in connexion with its comrades. But it is a lumbering tense and requires more analysis of the situation than the Greeks were disposed to wait for. Hence there is no more suspicious circumstance in later Greek than the abounding use of the pluperfect; and the multiplication of the pluperfect in Babrius gives the effect of a translation from the Latin, though even that does not avail to destroy the charm.

#### THE COMPOUND SENTENCE.

We now pass from the domain of the simple sentence to that of the compound sentence, from the combination of words to the combination of sentences, now in parataxis, now in hypotaxis. In the older grammars parataxis received scant notice. A few remarks on the copulative, adversative, causal and illative conjunctions, and then the attention was concentrated chiefly on hypotaxis with its more complicated phenomena. Nowadays parataxis is looked upon as the key to hypotaxis. All subordination is traced to co-ordination and the first question in regard to every hypotactic phenomenon is: How did it originate in parataxis? The value of the method is undoubted, and it is true that many of the most difficult problems in the syntax of the sentence find their ultimate explanation in the original parataxis. But no sooner was the key found than it was forced into locks which it could by no means be made to fit, and warning voices were not long in making themselves heard, Brugmann's most emphatically (A. J. P. IV 418, 419). The processes of the lover of language ought not to be brutal.

τὸν δὲ Κένταυρος ζαμενής, ἀγανῶ χλαρὸν γελάσσαις ὀφρύι, μήτιν ἔαν  
εὐθύς ἀμείβετο· Κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες ἐντὶ σοφᾶς Πειθοῦς ἱερᾶν φιλοτάτων.

Pyth. 9, 38.

Analysis must imitate the coaxing process of synthesis. Valuable as it is in enabling us to understand origins, the paratactic formula

rudely applied has wrought positive mischief. We must not insist on forcing it to the front, we must not insist on feeling it under formulae that were established as formulae, that had established other formulae long before our record. 'Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?' (I Cor. 6, 1), may be analyzed thus: 'The saints shall judge the world'—'do you not know that?' but analysis fails to reproduce the effect of the synthesis—fails to explain the synthesis. The change of order alone is fatal to such a genesis. The matter is not so simple as it seems. And so in Greek, as Brugmann has pointed out, while certain sentences may be explained paratactically they are not felt paratactically. True, we never lose the negative feeling of μή, the conflict of negatives in μή οὐ, and *ut* after a Latin verb of fear has a way of its own with it<sup>1</sup> and is not felt as an equivalent of *ne non*. There is therefore a manner of survival of parataxis in sentences of fear, though only a manner of survival; but the final sentence which ultimately belongs to the same group had passed into the stage of formula before our record. Emotion may revive the original parataxis with verbs of fear. Purpose is too closely welded to permit the revival of parataxis. The final sentence is ultimately an imperative sentence and we should expect the tenses to run on the same lines as the imperative tenses, but with all the work Weber has done on the final sentence, this is a point that he has not wrought out and it is worth working out. But however that may be, the shifting conjunctions color the finality somewhat. The Homeric ὥς is 'how', and so is ὅπως, and we feel *κεν* when it attaches itself to these, we feel *ἀν*. In

ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρίθιζε, σωτέρος ὥς κε νήηαι

the little *κε* is heard amid the outburst of rage; the subtle touch is lost in *oratio obliqua*. In Plato's prose rendering we have simply the optative: ἀπέναι δ' ἐκέλευε καὶ μὴ ἐρίθιζειν ἵνα σὺς οἴκαδε ἔλθοι.<sup>2</sup> ὅφρα 'until' is dying as 'until'. In the *Odyssey* it is largely 'in order that'. In *Pindar* it is only 'in order that', in fact, is nothing more than a bit of poetical obsolescence, and the 'in order that' of ἵνα is as early as the time of *Homer* dissociated from the 'where' of ἵνα, which survives only in out-of-the-way corners of speech until the artificial writers of late centuries fished it up as *Attic* and made it do duty as 'where' at the same time that they

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. VI 84.

<sup>2</sup> Rpb. 393 E.

rehabilitated ὥς. How far the final sentence had become formula, how far it was going on the way already traversed by the other final, the infinitive, we can see by the occasional use of a final sentence as a complementary sentence of design<sup>1</sup> such as are familiar in Latin, *impero ut* and the like. But by one of those pudencies to which language is subject, the process did not go forward along the whole line and, while we find such constructions with the semi-final conjunctions ὥς and ὅπως even in the best period, the shamelessness of ἵνα and the subjunctive does not become rampant until a late period, until in fact the Orontes had disembogued into the Tiber as the Tiber had absorbed the Ilissus. In the modern language the infinitive has disappeared and ὡς with the subjunctive reigns in its stead.

It is clear, then, that if we find the reign of formula in the dependent sentence so well established from the beginning of our record as to anticipate the corruption of later times, it is idle to lay too much stress on primitive conditions. And yet the primitive conditions are not to be neglected especially when they survive in languages to which we can apply the test of direct appreciation, and for the evolution of the subordinate clause our own language gives us unusual opportunities. In the whole matter of the genesis of dependent sentences, the relative plays an important part and for the state of things that preceded the relative we have valuable survivals in English. For like the English stock, the English language has retained much that is primitive and few cultured languages show more clearly the process of growth. The Cyclopean structure of the sentence is found more familiarly in English than elsewhere and we go back to a period that antedates the relative. 'The man I saw', 'I fear he knows', 'I hope he sees', which run trippingly off our tongues, would be strange in other languages. In Shakespeare's time the freedom was much greater. Now we limit the usage to the objective relatives proper but, as it is, the bounds are wide enough to make a foreigner stare. 'The man that I saw', 'the man which I saw' 'the man whom I saw' represent different states and stages. 'The man I saw' is primal.<sup>2</sup>

Now the relative owes its main binding force to its position at the head of a sentence. To use Greek terminology, it would not have become an ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν, if it had not been so

<sup>1</sup> See Monro, H. G. § 286.

<sup>2</sup> See Kellner l. c. § 109.

decidedly an *ἄρθρον προτακτικόν*. The demonstrative *οὗτος* at the head of a sentence has exactly the same office, and we cannot speak of asyndeton when *οὗτος* is employed with reference to what precedes. It is the antecedent as we call it, the correlative of the relative, *οὗτος—ὅς, ὃς—οὗτος*.

From sentences thus connected by *ἀναφορά* arises what is called hypotaxis, what is called subordination. It is younger, we say, less primitive than co-ordination and absence of it gives simplicity, gives *ναῖνελέ* to style. And yet so old is it that some familiar forms of parataxis might be classed as hypotaxis. Whatever may be thought of *καί, τε—καί* and *τε—τε* are as hypotactic as *τοσοῦτον—ὅσον*.

Position and correlation are, as we have seen, the great factors in the building up of the hypotactic sentence. Correlation grows by position and never can dispense with position, whereas position can dispense with correlation. You can use *ὅς* alone, but as soon as you have the so-called antecedent you must put it where it will be felt. The shifting of the position is technically called hyperbaton and this hyperbaton or overleaping is possible only by a return to the primitive life of the language. The hyperbaton of the relative is a return to the demonstrative in Greek, to the interrogative in Latin. Separate the article, when it has become an article, from its substantive and the demonstrative nature comes back.

Position enables us to dispense with correlation it is true, but the expression of correlation is not a matter of indifference. The correlative style is more deliberate, better balanced, and the Greek loves balance, so that correlatives hold their own whereas the single element dies out. *τε—τε*, nay, for that matter, *οὐτε—τε, μήτε—τε* are more common than *τε solitarium*. We can gauge an author's style by his use of *πρότερον—πρίν*; and the expression of the correlative of *ὥστε* gives a certain grave deliberateness which the flippant afterthought *ὥστε* has not.<sup>1</sup> The absence of a regular correlative to the final sentence, to the conditional sentence, must also be taken into consideration when the effect as well as the genesis of these combinations is to be studied. The temporal sentence indulges freely in correlation but some forms avoid it. *τίως—ἵως* is as formal as a lawsuit, and the two are

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. XIV 241. The correlative use of *ὥστε* and consequent stylistic effect has recently been elaborated in a special J. H. U. dissertation by W. A. Eckels: *ὥστε as an Index of Style in the <Attic> Orators*.



seldom seen together. Hence a certain masquerading *τίως* is sometimes used as *ἔως*, and *τίως* not unfrequently has an indefinite use. If *ἄν* had been blessed with a correlative, we should have less trouble with a particle which behaves as *τίως* behaves—now definite, now indefinite.

So important is the relative in the organization of the dependent sentence that all hypotactic sentences have been considered in some sort relative sentences, as each class of sentences is introduced by relative or, which is the same thing, demonstrative particles. The conditional *εἰ* is, according to some scholars, a manner of relative, and in explaining the anomalous intruder, *πρίν*, recourse has been had to *ἤ*, which has also been considered a relative. But the relative sentence has a life of its own, and the parallels so frequent between the relative sentence and the other forms often do harm. *ὅς ἄν* does not go the whole way with *ἐάν*. The final relative sentence is put in the future indicative, not in the subjunctive. Each class of sentences gets habits of its own, and the deviation from these habits gives variety, gives undulation to style, variety and undulation which cannot be appreciated unless there be a norm. Long familiarity with the trim garden of Attic syntax is a necessary preliminary to the enjoyment of the luxuriance of Homeric syntax. Only one must be careful to do justice to the luxuriance and not deny law because the phyllotaxy is not at once apparent.

The subdivision of hypotactic sentences into the various familiar categories has undeniable practical advantages and is not lightly to be given up, though all logical categories are open to suspicion. But so far as I am aware, no one has made a careful study of the proportion of these classes in different authors. Inside the different classes something has been done, but one would like to know which author leans to the final, which to the conditional, which prefers the participle, which the object sentence. In this whole line of research only beginnings have been made. So we know that in Aischylos the conditional sentence is rare in comparison with Euripides. It is an epitome of the difference between the two great poets, between the gravity of the Areiopagos and the mobility of the Heliaia. The relative sentence is less analytic than the final, than the temporal, the participle than all these. And under the different classes of sentences what variety of usage, what interesting coincidences of usage. Pindar and Aischylos, so alike and yet so different, make

kindred use of the logical conditional. It is a severe note that is not to be disregarded. It is a sharp line of Kalamis. Under the head of the temporal sentence it has been noted that *ἔως* encroaches on *πρίν* and actually steals some of *πρίν*'s peculiar territory, until familiar *οὐ πρότερον—πρίν* is replaced by *οὐ πρότερον—ἔως*. What is that but the encroachment of the reflective on the naïve, just as the growing use of *naïf* for naïve is a token of the encroachment of the reflective on the *naïf* naïve? *πρίν* is equivalent to *ἔως* only by inference. *ἔως* itself is more accurate, more prosaic. One can almost hear the voice of some ancient pedant saying as Whitelaw has said, '*πρίν* can never be *ἔως*'. No! but it connotes *ἔως* and if it were not for connotation where would many scholars be? The tendency to simplification, which we notice in the healthy language, is accelerated in the decline. As the pure subjunctive of the conditional sentence gives way to the *ἰάν* form and all Homeric differences are swept away, so in later Greek *ἰάν* is found in place of *εἰ* before the indicative, and even intrudes into the sphere of the simple *άν*. *ὅς ἰάν* is used for *ὅς άν*; *πρίν* with subjunctive usurps the place of *πρίν* with infinitive; *πρίν ἥ* runs riot. We say to ourselves, 'Chaos and Old Night. There are no problems of Greek syntax possible. We are in the realm of Solecism'. But that is not true. Language remains organic. The laws of the death are the laws of the life. De-organization is unravelling and the unweaving teaches us the weaving.

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Here I made a provisional end nine years ago; and I have little desire to continue the plea for the kind of studies to which I have for so many years been addicted. That I am not altogether a stranger to the problems of genetic syntax, that I too have occupied myself somewhat with the histology of speech, that my formulae are the results of a study of the living forces of language and not mere convenient summaries of phenomena, I do not care to show in detail. My reward has been the contemplation of the beautiful workings of the beautiful language to which so much of my life has been given up, and so far as human approval is concerned let it be said at the last: *Vagliagli il lungo studio e il grande amore*.

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

ADDENDUM.<sup>1</sup>

The participle is not a mood but it is susceptible of modal relations, and the future tense of it is almost wholly modal, is almost wholly final. But when we first meet the participle, it has only the capabilities of the modal life which it afterwards developed. When we first find it, it is an adjective *plus* tense and clings to its substantive like a skin. True, it is not the tight skin of man or woman, but rather the loose skin of lion or tiger. Still, it will not come off and in fact never comes off; and this is our difficulty in dealing with the Greek participle. We too have a participle, and, under Latin influences, under French influences, our participle has acquired much of the mobility of the classic tongues.<sup>2</sup> And yet we feel distinctly when the line is overstepped, as it is overstepped by Milton, whose syntax is unnaturally close to his antique models, and who uses the participle, especially in its absolute form, with the utmost freedom. When he says,

Doth God exact day-labour, light denied ?

we understand perfectly, we understand immediately, we do not stop to ask whether he means 'when light is denied', 'if light be denied', 'though light be denied', but, after all, analysis would be more natural to us, and we are not satisfied to state relations so concretely as they appear in participial compression, to say nothing of the lumbering form of our perfect participle active, which can not vie with the Greek aorist in lightness and which is too stiff for conversational purposes. When, therefore, we attack the Greek participle in translation, actual or mental, we are apt to bring to bear a number of logical categories, causal, adversative, concessive, conditional, what not. Now the early Greek did not analyze as we analyze, and the Homeric grammarian is right

<sup>1</sup> To be inserted p. 132, l. 16 from bottom after '*μή* with the participle'. By some mischance the section on the participle which was to have followed the treatment of the infinitive in this little series went astray. But the demands of the press are remorseless and I consoled myself by thinking that the subject had been fairly covered by my elaborate article in Vol. IX of the Journal and by my remarks in the Introduction to Pindar. So the printing went on without the section. However, on my return to Baltimore the missing MS turned up and it may possibly be worth the space which is given to it here.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing could be more exotic than Caxton's participialities. His Eneydos (1490) begins thus: After dyverse werkes made, translated and achieved, having no werke in hande, I sitting in my studye whereas lay many dyvers paunflettis and bookes, happened that to my hande cam a lytyl booke in Frenshe. (Kellner.)

when he implies that it is a mistake grammatically to sort Homeric participles into categories.<sup>1</sup> There is but one category, the temporal. All else is inference. And the same thing is generally true of Pindar (see I. E. cx), though it is in Pindar that we find a portentous advance. But the beginnings of analysis are there. The causal may still be merged in the temporal, but *καί—περ* in Homer, *καίπερ* in Pindar, is made to bring out the adversative element, though even that is mainly left to circumstance. There is nothing, however, to force the conditional. There is no *μή* with the participle in Homer, after the fashion so familiar to us in post-Homeric Greek, and, with the assumption of *μή*, the participle enters upon a new and more conscious life. The addition of *μή* to the participle marks a new era in the history of the language. It affects participle and negative alike. The participle is more conscious of its resources, and *μή* extends its empire. The negative of will becomes the negative of idea. *τὸ μή* with the infinitive had the imperative note to begin with, but in *-δ μή* with the participle the imperative note is fainter. It merely echoes the *μή* of the conditional sentence, and the *μή* of the logical condition seems to be an intruder.<sup>2</sup>

B. L. G.

<sup>1</sup> Vogrinz says briefly emphatically (S. 278): Die 'Auflösungen' der Partizipien sind *rein logische Operationen*. See also Bolling, l. c., p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> In the first part of this series a few typographical errors and other slips have been noted. Most of them correct themselves, such as p. 23 l. 3 from bottom 'phenomena' for 'phenomenon', p. 25 l. 6 from bottom 'department' for 'departments.' 'Calf-skin' for 'calf's skin', p. 18 l. 8 from top, is a slip of the pen about which a page might be written. More serious is p. 20 l. 17 from top where for 'case of verbs' read 'case of doubt.' The Latin example p. 8 l. 8 from top is not apposite and should be omitted. P. 17 l. 3 from bottom cite: R. S. Radford, Personification and the Use of Abstract Subjects in the Attic Orators and Thukydides, J. H. U. Diss. just published though referred to in A. J. P. XX III.

## II.—THE TALE OF GYGES AND THE KING OF LYDIA.

### I.

It is unusual that a people of such evident importance in its time as the Lydians has dropped so completely from the pages of history. Once a proverb of luxury, wealth and power, Lydia, now, is hardly more than a land of dreams, peopled, in the main, by a long procession of shadowy potentates whose odd barbaric names suggest, in their very sound, another age and a vanished world. Two, it is true, will never be forgotten while men read the classics. Yet even these live more in story than in fact. They are throned in their great citadel of Sardis like Haroun al Raschid in his Bagdad or Charlemagne in his Paris. These two are Gyges, the Henri Quatre, and Kroisos, the Louis Quatorze, of the Lydian Mermnadai.

Gyges, whose commanding yet curiously complex personality is still clearly felt in the tradition of him, was the first great "barbarian" with whom the Hellenic world had come in close contact. He was associated with the early traditions of art<sup>1</sup> as well as of other inventions much less creditable to himself.<sup>2</sup> In the time of Archilochos his wealth was a by-word.<sup>3</sup> His attacks

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, N. H., VII 205, "Pythus pilam lusoriam, Gyges Lydus picturam in Aegypto, etc." So the older editions, and cf. Müller, FHG, II 182, 257. But, "athleticam Pythus, pilam lusoriam Gyges Lydus, picturam Aegyptii, etc." is adopted by Mayhoff after Urlichs' plausible suggestion in JJ, LXXVII 489. It is to be observed, however, that Kandaules is connected with the history of art. See note 4, p. 278. It is, also, to be observed that Urlichs' emendation gives us the only passage connecting Gyges with the history of ball-play.

On the invention of this game see, especially, Athen., I 14, d, f. The subject was much discussed in antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller, FHG, I 40: II 171, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει.

Archiloch., frag. 25, Bergk, PLG (cf. his note).

Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer, Leipzig, 1890, p. 99, note, observes that Gyges was a proverb for wealth among the Greeks and quotes Alpheios of Mitylene, Anth. Pal., 9, 110,

upon the cities of the coast—for, like the Czar, he saw the value of harbors—his gallant and prolonged struggle with the Terror of the North, still echo in the fragments of those great lyric poets of whom he was practically the contemporary. Above all, his appeal to Delphi, accompanied by a most substantial fee, to arbitrate his right to the throne insured, for all time, a lively and favorable tradition of this particular event in his career. We never hear the last of those gifts. Few were better calculated to figure in the realm of folk-lore than this man, who went about his far-reaching plans with such skill and rapidity that no one could tell what was coming next, whose versatile character, by turns bold and subtle, cruel and kind, luxurious and stern, was

οὐ στέργω βαθυλήϊους ἀρούρας,  
οὐκ ἄλβον πολύχρυσον, οἷα Γύγης,

and Anacreontea, 7, 1, Cr.,

οὐ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω,  
τοῦ Σαρδίων ἀνακτος.

To these may be added; Aristot., Rhet., 3, 17 (1418, <sup>b</sup> 31), who quotes a portion of the Archilochian line and thus tends to insure it for the rhetorical tradition, Leonidas, Anthol. Pal., 7, 740, 3 (cf. 7, 709),

ὁ πρὶν καὶ Γύγῃ παριστέμενος ἄλβον,

Bianor, Anthol. Pal., 9, 423, Lukian, Paras., 58, *πλουσίος ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ τὸ Γύγον χρυσίον ἔχει*, Philos., Vita Apollon., I 336, 31, K., *ὁ δ' ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας*, Greg. Naz. *περὶ ἀρετῆς* (37, 683, M.).

κἂν σοι τὰ Γύγον τοῦ πολυχρύσου παρῇ,

and in another poem, to his soul (37, 1485, M.),

θέλεις τὰ Γύγεώ σοι  
τοῦ Δυδίου γενέσθαι

(in both of these references Gyges is associated with Midas).

Strabo, 14, 680, 28 specifies the mines from which Gyges, Kroisos and others drew their wealth.

Observe that all of these poetical examples show a kinship with the line from Archilochos. In fact, they are probably an echo of it. Gregory, practically, copies it in his first example; in his second, he gets at it through the echo of the Anacreontic, *οὐ μοι μέλει*, etc. One, therefore, may fairly suspect that Gyges as a synonym of wealth was not strictly "sprichwörtlich bei den Griechen" in later times, but, more properly, an echo of Archilochos. As a matter of fact "the wealth of Gyges" is not found in any ancient collection of Greek proverbs, never occurs in the Roman authors, and, even in the Greek writers, soon faded out before the claims of Kroisos.

On Kroisos for wealth in Latin, see Otto, s. v. and Sutphen, A. J. P. XXII, p. 27.

associated with a policy which made his reign of nearly forty years one long story of struggle and adventure.

It is, therefore, by no means surprising that evidently as early as the period of Archilochos himself the lively and plastic fancy of the Ionians had begun to weave a web of tradition, partly of native and partly, it may be, of Lydian or Asiatic origin, about the name and person of one whom, in his time, they had had good reason to remember. The most notable of these traditions concerned themselves with the story of how Gyges rose to become king of Lydia and the founder of a new dynasty. Several versions have survived, and one or another of them may be traced by an occasional reference until within a short time of the fall of the Eastern Empire.

The object of this paper is to reconstruct the old popular tale of Gyges which appears to have been current in the times of Herodotos and Plato. My investigation does not concern itself with the ultimate origin or meaning of this story, its possible associations with the Herakles-Omphale cycle of legends, etc., etc.<sup>1</sup> Still less does it concern itself with the credibility of the various accounts. It makes no attempt to discover the genuine history of Gyges.<sup>2</sup>

The first account to be considered was found in the sixth book of the Universal History of Nikolaos Damaskenos.<sup>3</sup> It reaches us only in an abstract made by Constantinus Porphyrogenetos<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All the Greek and Latin authors available to me were examined, through indices, of course, wherever they were to be had, if not, by a rapid survey of the text. Indices are proverbially inaccurate. In the present investigation cross-references have sometimes betrayed it. References are perhaps hidden away in the Greek Fathers. But Migne's publication is so huge that one must content himself with the indices, incomplete as they are. I trust, however, that all passages of any real importance in this investigation have been discovered. The rarity of reference in Latin authors is noteworthy.

<sup>2</sup> See, especially, Gelzer, *Rhein. Mus.*, XXX, 230-68; XXXV, 514-28; Schubert, *Könige von Lydien*, Breslau, 1884; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Stuttgart, 1884; Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1875, II, 424 f.; G. Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au Temps des Mermnades*, Paris, 1893; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1895, II, 450 f., and references.

<sup>3</sup> On Nikolaos Damaskenos (time of Augustus and Tiberius) see especially Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit. in der Alexandriner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1892, II, 309-21; W. Christ, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit. bis auf die Zeit Justinians*, Munich, 1898, p. 644. Fragments in Müller's *FHG*, III 343-64, and Dindorf's *Historici Graeci Minores*, Leipzig, 1870, vol. I, pp. 1-153.

<sup>4</sup> See, especially, Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2<sup>d</sup> edit., Munich, 1897, p. 252.

in the tenth century. The substance of this account,<sup>1</sup> so far as it relates to us, is as follows:

"In the reign of Myrsos, Daskylos, the son of that Daskylos who had been assassinated by the king's father, fearing lest the Herakleidai would compass his death also, fled to the Syrians above Sinope. There he married a woman of the country and had by her a son, Gyges. There lived in Sardis an uncle of Gyges' father. His name was Ardys. Having lost his children, Ardys went to the king Sadyattes [son of Myrsos, and the Kandaules of Herodotos], asked for the recall of his nephew Daskylos and for permission to adopt him. The request was granted. Daskylos, however, preferred to remain where he was. But he sent in his place his son Gyges, at that time a youth of eighteen, remarkable for his size and beauty, a good soldier, and surpassing his equals in all things, but especially, in the management of arms and horses. These gifts and accomplishments soon recommended him to the king who made him one of his body-guard. Shortly after, however, Sadyattes became suspicious of him and exposed him to all sorts of perils and difficulties, being unwilling to destroy him openly, as he had no reasonable excuse. But inasmuch as Gyges performed all his tasks successfully the king finally forgot his former suspicions and gave him great estates.

"Some time later Sadyattes decided to take Tudo to wife, the daughter of Arnossos who was king of Mysia and founder of the city of Ardynios in the plain of Thebe. When the time came for fetching the bride, Sadyattes put Gyges in a chariot and sent him after her. At the time he was setting out it is said that her people saw two enormous eagles light above her bedroom and that the soothsayers interpreted the prodigy to mean that in the first night the girl would be the wife of two kings.

"Soon after Gyges arrived and took the girl away with him. But while riding with her in the chariot he became enamoured of her and, not being able to restrain himself, undertook to seduce her. She, however, being disinclined to him, fell in a furious rage, made all manner of threats and when she came to the king told him all. Whereat, the king was wroth and swore to kill Gyges the next day.

"Now this was heard by a maid who was in the bed-chamber at the time and, as she was deeply in love with Gyges, she immediately told him everything. Gyges went to all his friends during the night, confided the matter to them and, reminding them all of the curses which Ardys had called down upon the murderers of Daskylos, asked them to help him in his plan to kill the king.

"Therefore, thinking that, under the circumstances, it was better to slay Sadyattes than be slain by him and being assured of faithful friends to help him, Gyges broke into the palace, sword in hand, and, entering the chamber, the door of which was opened for him by the maid, killed Sadyattes in his sleep. His reign had lasted for three years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> FHG, III, 383, f., Dindorf, p. 32, f.

<sup>2</sup> The abstract of Porphyrogennetos is clearly incomplete. As the narrative of Damaskenos-Xanthos now stands the interpretation given by the soothsayers to the omen of the eagles is not justified. We may be perfectly certain that



"The next morning Gyges, quite at his ease, summoned both his friends and his enemies in the king's name, slew his adversaries and conciliated the rest with gifts. The people, however, made objection and the right of Gyges to the throne was formally referred to Delphi. The oracle supported Gyges but added that the Herakleidai would be given vengeance on the Mermnadai in the fifth generation.

"Thus Gyges Daskylos-son became king of Lydia and took to wife the Mysian woman, cherishing no malice for all she had said against him to Sadyattes."

This narrative of Damaskenos undoubtedly contains some traces of the old folk-tale, but, in its main features, it has been adopted by most modern historians, first, because of its apparent probability, second, because, though so late, it purports to be drawn from the old Lydian logographer, Xanthos.<sup>1</sup> His *Lydiaka*, in four books, was written between 465 and 425 B. C. Xanthos is credited with the use of native sources. But the question is complicated by the fact that some ancient critics doubted the genuineness of that *Lydiaka* which in later times passed under his name and would, therefore, be the work used by Damaskenos. Diogenes Laertios, VI 101, tells us that it was epitomized by a certain Menippos. Athenaios, XII 515 d, reports, but criticizes, the view of Artemon of Kasandreia that it was the work of Dionysios Skytobrachion.<sup>2</sup> Such a question is always capable of further discussion. But the statements of these ancient critics

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it was justified or it would not have been mentioned. The missing passage falls in most naturally just after the king's death. In this passage—perhaps omitted *verecundiae causa*—we were told how Tudo became *de facto* the wife of Gyges and thus fulfilled the prediction of the Mysian soothsayers. An important variation between the account of Xanthos and Herodotos is thus shown to have been more apparent than real and the comment of Radet (l. c., p. 139) is rendered unnecessary. "Selon Xanthos," he says, "l'union de Gyges avec Tudo aurait suivi la réponse d'Apollon. D'après Hérodote, elle l'aurait précédée. Sur ce point les *Muses* doivent être crues de préférence aux *Lydiakes*."

Certainly, the statement of Gelzer (Rhein. Mus. XXXV 516) does not seem to be justified by the narrative of Damaskenos-Xanthos as it now stands. "In der Brautnacht," says Gelzer, "wird der Heraklide von Gyges erschlagen, und unmittelbar darauf heirathet er die Königin. Das Adlraugurium geht so in Erfüllung." Gelzer appears to refer to the statement which closes the passage which I quote from Xanthos.

<sup>1</sup> See Christ, l. c. p. 324 and notes. The fragments of the *Lydiaka* are collected by Müller, FHG, I, p. 36, f., and by Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften, IV, p. 307, f.

<sup>2</sup> See, especially, Susemihl, l. c. I, p. 511: II, p. 48, and, for the literature, II, p. 46, note 66.

are far less formidable when closely examined, and it is probably safe to believe, with most modern historians, that the narrative of Damaskenos, at least, in its essential details, reflects that of Xanthos.<sup>1</sup>

I find no further traces of this version in ancient literature.

A second account is partially reported by Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca*, XLV, p. 301, f. In reply to the question why the statue of Zeus Labrandeus in Karia was represented with an axe (*πέλεκυς*), not with a sceptre or a thunderbolt, Plutarch states:

"Herakles, having slain Hippolyte and taken her axe with the rest of her arms, gave it to Omphale. The kings of Lydia who succeeded her carried this as one of their sacred insignia of office, and passed it down from father to son until Kandaules. Kandaules, however, disdained it and gave it to one of his *ἐταῖροι* to carry. When Gyges rebelled and was making war upon Kandaules, Arselis came with a force from Mylasa to the assistance of Gyges, slew Kandaules and the *ἐταῖρος*, and took the axe to Karia with the other spoils of war. And having set up a statue of Zeus, he put the axe in his hand and called the god, Labrandeus, *labrus* being the Lydian word for the Greek *πέλεκυς*."

Gelzer<sup>2</sup> defends this story as the genuine account. Schubert<sup>3</sup> undertakes to reconcile it with Xanthos and Herodotos. E. Meyer<sup>4</sup> dismisses it as "historisch werthlos," and, in fact, it has every appearance of being a mere aetiological fable. As such, this version, being devised simply to explain a local usage, probably never contained any further details than we have here.<sup>5</sup> I find no other trace of it in the literature.<sup>6</sup>

Third, comes the famous version given by Plato. In the *Republic*, 359, d, f., the spokesman, discussing the well-known

<sup>1</sup> See, especially, Busolt, l. c., II, p. 451, f., with references.

<sup>2</sup> Rh. M. XXXV 528. Radet, l. c. p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Könige von Lydien, p. 31, f.

<sup>4</sup> Geschichte des Alterthums, 1884, I, p. 547, note.

<sup>5</sup> So far as I have been able to discover, no one ventures on a theory regarding Plutarch's source for this narrative.

<sup>6</sup> Unless the *sodali suo* of Iustinus (I, 7, 17) is a translation of *ἐταῖρος* in the sense in which Plutarch uses it here, and a remote community of tradition was the cause. But the Thesaurus Steph. and the lexicons, in general, are somewhat unsatisfactory. Plutarch's use of *ἐταῖρος* is, perhaps, a mere secondary reflection of the peculiar Makedonian use found in Polybios (Athen. 194 e). At all events *ἐταῖρος* to describe the position of Gyges in the feudal system of old Lydia is an excellent prototype of *comes* as a designation of rank in the feudal system of mediaeval Europe. "Le mignon du roi" (discussed in the Thesaurus, s. v. *ἐταῖρος*) is not to be considered.

doctrine that the only thing which prevents even the best of us from doing wrong in the end is the fear of detection, asserts that his point would be proved if both a good and a bad man could be given some power which would render detection impossible. "I mean," he says, "such a power . . . as, they say, was once possessed by the ancestor of the Lydian:"<sup>1</sup>

"[Gyges] was a shepherd in the service of the one who, in those days, was the king of Lydia. Owing to a great storm and also to an earthquake, the ground split open and a gap made its appearance near the place where he was watching his flocks. Amazed at the sight, Gyges went down into the cleft and, certainly according to the tale they tell, beheld marvels, among the rest a brazen horse, which was hollow and had doors. Gyges peeped in through them and saw a corpse inside, larger, as it appeared, than human size. There was nothing else at all but that. On its hand, however, was a ring of gold. This Gyges took off and came out. When the shepherds met as usual to make their monthly report to the king regarding his flocks, Gyges, who was wearing his ring, was one of the party. As he was sitting among the others he happened to turn the collet of it towards him and into the inside of his hand. The moment this was done he became invisible to those who sat near him, and they began to talk about him as they would about one who was absent. Astonished, he ran his hand over the ring, turned the setting out, and, as he did so, became visible again. Upon observing the fact, he tested the ring to see whether it had this power and found that such was really the case. Whenever he turned the setting inward he disappeared; when he turned it outward he became visible. Being now assured of the fact, he took measures to become one of the messengers to the king. After his arrival he seduced the queen, with her help set upon the king, slew him and took possession of the throne."

<sup>1</sup> The best tradition of the text here gives; *εἰ αὐτοῖς γένοιτο οἷαν ποτὲ φασιν δύναμιν τῷ Γύγον τοῦ Λυδοῦ προγόνῳ γενέσθαι*, i. e. not, "the ancestor of the Lydian", but "the ancestor of Gyges the Lydian." That Proklos also had this text before him is shown by the fact that in his commentary on the Republic (60, 31, Schoell) he speaks of this story as, *τῷ κατὰ τὸν Γύγον πρόγονον διηγήματι*.

The text of Plato is certainly corrupt and has been much discussed. See the various commentators on this passage, especially, Stallbaum. The account of Xanthos shows that Gyges had the same name as his great-grandfather. Indeed the name appears to have been by no means uncommon among the Lydians. But the discussion of our text is much simplified by the fact that we are safe in rejecting all emendations and all explanations except that which identifies the hero of this story with the Gyges of Xanthos and Herodotos. This is shown by Plato himself at 612, B, and is supported by the literary tradition of our passage. Moreover, as I hope to show, Plato is telling here the first half of the story which Herodotos had before him.

The simplest remedy is merely to bracket *Γύγον*, evidently a gloss. This

Plato refers to this story again at 612, B, where he couples with the ring of Gyges the Homeric "Αἶδος κυνίη.

No one needs to be reminded that, whatever its earlier history or original source, this is the old folk-tale of Gyges. Three favorite motifs of all popular stories are at once prominent here—the miraculous rise of the weak or lowly to happiness, fame and fortune,<sup>1</sup> a magic ring,<sup>2</sup> the circumstances of its discovery.

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was proposed by Wiegand (Zeit. f. d. Alterth., 1834, p. 863) and is now generally adopted. In that case τῷ προγόνῳ = Γόγγ and τοῦ Λυδοῦ = the Lydian, i. e., Kroisos, an interpretation fully justified by the fame of Kroisos, not only in the time of Plato but for centuries afterward.

<sup>1</sup> A favorite motif in the popular stories of men who, like Gyges, have been the founders of great royal houses. Gelzer, Rhein. Mus. XXXV 515 notes this and quotes Sargon, Kyros, Arsakes, Artaxerxes, and David. One might add Romulus and many others. In a humbler sphere we have Dick Whittington and the large class of stories represented by such nursery-favorites as "Jack and the Bean-stalk" and "Jack the Giant-killer."

The motif is not infrequently combined with that of the "Lucky Impostor," See the interesting chapter in W. S. Clouston's Popular Tales and Fictions, Blackwood, London, 1887, vol. II, p. 413, f. An excellent example of this type is the story of "Ma'aruf the Cobbler and his wife Fatimah," Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night, vol. X, p. 1, f. (Burton).

<sup>2</sup> Magic rings conferring various extraordinary powers, or worn as amulets or charms against disease, enchantment, the Evil Eye, etc., etc., played a very important part in the folk-lore of classical antiquity. Commentators refer to Kirchmann, de Annulis, XXI, which is not available to me. Lobeck, Aglaoph, I, p. 377, has a brief note; see also Blaydes on Aristoph., Plutus, 884 and the schol. The note of Casaubon on 'Athenaios, III 34' to which reference is made by several generations of commentators, is concerned with a fragment of Antiphanes (II 84, Kock) quoted by Athenaios at III 96 (123, b). Other references in the comic poets to magic rings are Eupolis 87 (I 278, K), perhaps Aristoph., frag. 250 (I 455, K) and Kratinos, 299 (I, 99-100, K). Cf. Theophrastos, Char. XVIII; Lukian, Philops., 17; Navig. 42; Pliny, XXXIII 8, f.; Ammianus, XXIX 1, 31; Heliodoros, Aithiop., pp. 107, 17; 134, 24; 234, 15 (Bekker), etc. The power of any magic ring (ancient or modern) usually lies in the setting, which really connects the idea with that of talismans in general and would involve us in the consideration of Nikandros,—Pliny, Damigeron, Dioscorides, the Orphica, and all those authors or references dealing with the properties of precious stones, minerals and other substances.

The classical legend of a ring of invisibility comes to the surface only in connection with Gyges and, for the first time, in the passage from Plato under discussion. The earliest reappearance which I find of this idea in the Middle Ages is the ring of Lunet in Chrestien de Troyes' Yvain, 1034, f (repeated in the old English translation, Ywayne and Gawin, line 737, f., Ritson's 'Ancient Metrical Romances', Edinburgh, 1884, I, p. 137, and referred to, as a famous

Indeed, this story might well have belonged to the repertory of the genial Scheherazade herself.<sup>1</sup> The striking similarity of it to that oriental type so well represented by the "Thousand Nights and a Night" suggests that, however modified by the Greek story-tellers, it had an Asiatic origin.<sup>2</sup> If such were the case, a larger knowledge of old Lydian folk-lore in general than is now available would, doubtless, be of assistance in the reconstruction of it. For, in the version before us, the entire second half of the original story is contained in the bare statement of the last sentence.

It is also clear that, for several reasons, the first half of the

passage, by Heinrich von dem Türlin in his *Crône*, p. 17, Schöll—passage quoted by Holland on *Yvain* l. c.). In his introduction to Chrestien's *Yvain*, Halle, 1891, Foerster suggests that this passage is a reminiscence of Gyges (?). In the *Roman de Troie*, Joly, Paris, 1870, line 1663, f., Medea gives Jason a ring of invisibility. But the most famous is the ring of Angelica, Boiardo, I 1, 39; 14, 42; II 5, 33 (Panizzi's edit. London, 1834); Ariosto, XI 6, f. See, also, Grimm, D. M., II, p. 1171.

Famous, too, was the ring of youth which the Fata Morgana gave to Ogier the Dane in Avalon. In fact, rings conferring various powers are a favorite device of the Romans d'Aventure. Cf. Chrestien de Troyes, *Yvain*, 2600, f., 2770, f.; Chevalier de la Charrette, p. 66 (Reims 1849); Roman d'Aspremont, 1313, f.; Floire et Blanceflor, 1005, f. (cf. p. clxii, f. of du Méril's edit.); Roman de Florimont (passage quoted by du Méril, l. c. p. clxiv). Rings of forgetfulness: Rotrou's *La bague de l'oubli*, and *L'innocente infidélité*. Rings of love: *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. 46 (quoted by Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, London, 1887, I, p. 108), Legrand, *Le roi de Cocagne*.

A vast amount of variant literature, etc., is connected with the old fabliau by Haisiau, *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, etc., Montaiglon et Raynaud, Paris, 1878, vol. III, p. 51, f. References gathered by J. Bedier, *Les Fabliaux*, *Études de littérature populaire*, etc., du moyen âge, Paris, 1895, p. 442, B.

The ring which summons a spirit ready and able to fulfil any wish is, for the modern world, chiefly associated with Aladdin, and other tales of the "Thousand Nights and a Night."

Famous in Northern Mythology is the ring of the dwarf Andvari, *Völsunga-saga*, XIV, f.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, e. g., 'Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp', with Clouston's comments and discussion, l. c., I 314, f., 470, f. and Burton, l. c., X 564, f.; the story of Ma'aruf, Burton, l. c., X 1, f.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, that this rich oriental type is really due to Greek influence is a thesis ably supported by Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 578, f. (or *Verhandlungen der XXX. Philologen-Versammlung zu Rostock*, 1875, p. 55-70).

story was curtailed and simplified to a considerable degree. As Plato tells it, this tale is not independent and separate. It is a digression introduced solely for the purpose of illustrating a point in a serious philosophical discussion. As such, it should not be too long, too circumstantial or too dramatic; otherwise its purpose and *raison d'être* would have been defeated. Its subordinate, episodic character is emphasized by the use of *oratio obliqua* and the omission of proper names. In any attempt to reconstruct the popular legend it should also be remembered that, whereas, the object of the folk-tale was to describe the adventures of Gyges on his way to the throne, the object of Plato was simply to describe the powers which the ring conferred upon its possessor. In other words, it was a jewel which Plato cut to fit the setting in which he has placed it. How much he cut it cannot be discovered. Nevertheless, these considerations are of some value to one who attempts a reconstruction of the original. It is also fair to suppose that this story, in the time of Herodotos and Plato if not in the first place, possessed a good deal in the way of circumstantial details. This is suggested by the oriental coloring of it and the rich fancy of the nation by which it was transmitted.

We are, therefore, justified in suspecting that Plato's introductory sentence is, perhaps, only a brief or partial report of the original at this point. It probably had at least some account of the parentage of Gyges, his birth and early years, how and why he came to occupy the menial position which Plato mentions and Xenophon, *Kyrup.* 7, 2, 24, appears to have had in mind. It is even possible that some prodigy attending his birth was recorded here, some omen or experience showing that he was the favorite of a god and destined for higher things.

To have emphasized the lowly extraction of Gyges in this introduction, to have made his rise to power hinge entirely on the wonderful ring and his own sharp wits, would be eminently characteristic of the popular tale. To have said or implied that he was really something better than his fellows or even he himself supposed was also a favorite motif long before the time of the "Ugly Duckling," and, so far as Plato's abstract is concerned, is equally compatible with the story. But this point is incapable of proof and cannot be urged.

In his next sentence, Plato says, that in consequence of a storm

and an earthquake<sup>1</sup> the ground opened near the place where Gyges was keeping his sheep, and that, amazed at the sight, he went down into the cleft. This seems to be a fairly complete report of the original account. And the words naturally suggest that Gyges was alone at the time. The next sentence in Plato's narrative might also suggest it. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Philostratos (II 137, 29, K.), who tells a portion of this story while discoursing on the men of the Heroic Age, says that "This thing was beheld by the shepherds round about Lydia with whom Gyges was serving at the time and was a marvel, for," etc. The difference may, of course, be due to the fact that Philostratos was simply quoting Plato from memory.<sup>2</sup> As I shall point out in a later article, the passage was committed to memory by the schoolboys of the second century. At the same time, we know from another reference that Philostratos was familiar with a version which was not derived from Plato, but, directly or indirectly, from the source of Plato. It is possible, therefore, that we have in this discrepancy a trace of the original story. Not Gyges alone, but a number of his fellows, were present at the time the chasm made its appearance. If so, they may have been pictured as letting him down into a place which he alone had the nerve—or the simplicity—to explore. The motif is familiar enough. Aladdin was sent down by the magician in a similar fashion. In fact, the tale of Aladdin and the tale of Gyges resemble each other in more than one respect.

Plato tells us in so many words that the folk-tale described many other marvels seen by Gyges in the chasm besides the brazen horse.<sup>3</sup> No hint of what these marvels were has

<sup>1</sup> I see no special significance in the presence of storm and earthquake here beyond the obvious fact that at this point it was desirable to get the ground open, and the story has adopted a means more or less natural to the land of its birth. This, however, is the chief support of E. Müller's theory (Philol. VII 246, f.) that Plato's story of Gyges goes back to an old volcanic myth. On the other hand, Curtius, Arch. Zeit., XI 150, f., finds that Gyges (of this story) originated, not in fire but in water, and that he is, in some way, connected with the *Δίμνη Γυγαία* (Iliad, 20, 391, etc.). Doubtless, the incidents of the ring, its discovery, etc., are far older than Gyges Daskylos-son, but with this phase of the discussion I am not concerned.

<sup>2</sup> One must not make too much of such differences. Cicero's version, for example (de Officiis, III 38), does not agree throughout with Plato. Nevertheless, it is clear that Cicero was actually translating Plato's words.

<sup>3</sup> *καταβῆναι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἄλλα τε ὃ μὴ μυθολογοῦσιν θανμαστὰ καὶ ἵππον χαλκοῦν.*

reached us. Whatever they were, they, very possibly, helped to explain the significance of the brazen horse and, perhaps, the identity of the person within it. Such descriptions are eminently characteristic of the oriental type. They are frequently associated, as here, with the subterranean motif, and generally lead up to the object of real importance—a chest, a tomb, a pillar, a statue, or what not. It is often covered with inscriptions in unknown languages, may be opened only by some prescribed formula, is guarded by various magic devices in the way of scimitars, etc., etc.<sup>1</sup> Plato's description of the object of real importance here, the horse and its contents, is, doubtless, a tolerably complete report of the original.

That the material should be bronze was to be expected. Bronze has been associated with magic and magicians for ages.<sup>2</sup>

The contents are equally suggestive of magic. They seem to have been a surprise to Gyges.<sup>3</sup> They are not a surprise to us. The analogy of numberless stories had already prepared us to

<sup>1</sup> On the subterranean motif, its association with treasures, talismans, magicians, etc., etc., compare the stories mentioned in note 1, p. 269; Rohde-Schoell, *Griechischer Roman*, 394 and note 2. In the "Thousand Nights and a Night" the motif is too frequent to deserve specific mention here.

<sup>2</sup> This was observed by the ancients themselves. See, especially the comment of Macrobius (V, XIX 8, f.) on Vergil, *Aen.* IV 513 (the cutting of magic plants by moonlight with brazen shears). Macrobius quotes a passage from the *Πελοποννησιακοί* of Sophokles (491, N) in which Medea is described as doing the same thing; cf. Ovid, *Met.* VII 227; Her. VI 84; Val. Flaccus, VII 364, f.; [Seneca, *Medea*, 722, f.].

In the same passage Macrobius quotes Carminius (see Ribbeck, *Proleg.* to Verg. p. 186) to the effect that among the Sabines the hair of priests was cut only with brazen shears; cf. Laurent. *Lyd.*, de *Mens.*, I 31; Serv. *Aen.* I 448, and R. Peter, *Quaest. Pontif. Spec.*, Argentorati, 1886.

Macrobius, l. c., also quotes Carminius for the Etruscan use of a brazen plough in marking out a new town; cf. Plutarch, *Rom.* XI, and Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythol.*, I, p. 131, note 1, with references.

Doubtless, the well-known practice of beating upon brazen instruments during an eclipse belongs in the same category. Examples are numerous; cf. Tibullus, I 8, 21; Ovid, *Met.* IV 333; VII 207 (cf. F., V 441); Livy, XXVI 5; Tacitus, *Ann.*, I 28; Juvenal, VI 442; Martial, XII 57, 14; Anthol. Lat., 483, R; Ducange, s. v. 'Vince, Luna'; Grimm, D. M., II, p. 668, etc., etc.

Speaking in general, bronze, doubtless, did not acquire any sacred or magical qualities until after the age of iron was an accomplished fact. It was then retained in certain specified uses by religious conservatism and thus gradually acquired magical associations. See, also, P. Huvelin, *Les Tablettes Magiques et le Droit Romain*, Macon, 1901, p. 21, n. 5, etc.

<sup>3</sup> ἐγκύβητα ἰδεῖν ἐνόητα νεκρὸν . . . τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν.



discover here the last resting-place of some important person, a king, a magician, or both in one, seeing that he was *μειζων ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων* and, therefore, belonged to the days of old, when men were larger than they are now and magic was an ordinary possession. His ring would possess some supernatural quality as a matter of course.

In many cases the identification of the corpse with some famous character adds point to the story.<sup>1</sup> There is no hint in Plato that such was the case here. But it is at least worth while to note in this connection a curious passage from Pliny, N. H., XXXIII 8, in which he mentions the *Midæ quidem anulum, quo circumacto, habentem nemo cerneret*. I fail to find any other reference which makes Midas the possessor of a ring exactly like that of Gyges.

In the absence of all other testimony, how shall we explain this single passage? Shall we suppose that Pliny has simply confused Gyges with Midas? Midas, like Gyges, was also a proverb of wealth. He was also another hero of legend and from the same locality.<sup>2</sup> But the evidence of extant literature all goes to show that the story of Gyges was familiar. For that reason Pliny's reference is less likely to be merely a mistake. It is not usual to confuse the better known with the less known. Moreover, Pliny is not habitually inaccurate and there are no signs of textual corruption here.

We might also suppose that Pliny is referring to a story of Midas which was quite independent of the story of Gyges,<sup>3</sup> current in antiquity but, as it happens, not otherwise known to us. But if this had been the case, it would have been far more natural for Pliny to mention Gyges instead of Midas, or, else, both. The passage is one which deals with rings, their uses and properties.

Or, lastly, shall we suspect that Pliny alone has preserved for us a trace of either the old folk-tale of Gyges, or else some variant of it in one of those Alexandrian paradoxographi, for example, whom we know him to have read and excerpted with such

<sup>1</sup> Often, in stories of the oriental type, in the mediæval poems and romances, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Commentators on this passage unite in quoting the references to Gyges' ring in Plato and Cicero, but do not commit themselves to any view.

<sup>3</sup> So, apparently, E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, I p. 547. But his reference is too brief to be very definite.

eagerness? In short, was Pliny thinking of a version in which the corpse seen by Gyges in the brazen horse or, at all events, the ring, was that of Midas himself?<sup>1</sup>

At first sight, this suggestion might appear *argutior quam verior*. Nevertheless, it seems to me the best explanation of Pliny's reference. It also introduces an element into the tale of Gyges which we constantly find in others of the same type. Moreover, in the popular mind, Gyges and Midas were, to a certain extent, associated. We find it in Gregory of Nazianzus, and the tradition of it is probably far older than his source, the rhetorical schools.<sup>2</sup> Whether this characteristic link of association, if we grant its existence, was actually in the source of Plato would, of course, be another question. But it is worth observing that the old folk-tale of Gyges—an extra-Platonian version—reappears, for the first time, in the period of Pliny. I shall give a detailed consideration to this reference in another connection. It is therefore the more likely that Pliny was acquainted with such a version and that his reference preserves a detail of it not elsewhere found.

That the hero and magician of old, whoever he was, should have been buried in a horse rather than in an object of some other shape is probably a detail of some importance, and it is possible that if we had a better knowledge of Lydian folk-lore, we might find the brazen horse valuable in the reconstruction of our story.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The historical and legendary Midases are so confused and commingled that we need not trouble ourselves about chronology, especially, in a popular legend.

<sup>2</sup> Both belonged to the same locality, both were proverbs of wealth, both were connected with the great invasion of the Kimmerioi.

<sup>3</sup> But I fail to discover anything which has a bearing on this point. When Ištar offers her love to Izdubar he refuses the gift as quite too dangerous. 'What,' he asks, 'has become of all her previous lovers?' Izdubar then proceeds to name a few. Among the rest he mentions a horse who was son of the goddess 'Siliili.' "Du hast auch geliebt ein Ross, erhaben im Streit, . . . mit Sporn und Peitsche hast du es genötigt; obgleich es sieben Meilen Galopp gelaufen war, hast du es genötigt, wenn es ermattet war und trinken wollte, hast du es genötigt, seiner Mutter, der Göttin *Siliili* hast du Weinen aufgenötigt" (A. Jeremias, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, p. 790, 41, f.).

This reference, which I owe to Dr. Johnston, shows that there was a popular legend well known to the readers of the Nimrod-epic associating a horse with the Babylonian Aphrodite. But, of course, it is quite impossible to say whether there were any associations with the story in Lydian folk-lore that would account for the brazen horse which Gyges found. Indeed, it cannot be shown that our story really contains anything Asiatic.

In a legend of this type it is characteristic that, innocently or otherwise, Gyges, the favorite of fortune, should have passed by those "other marvels" which would have caught the ordinary eye<sup>1</sup> to select the one thing which, though apparently of small value, was really worth more than all the rest.

The next passage tells us how and where Gyges discovered the properties of his ring and how he then went to the city to seek his fortune. This is probably a complete record of the original story. These were the details bearing directly on the point which Plato desired to illustrate. When this was done he dismissed his narrative with the mere passing comment that after Gyges reached Sardis he "seduced the queen, with her help slew the king, and reigned in his stead."

It is clear that all Plato has told us with any approach to completeness is merely the introduction. The real story was, after all, the adventures with the ring. These practically began where Plato left off. In other words, the popular story bore a relation to Plato's account of it not unlike that which the tale of Aladdin would bear to an abridgment in which, after describing how he discovered his lamp and its properties, we should close with the bare statement that Aladdin then "married the beautiful princess and, in good time, reigned in her father's stead." This is really the substance of Aladdin's career. But, in itself it would give us a very slight idea of that long story of adventure with which most of us are familiar.

The fourth account of Gyges' rise to the throne of Lydia is related by Herodotos, I, 8-15. He says that Kandaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilos, was the last of the Herakleidai to reign in Sardis. After a brief digression on the early history of Lydia, Herodotos tells the following story of his downfall:

"Well, then, this Kandaules fell in love with his own wife, and, being in love with her, maintained the opinion that his wife was much the fairest of all women. One of his body-guard was Gyges Daskylos-son and the especial favorite. Hence, with the feelings he had, it came to pass that Kandaules, who was also in the habit of entrusting Gyges with his more important affairs, grew to praising overmuch the beauty of his wife. After a short time had elapsed—for it was decreed that Kandaules should come to ruin—he spoke to Gyges in this wise; 'Gyges, when I tell thee of my wife's loveliness, methinks

<sup>1</sup> Compare the passage from Philostratos II 137, 31, f. (K.). So Ma'aruf, in the story referred to in note 1, p. 269, when he discovers the hoard of treasures, at once selects the wonderful ring.

thou dost not believe me (in fact men's ears are naturally less trustworthy than their eyes). Therefore, do thou contrive to behold her naked.' But Gyges with a great cry made answer; 'Master, what word unwise is this that thou dost utter, bidding me look upon my mistress when she is naked? Woman, in putting off her raiment, also putteth off her respect. Of old, men discovered those things which are proper, and these should be our guide. Among them this is one; a man should look upon his own. Verily I do believe thee that she is the fairest of all women and I beseech thee not to ask of me that which is unlawful.' Saying such words as these Gyges tried to put off the matter, being sore afraid that some disaster befell him from it. But Kandaules replied in these words; 'Take courage, Gyges, and have no fear either of me, lest I say this to test thee, or, yet, of my wife lest any hurt through her come to thee. For, first of all, I will so contrive it that she shall not discover that she hath been seen by thee. I will place thee behind the open door of the room wherein we sleep. I enter first, then my wife comes to bed. There is a chair near the entrance; on this she lays her garments, one by one, as she takes them off and thou wilt have the opportunity of gazing upon her quite at thy leisure. But so soon as she walks away from the chair to the bed and her back is toward thee, the rest must be thy care that she see thee not as thou goest through the door.' Well, then, perceiving that he could not escape it, Gyges held himself in readiness.

"So, when bed-time came, Kandaules led Gyges to the chamber and afterwards straightway the woman came also. She entered, laid her garments on the chair, and Gyges gazed upon her. When she went toward the bed and her back was turned, Gyges stealthily slipped away. The woman, however, saw him as he was passing out. But divining that her husband was the cause of what had happened she made no outcry because of the shame put upon her nor gave one sign that she had noticed aught, being minded to take vengeance upon Kandaules. For among the Lydians, often, too, among the other barbarians, even for a man to be seen naked is reckoned a deep disgrace. At the time then, as I have said, she gave no sign at all and held her peace. The instant, however, that it was day she made ready such of the house-slaves as she saw were especially faithful to herself and then sent for Gyges. He had been in the habit before this of going to the queen at her call. It was, therefore, without a suspicion that she knew aught of what had occurred that he obeyed her summons now.

"When Gyges arrived the woman said these words; 'Now there are two possible courses open to thee, Gyges. I give thee the choice of whichever thou art minded to follow. Either slay Kandaules and take for thine own me and the kingdom of Lydia or else, here and now, thou shalt die thyself, so that thou mayest not in the future obey Kandaules in all things and see that which thou shouldst not. Verily, he that did devise this shall die, or else thou that sawest me naked and didst that which is not fitting and lawful.

As for Gyges, he was for a time stunned by her words; then he began to entreat her not to force him into making such a choice. But truly in no way at all could he move her, on the contrary, he saw that the necessity was really before him of either slaying his master or of being slain himself by others. He chose to survive. And so he enquired of her, speaking thus: 'Since thou forcest me to slay my master, against my will, come then, let me hear how we are to set

upon him.' And replying she said: 'The attack shall be in the place wherein he showed me naked unto thee and the assault shall be when he is asleep.'

"So they contrived the plot: when night came on, Gyges (for he could not free himself, he had not one chance of escape, but either he or Kandaules had to die) followed the woman to the chamber. And giving him a dagger she hid him behind the self-same door. And after this, when Kandaules had fallen asleep, Gyges stole up, slew him, and took possession of both his wife and his kingdom. [Archilochos of Paros, who lived about the same time, makes mention of him in iambic trimeter.]

"Gyges held the throne and was confirmed in it by an answer of the Delphian oracle, etc."

The sources of this story have also been the subject of much discussion. Ephoros (Athen. XII 515, d) expressly stated that Herodotos depended on Xanthos for those portions of his narrative which have to do with Lydian affairs. But the nature of the dependence is somewhat vaguely defined and its probability is considerably impaired by Dionysios of Halikarnasos, Arch. Rom. I 28. At all events, so far as this particular story is concerned, dependence on Xanthos is anything but likely, and every attempt to prove any direct connection has failed.<sup>1</sup> The points of contact are amply explained by supposing that we have here two versions of the same story, distinct, but, to a certain extent, dealing with a similar tradition of the facts. This seems to be the view of Schubert, Meyer, Radet, Busolt and the majority of modern investigators. It is the only theory which will account for the situation.

What, then, were the probable sources of this narrative? The old lyric poets<sup>2</sup> and the Delphian temple tradition,<sup>3</sup> especially

<sup>1</sup> The most important attempt in recent years was that of Pomtow, *De Xantho et Herodoto rerum Lydiarum scriptoribus*, Halle, 1886. But see the criticisms of this dissertation by Sitzler and Kaerst, *Burs. Jahresbericht* etc., 1889, p. 261 and p. 323. For the chief modern literature on this subject see Busolt, l. c., II, p. 451, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> I have bracketed the sentence referring to Archilochos in deference to most of the modern editors. But whether the sentence is genuine or not, the 'trimeter' referred to is apparently nothing more than the one quoted in note 3, p. 261; i. e., τοῦ (τοῦ καὶ Αρχιλοχός, etc.) = Gyges. The statement of Iuba (Rufinus, VI 563, 16, K.), "[Archilochus] qui Gygae fabulam optime complexus est" "must not," says Bergk (PLG, II, p. 390, n.), 'be pushed too far by those who claim that Archilochos dealt at large with the career of Gyges.' If Iuba had our text of Herodotos before him, as he seems to have had, he probably took τοῦ as = not Gyges, but the preceding statements. Hence his remark quoted by Rufinus.

<sup>3</sup> See R. Schubert, l. c. p. 30, f. An element in the Greek tradition is the

the latter, should doubtless be considered, though neither can be proved.

But I agree heartily with the view expressed by Stein,<sup>1</sup> and after him by E. Meyer,<sup>2</sup> that what Herodotos probably had before him was the folk-tale of Gyges. In other words, it is here that we must look for that second part of the story which Plato told. Let us see, first, whether any support for this theory may be found in the narrative itself as it stands.

On the face of it at least, there is nothing *per se* incredible in the story of Herodotos. Indeed, several of the main facts are essentially the same as in Xanthos. Gyges was the son of Daskylos; he was one of the king's guard and especially favored; he became involved in trouble through a complication with the queen brought about by the king himself; through her he was forced to slay the king in order to save his own life; he made her his queen;<sup>3</sup> his right to the throne<sup>4</sup> was finally settled by an appeal to Delphi. In itself, too, the act of Kandaules is not only credible<sup>4</sup> but highly characteristic of a certain type of man; and

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connection of the old Lydian dynasty with Herakles. This was, probably, worked out by those Greek poets, epic and otherwise, who sung the praises of Kroisos. It is, also, possible that Hekataios or some author dependent upon him should be reckoned among the sources of Herodotos. Cf. the authorities cited by Busolt, l. c., II, 452, notes 2 and 3. On the relation to Herakles, see also E. Meyer, *Forsch.*, I 167; Cauer, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVI 244; Tümpel, *Philol.*, N. F., IV 607, and O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1902, p. 495, f.

<sup>1</sup> Note on Herod. I, 12, 8, according to Busolt, l. c., II 457, note 1. But I failed to find it in Stein.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. des Alterthums*, II, p. 458, note.

<sup>3</sup> I have already pointed out that the difference between Herodotos and Xanthos regarding the time of Gyges' marriage (whether before or after the appeal to Delphi) is more apparent than real. See note 2, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Radet, l. c., p. 131; "Il n'y a rien d'anormal à ce qu'un souverain d'orient se soit enorgueilli de son harem. Tout au contraire. Ensuite, dans cette frénésie d'enchantement qu'inspire à Candaule une forme admirable, il se pourrait qu'à la vanité amoureuse se mêlât quelque sentiment esthétique. Hérodote n'est pas seul à présenter le Sandonide comme un amateur du beau, passionnément épris du charme des lignes et des contours. C'est bien une physionomie d'artiste que Plinie lui attribue" [XXXV 34, 2; VII 39, 1; cf. VII 57, 14]. "Candaule eut, à n'en pas douter, le goût des arts, et ce fut très probablement ce dilettantisme qui donna lieu à la tradition populaire dont Hérodote s'est fait l'écho."

It is this type of a man which Gautier has drawn with great care in his well-known story, 'Le Roi Candaule'.

as for the queen's revenge, it was long ago observed that it has a striking resemblance to the one which the famous but less scrupulous Rosamund<sup>1</sup> wreaked upon her husband, Alboin, first king of the Lombards.

On the other hand, setting aside the element of marvel, the narrative of Herodotos contains very little to prevent it from harmonizing with the popular legend as it appears in the last sentence of Plato's abridgment. As a matter of fact only one important difference is visible. Gyges did not seduce the queen. Indeed, the wife of Kandaules is something more than beautiful. She moves in a different world from that of the rather colorless Tundo of Xanthos. Xanthos, says Busolt, shows an especial sympathy with her. This is true in so far as he does not make her an accomplice of Gyges. But Herodotos has made a woman and a queen of her. He also shows a greater sympathy with Gyges than is found in Xanthos. This is clearly in line with the popular legend. But, no doubt, his view was also supported by the Delphian tradition and, perhaps, by references in the lyric poets.

It will be seen, therefore, that the folk element in the story of Herodotos cannot be detected by the test of incredibility *per se*. Not even the variations from the assumed standard account of Xanthos can be attributed to the popular story without some

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. XLV (vol. V, p. 12, f., Bury). Baehr, on Herod. I, 9, refers to F. C. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, II 1, p. 82, for the mediaeval authorities for the story of Rosamund. See also Felix Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, Berlin, 1889, p. 201, f. (in W. Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte*, etc., vol. IV).

Among old chroniclers, the story of Rosamund is best told by Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langobardorum* II, XXVIII (Migne's *Patrolog. Lat.*, XCV, p. 498, f.) and Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXCVIII, p. 936, f. or, Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VII 413, f.).

The text of Macchiavelli's fine version in his *Istorie Fiorentine*, I, VIII, suggests that he had anticipated Gibbon in perceiving the resemblance to the tale of Herodotos.

The version by Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, 2458, f., appears to have been taken from Godfrey of Viterbo. See the English works of John Gower, ed. G. C. Macaulay, Oxford, 1901, vol. I, p. 476, f. This story, also appears among the Italian novellieri; cf. Bandello, *parte III*, nov. XVIII (vol. VII, p. 200 of Silvestri's *Novellieri Italiani*, Milan, 1814). Finally, I note four plays on this subject: Sir William D'Avenant's *Albovine, King of the Lombards*, 'Dramatists of the Restoration,' London, 1872, vol. I, p. 1, f.; A. C. Swinburne, *Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards*, New York, 1899; Giovanni Ruscellai, *Rosmunda*, Venice, Zoppino, 1528; Alfieri, *Rosamunda*, Milan, 1806.

further proof. Delphi, for example, or the poets, or even some other tradition, may have had an influence here. Indeed, as we have just seen, Xanthos, Herodotos, and, by implication, the popular story, clearly show a certain community of tradition which, perhaps, goes back ultimately to the facts of the case, or, at all events, to something like a common source. It is, for that reason, all the more difficult to trace the elements of each.

Let us now apply another test. Granting that Herodotos had the popular legend before him, no one, of course, would imagine that he would give it to us without change. For the purposes of sober and dignified history he would rationalize it if nothing else. This was an ordinary thing among the ancient historians. We know that Herodotos himself was more or less in the habit of rationalizing a legend which, after a comparison of other sources, if available, he believed to be true in its essential details. In rationalizing this story from the popular tale, the first step, of course, would be to expunge the ring and all the marvels connected with it. Therefore, to replace the ring motif in Herodotos ought to be one fair criterion of the theory, and also should give some idea how much his version may have been changed in other respects. Irrespective, too, of any further changes, the ring ought to fit best in the scars made by its removal. The application of this test here is not very encouraging at first sight. The ring fits the murder scene beyond a doubt. But it does not seem to fit the parallel episode of the door, the whole point of which was the fact that the queen *saw* Gyges. This also appears to throw out the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge, the two main points of our story. In fact, we are left with not so much as the last sentence of Plato, since one important detail of it—the love affair of Gyges and the queen—is not accounted for. Before giving this up, however, let us consider the story from another point of view.

The narrative of Xanthos contains an erotic motif. Indeed, love is really the essential element of it. We already know through Plato that in the folk-tale the erotic element was still further emphasized. No antique reference is needed to inform us that the strength, the beauty, the skill which Xanthos gave to Gyges reappeared in the popular tale. And although, as Tibullus very truthfully observes,

*Forma nihil magicis utitur auxiliis,*



we know that in this case the natural advantages of Gyges were ably seconded by a ring which gave this favorite of Hermes and Aphrodite something more than the mere ability to disappear at will.

Now, at first sight, the story of Herodotos might not seem to contain an erotic element. But its absence is only apparent. Further consideration not only betrays traces of it, but suggests that he must have suppressed it as not befitting historical narrative in general, and two such famous characters in particular.<sup>1</sup>

For example, no modern reader will have failed to observe that the royal lady of Lydia, though implying—as was quite natural and proper—that his choice was a matter of absolute indifference to herself, at the same time offered Gyges, on the one hand, an alternative which a man might be forgiven for finding it hard to refuse, and, on the other, one which, by leaving him his self-respect in so far as it could be done, softened, as much as possible, the odiousness of the task imposed. Herodotos takes the trouble to state twice over that Gyges was obliged to slay or be slain. There was no escape.<sup>2</sup>

But with all due deference to the queen whom Herodotos has pictured for us, her punctual payment in full of the promised reward is hardly consistent with mere gratified revenge. Even by the method which she herself proposed she might have put both men out of the way as easily as one. She would not have scrupled to do so if she had felt inclined.

In other words, we have reason to suspect, even from the story itself, that Plato's statement regarding Gyges' relations to the queen represented some incident in the version which Herodotos had before him. His reasons for omitting it have already been stated.

But this is not all. It will be remembered that the reason why Gyges went to his memorable interview without suspicion was because, according to Herodotos, "he had previously been in the habit of going to the queen whenever she sent for him." Certainly this detail, at least as Herodotos states it, is inconsistent with the strictly guarded seclusion of an oriental palace. The Lydians can hardly have differed much in this respect from their

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that we have here a trace of the Delphian tradition which, for the best of reasons, was favorable to Gyges and his queen.

<sup>2</sup> Also stated by Xanthos, as we have seen, and, quite possibly, a historical fact.

modern representatives. Of course, this inconsistency, such as it is, may not be due to rationalization. But, in any case, it disappears as soon as we return to Gyges his magic ring. Equipped with this, he could indeed "go to the queen whenever she sent for him." Not only that, but the passing comment of Herodotos now assumes quite another meaning. In fact, it can only be associated with the statement of Plato regarding Gyges' relations to the queen before the death of Kandaules. The importance of this point is easy to see. The restoration of the ring of darkness to what seemed to be a scar in the Herodotean narrative has in fact served a double purpose. It has removed what seemed to be a slight inconsistency due to rationalization, and at the same time revealed and explained the one point in which it may be positively affirmed that Herodotos differs from Plato, and, therefore, from the folk-tale. It also goes far to justify our assumption that Herodotos did have the original of Plato's narrative before him, and that rationalization was at least one of the processes which he applied. We can now see why Herodotos omitted the first half of the story. It dealt almost entirely with the marvellous. For the same reason, as well as for those already given, the queen's love affair was also omitted. As soon as the element of marvel was removed—the manifestly incredible element—this episode appeared to have no reason for existence. Thus the author was, in so far, convinced that the favorable opinion of Gyges and the queen, which was doubtless maintained by the Delphian tradition, was justified by the essential residuum of fact in the popular legend.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

### III.—ΘΕΤΙΚΩΤΕΡΟΝ.

#### CICERO AD QUINTUM FRATREM III 3, 4.

The passage reads thus: „Cicero tuus nosterque (the son of Quintus) summo studio est Paeonii sui rhetoris (probably a domestic appointment), hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni. Sed nostrum instituendi genus esse paulo eruditius et *θετικώτερον* non ignoras. Quare neque ego impediri Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam volo, et ipse puer (young Quintus) magis illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur. In quo quoniam ipsi quoque [cf. Brutus 305; commentabar „declamitans,” sic enim nunc (46 B. C.) loquuntur, Brut. 310] fuimus, patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus; eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus. Sed tamen, si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus.”

Professor Tyrrell's elaborate edition of six volumes—a cyclopedic work on a body of texts which in the infinite detail of their data may fairly be called Cyclopean—Professor Tyrrell's edition (vol. II, p. 161) gives this note: „The epithet *θετικώτερον* indicates a style of speaking more adapted for a judge than a jury, more addressed to the reason than the feelings.”

Tyrrell's note is palpably inadequate and vague. And it need not be. For we are dealing with a technical and therefore definite matter than which none was more familiar to the writer who had not long before completed his three books *de Oratore*, which, by the by, had been dedicated to his present correspondent, his brother Quintus. The letter was written probably pretty late in the fall of 54, preceding the fateful winter [to Quintus,] of 54–53, [cf. Caesar B. G. V 39–52].

The editors of Cicero's letters in the main seem to have carried *θετικώτερον* as a strange and odd thing. The editio princeps, Rome, 1470, read *τετιχώτερον*, possibly as taken down from dictation by some one who understood no Greek, beyond the script. Paulus Manutius (Venice, 1544) in the text p. 326, b reads *θετικώτερον*, but in the appendix (*Graeca Latinis expressa*) he has „*τεχνικώτερον*, artificiosius”: taken from Cratander, the printer-scholar of Basle

(1528): an emendation which sprung from Cratander's failure to understand *θετικώτερον*. The Leyden edition of 1692 vol. XI, in its Index Graeco-Latinus defines *θετικώτερον* not badly as „philosophicis quaestionibus magis refertum, aptum” and so reprinted in the Amsterdam edition of 1724, vol. XI, p. 21. Ernesti, the noted Ciceronian of Leipzig [1707-1781]—his first edition was 1737-1739—defined *θετικώτερον* as, *subtilius*, *φιλολογώτερον* (sic), *magis ex arte disserendi dialectica*. Of course we must not confound the „sospitator Ciceronis” as Ruhnken and Wytttenbach called him, (Johann August E.) with the excellent student of rhetorical *τεχνολογία* (Johann Christian Gottlieb E., 1756-1802). If the latter had commented on ad Q. Fr. 3, 3, 4, he would have given more specific elucidation than his uncle gave. The latter's gloss passed over into Orelli-Baiter, VIII, p. 51: *θ.*, *subtilius*, *magis ex arte dialectica*. Wieland whose good taste and sanity often render his version of Cicero's letters (Zürich, 1808, sqq. XII vols.) valuable, satisfied himself with a vague paraphrase: „tiefer in die Geheimnisse der Kunst eingeht.” Besides, W. took „Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam” as „Reise” seines Sohnes [und der Fortsetzung seines bisherigen Unterrichtes etwas in den Weg gelegt würde] whereas the context a little further on [patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus] shows that 'course' [*μύθοδος*] was meant. Billerbeck [letters, vol. I 1836, p. 523] writes: *θετικώτερον*: „*subtilius*, gründlicher, tiefer in die Grundsätze der Kunst eingehend”—clearly copying Wieland, though for „Reise” Billerbeck very properly substitutes „bisherigen Gang” („iter atque disciplinam eius, hendiadys.”) Hoffa (1843) blends the gloss of the Leyden edition of 1692 and of Ernesti.

## 2.

Let us now secure a closer vision, if we can, of the situation involved. Young Quintus Cicero was the first Cicero of the coming generation. He was, in October 54 not more than thirteen years old, barely that (cf. Att. I 10, 5) having been born either late in 67 or in the early part of 66. The transition from *grammaticus* to *rhetor* had, it would seem, but recently been made. The grammaticus, as it seems, was the noted scholar Tyrannio the Elder,<sup>1</sup> originally called *Θεόφραστος*, but renamed T. for his

<sup>1</sup> Of him H. Usener treats in detail: Ein altes Lehrgebäude der Philologie, Munich Acad. 1892, p. 635 sqq. As Atticus read a work dedicated to Atticus

manner in running down (κατατρέχων, Suidas) his professional colleagues in the profession of γραμματική. It is not likely that the Cicero-lads failed to learn Greek grammar and literature under such a master.<sup>1</sup> At least Tyrannio taught young Quintus in the winter of 56-55. Cic. Q. Fr. II 4, 2: „Q. tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animum adverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me.”

Both the grammaticus then and the rhetor as well were Greek professionals. Cicero in the autumn of 54 was for the first time in the position of taking an interest in the practical introduction of a youth of his near kin into the theory and practice of rhetoric. In 55 Cicero had been engaged with his ‘de Oratore’ and well on in 54 he still justifies himself to Atticus for certain data of literary manipulation in the construction of that dialogue, [ad Att. IV 16, 3.] and it would seem that the 3 books, their subject-matter and economy were a fairly recent matter between the two friends. If we then can secure some illumination on θετικώτερον from de Oratore we will naturally first turn to it.

## 3.

There are contained in the text (ad Q. Fr. III 3, 4) which we have placed at the head of this article, three distinct matters:

1) nostrum instituendi genus, i. e. not the way in which Cicero was trained in his own youth, but the mode which Cicero in 55-54 claimed rhetorical training should be carried on, i. e. the θετικώτερον and ‘eruditius.’

2) illud declamatorium genus, the mode of the Greek rhetor Paionios.

3) the mode of Cicero's own youth, which he admits to have been substantially identical with no. 2. And we may note that Cicero here does not, in referring to genus 2 and 3, indulge in the contemptuous *istud*,<sup>2</sup> but uses the dispassionate *illud*, (the current, familiar, well-known, even well-known to his brother Quintus who cared nothing at all for the technique of rhetoric.)<sup>3</sup> What then

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by this Tyrannio in 46, it is reasonably certain that the elder Tyrannio who was brought to Rome by Lucullus, was the teacher of young Quintus. Suidas, it seems, has confusedly allotted the works of Tyrannio I in the main to Tyrannio II.

<sup>1</sup> διαπρεπῆς δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ πλούσιος (Suidas).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. de Or. III 188, quia non traduntur in *vulgari ista* disciplina.

<sup>3</sup> Vide pref. of II de Orat.

was no. 2., illud declamatorium genus, the current mode of the *rhetoires*? Of course, Cicero did not wish to displace the *τέχνη* itself: the bare catechism which he composed, later on, for his own son Marcus, probably before the latter went away to Athens, [i. e. the 'Partitiones Oratoriae']<sup>1</sup> proves that most exhaustively. What, indeed, was Cicero's attitude to the professional 'rhetorici' in 55-54,—the „rhetorici doctores” of de Or. I 87? You cannot find in their manuals the requisites or elements of the moral training of youth (ib. § 85); no author of a manual is eloquent himself (ib. 91) a note which is re-echoed further on (de Or. II 75: nec mihi opus est Graeco aliquo doctore qui mihi *pervolgata praecepta decantet*, cum ipse nunquam forum, nunquam ullum iudicium aspexerit.) The grasp and comprehension of a real, actual case is not taught in the schools (de Or. II 100) and now we are brought upon the trace of our question: “*faciles enim causae ad pueros deferuntur*” (i. e. by the rhetor: *defero* like *trado* = *docentur*): „*Lex*<sup>2</sup> peregrinum vetat in murum ascendere; ascendit; hostis reppulit: accusatur.” This is a typical *causa*, i. e. not an abstract disquisition but a concrete, though fictitious, case, the pupil either speaking (*declamare*) on both sides, or being opposed by a fellow-pupil. It was *after* Cicero's time that for these fictitious *causae* there was substituted the term of *controversia*, so familiar to the readers of Seneca rhetor, which differs much from the two examples quoted in full by Suetonius in the latter part of his chapter de Rhetoribus.

But we may well note here, (the more so as it has not, as far as I can see been generally noted before<sup>3</sup>) that not only do we observe a substantial identity in the presentation of *στάσις* by the Roman Hermagorean translator and follower Cornificius, of the time of Sulla, with that of the Greek Hermogenes of Tarsos of the time of the emperor Marcus—but also that the very examples (*παράδειγματα*) were handed down in the manuals and thus in the schools, with a puzzling and extraordinary degree of persistency and sameness. And these examples it seems furnished

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Berlin Dr. diss., by John F. Merchant, 1890, de Ciceronis Part. Orat. Commentatio.

<sup>2</sup> Quintil. 7, 6, 6 Peregrinus, si murum ascenderit, capite puniatur. Cum hostes murum ascendissent, peregrinus eos depulit. Petitur ad supplicium. Cf. Hermogenes, p. 140 ξένος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος εἰ ἀνέλθοι, τεθνάτω· πολιορκίας ὁσος ἀνελθῶν τις ἤρισται, καὶ ὑπάγεται τῷ νόμῳ.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. however Spalding on Quint. 7, 6, 6.

also the themes for *declamationes*, being either fictitious *causae* (*ὑποθέσεις*), or sometimes indeed taken from mythology or history; or the tradition of the department itself furnished the subject-matter, the aim of the *ῥητορικός* who devised the particular *πλάσμα* being to afford fairly equal opportunity to prosecution and defense. So Cicero in his youthful performance de *Inventione* (of 82 or so B. C.) II 55, „ut, si quaeratur, fur sit an sacrilegus, *qui vasa ex privato sacra surripuerit*” which recurs in Hermogenes, (some two hundred and fifty years later) *περὶ στάσεων* (p. 154, Sp.) *ἐταν ὄνομα ὀνόματι ὁ φεύγων ἀντιτιθῇ, οἷον ὑφείλετό τις ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἰδιωτικὰ χρήματα καὶ ὡς ἱερόσυλος ὑπάγεται. . . .* Both examples—or rather this *one* example—occur in both cases in the elucidation of the *constitutio* (status) *definitiva*, i. e. the *στάσις ὁριστική*. Another example exhibiting this remarkable conservatism in the tradition of *τέχνη* whether it was transmitted by Greek or Roman hands: the type of cases is that called *de Ambiguo* (*περὶ ἀμφιβολίας*) when the point at issue in the trial (*τὸ κρινόμενον*, *de qua re agitur*, Cic. Top. 95) is a word or phrase liable to a double sense or interpretation. Cicero de *Invent.* II 118 MERETRIX CORONAM AUREAM NE HABETO; SI HABUERIT, PUBLICA ESTO (the woman or the corona?) and so in Hermogenes p. 173: *ἐταῖρα χρυσία εἰ φοροῖη, ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ἔστω* (Query: the woman or the golden ornaments: *δημοσία* or *δημόσια*, which of these two does the statute mean?). Another theme of the schools: Cic. de *Inv.* II 153: [„statute”, perhaps originally from Rhodian Law<sup>1</sup> de *Iactu*] *Qui in adversa tempestate navem reliquerint, omnia amittunt; eorum naves et onera sunt, qui in nave remanserint.* Cf. Hermogenes p. 169: *ὁ ἐπιμείνας χειμαζομένην νηὶ δεσπότης ἔστω τῆς νεώς.* Such were the themes which illustrated the position assumed by the pleader in the various categories of *causae*: on these it seems and similar ones Paionios had young Quintus Cicero exercise himself in *declamatio*.

A little more light as to Cicero's dissatisfaction with current methods (55 B. C.) of rhetorical training we may derive from de *Or.* I 149. Here Cicero describes the *ὑπόθεσις* of the schools: *ut, causa aliqua posita consimili causarum earum quae in forum deferuntur dicatis quam maxime ad veritatem adcommodate*: but while he fairly approves of this subject-matter, he does find fault with the manner of the rhetors: they make of this exercise,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Iustin. Digest XIV, t. 2.

in the main, a *tour de force*, as far as vocal delivery is concerned, and that too not very cleverly: they further strive for nimbleness of expression, a *presto* of delivery, and a great array of words.

## 4

We have briefly surveyed the negative side of Cicero's professional opinion on rhetorical methods of instruction. We will now turn to the positive side—*θετικώτερον*, i. e., a way in which the *θείσις* predominates. Over what? Why over these fictitious *causae*, over the *ὑπόθεσις*. What was *θείσις*<sup>1</sup> in the tradition of rhetorical *τέχνη*? In his youthful Latinization—partial at that—of Greek *τέχνη* we learn that Hermagoras had made—on the very threshold of his exposition—the subject-matter of oratory (*oratoris materia*, Cic. Inv. I 8) consist of two things: either *ὑπόθεσις* or *θείσις*: Cicero translates *causa* and *quaestio*: the former a concrete or quasi concrete *case*, with the appurtenances of persons, names, places, circumstances. *θείσις* on the other hand = *quaestio*: generally with the epithet of *infinita*, [i. e. non-concrete, abstract], involves the putting of a problem, and the solution thereof. E. g. „*ecquid sit bonum praeter honestatem?*” Evidently a Stoic thesis, for there is a strong flavor of Stoicism in our tradition of Hermagoras as Volkmann has duly pointed out. „*Verine sint sensus?*” „*Quae sit mundi forma?*” „*Quae sit solis magnitudo?*”—(a traditional problem as between the Stoics and Epicureans). Of course, said young Cicero in 83–82 B. C. these themes are utterly foreign to the duty (*officium*, ib. Inv. I 8) of the orator. *θερικώτερον*, consequently, would mean: dealing more with the discussion of abstract problems, and the epithet *eruditius* is significant enough now, not at all unmeaning—because these *θείσις* were, in the main, problems from the sphere of philosophy.

The question arises, and we will attempt to answer it in accordance with the measure of the data of tradition: Can we know anything about *θείσις* that antedates Hermagoras?

We may safely say that *θείσις* came into professional rhetoric out of Aristotle's professional initiative and largely through his greatest pupil and successor, Theophrastos (Tyrtamos). Bonitz in his concordance, p. 327, col. 2 under 4, adduces a great number of pertinent passages of which we may quote a single one: *θείσις*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Volkmann's earlier book, Hermagoras, 1865, pp. 13–14.



ἐστὶν ὑπόληψις παράδοξος τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν, Aristotle, *Topica* I, 11;—πρόβλημα, as Aristotle discriminates in the same chapter, a little further on, is a somewhat wider and more comprehensive term: *θέσις* indeed is a πρόβλημα, but not every πρόβλημα is a *θέσις*, for there are some προβλήματα about which we entertain neutral opinion (οὐδετέρως δοξάζομεν). Thesis consequently is a proposition calling for a positive solution either negatively or affirmatively. Inspecting the list of Aristotle's works<sup>1</sup> in Diogenes L. V 1, 12 we find a number of titles of works which, like the *Topica* are of that class which we may call logico-rhetorical: as 7 bb. ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν, 2 bb. Ἐπιχειρημάτων, θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, Ἐνθυμήματα ῥητορικά, περὶ μεγέθους 1 b., Ἐνθυμημάτων διαιρέσεις 1 b.: this list is arranged according to materials. When we proceed from the great master to the great disciple, Theophrastos, this element of rhetorical training is even more conspicuous and extensive. The list in Diog. L. V 2, 13 sqq. is, in the main, alphabetical.<sup>2</sup> We find *θέσεις* κδ twenty-four books, *Τοπικά* 2 bb., also περὶ ψυχῆς θέσις μία; προβλήματι πολιτικά, ἡθικά, φυσικά, ἐρωτικά 1 b.; Ἐπιχειρημάτων 2 bb., *Θέσεις* 3 bb.;—Perhaps the *θέσεις* κδ twenty-four books were an alphabetical arrangement according to subject-matter. The enormous production of didactic material by Aristotle and Theophrastos would seem to have had the result so frequently recorded in analogous spheres: it smothered or checked further production along these lines and furnished and equipped the subsequent tradition.

Whom did Quintilian mean by 'antiqui' in II 1, 9 when in his retrospect of former modes of rhetorical training he says: An ignoramus *antiquis* hoc fuisse ad augendam eloquentiam genus exercitationis, ut *theses dicerent* et communes locos et cetera citra complexum rerum personarumque (i. e. abstract themes) quibus verae fictaeque controversiae continentur? We see Quintilian differentiates the traditional *θέσις* from the traditional *ὑπόθεσις*. Of course Quintilian cannot mean the Roman era of Cato or even of the Gracchi by *antiqui* in this passage. Further it is a well established fact, reflected, e. g. in Suetonius de Rhetoribus c. 1, and brought out by Cicero himself, de Orat. passim, that theoretical rhetoric in the Greek fashion was Latinized or taught in Latin not

<sup>1</sup> A list which E. Heitz, (Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles p. 17.) declares to be incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> Really *two* alphab. lists, with an epimetrum.

earlier than about 92 B. C., in the last years of the great orator Crassus.

At that time the system of Hermagoras dominated the schools opened in Rome. Now, then, Cicero at the height of his powers makes it a distinct count against the professional 'artium scriptores' de Or. II 78 that while giving the general subdivision of *inbetheis* and *theis* they limit their 'praecepta' to the former, and have nothing to aid the student in *theis*. „De causa praecepta dant; de altera parte dicendi mirum silentium est." Now then we must not forget that Cicero in the mature rhetorical writings (from 55-44 B. C.) strove to gain, or for theoretical and practical rhetoric to *regain* the position of Aristotle and Theophrastos, the detailed proof of which I need not and must not adduce here. The blending of philosophy and rhetoric was his goal in all that decade of his production.

In III de Or. 109 Cicero returns<sup>1</sup> to this favorite matter which he had so much at heart, the elaboration of the abstract theme, ascribing its establishment to the Peripatetic and the Academic schools and he goes on [in § 110] to censure the 'rhetores' for their professional practice of contenting themselves with the merest perfunctory mentioning of *theis*; they merely name it on the very threshold of their system and then let it severely alone, without setting forth its force and nature, its species<sup>2</sup> and genera, so that it would have been better to have it passed over altogether rather than merely touched upon and then abandoned.

In the last stage of his theoretical books on rhetoric (46-44 B. C.) Cicero seems to have turned even more clearly and positively towards *theis*, as he strengthened his hold on Aristotle and Theophrastos: thus in Or. § 46: „haec igitur quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad *universi generis rationem* traducta appellatur *theis*. In hac Aristoteles adulescentis<sup>3</sup> non ad philosophorum morem *tenuiter* disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem exercuit." This then was the mode which Cicero wished to have adopted in the rhetorical training of his nephew Quintus. In the very last of his rhetorical writings (the

<sup>1</sup> The books de Orat. abound in iterations. No standard of exact, successive, strictly didactic exposition must be rigidly applied to this distinguished work. The accomplished master of oratory urges and reiterates his point of view, tested by his great and splendid career at the bar.

<sup>2</sup> *Partes* is Cicero's technical word for species.

<sup>3</sup> With O. Iahn's note.

Topica of the dog-days of 44 B. C.) Cicero presents a fairly full, didactic survey of *θείσις*: he had already abandoned, in the *Partitiones oratoriae* 62 the Latinization of his earlier books and selected for *θείσις*: *propositum*. He had gone on to distinguish two general classes of abstract themes: 1) of knowledge, 2) of action,<sup>1</sup> a theoretical and a practical group of abstract problems: (cuius genera sunt duo, cognitionis alterum; eius scientia est finis, ut, *verine sint sensus*:<sup>2</sup> alterum actionis; quod refertur ad efficiendum quid, ut, si quaeratur quibus officiis amicitia quaerenda sit. The practical group is subdivided: (63) actionis autem duo sunt genera: unum, ad persequendum aliquid aut declinandum . . . , alterum, quod ad aliquam commoditatem usumque refertur . . . Substantially then this same doctrine is repeated in the Topica 79 sqq. The *propositum* (*θείσις*) is a *pars* (an intrinsic element) *causae* (of the concrete case at bar): follows the classification of theoretical and practical abstract themes as above—*causa efficiens* indeed points more directly to Aristotle.

In Aristotle's Topica I 11, we have the same general classification into theoretical and practical subjects: the former merely or mainly satisfying the desire for knowledge, the latter guiding action: Πρόβλημα δ' ἐστὶ διαλεκτικὸν θεώρημα τὸ συντείνον ἢ πρὸς αἰρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ γνῶσιν: it is not necessary to urge the resemblance. And so too Theon whose time was probably a little earlier than that of Hermogenes (Marcus Aurelius) devoting the 12th chapter of his Προγυμνάσματα to *θείσις* defines it substantially in the same manner and goes on (Spengel, vol. II, p. 121) to discriminate between the same two groups: αἱ μὲν εἰσι θεωρητικαί, ὅσα θεωρίας ἕνεκα καὶ γνώσεως μόνον ζητοῦνται, οἷον εἰ θεοὶ προνοοῦνται τοῦ κόσμου, αἱ δὲ πρακτικαὶ εἰς τινα πράξιν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχουσιν, οἷον εἰ γαμητέον . . . . The theoretical themes he goes on to say belong rather to philosophers, the practical to oratory proper . . . Quintilian by the by (II 4, 25) reveals the substantial iteration in the professional tradition: 'ducendane uxor,' 'petendine sint magistratus.'

Hermogenes the 'Wunderkind' of Tarsos, who with his extraordinary receptive faculty seems to have had in the main Hermagoras as his quarry if not as his very mirror, and who most naturally, after a tremendous amount of production which

<sup>1</sup> Quintil. III 5, 11 distinguishes the *spectativa* *pars* from the *activa* *pars*.

<sup>2</sup> Precisely the same example as in the youthful De Invent. I 8, in exactly the same form, too.

was merely reproduction, became a hopeless imbecile at twenty-four!—Hermogenes (*Προγυμνάσματα*, Spengel, vol. 2, p. 17 sq. *περὶ θέσεως*) has all the preceding doctrine without any perceptible variation: among the examples: *εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ σφαιροειδὴς ὁ κόσμος, εἰ πολλοὶ κόσμοι, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος πῦρ*, etc., etc. But, to cap and crown all, Cicero himself has written a large number of titles of *θέσεις*, not at all in a playful vein, and still in his characteristic mixture of profound perplexity in practical politics with theoretical interests and favorite professional pursuits, Att. IX 4. (= Tyrrell vol. IV no. 361) written as his *Formianum* (March 12, 49 B. C.). The very introductory words seem to reverberate the technical habits of the writer's mind: „Sed tamen, ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsi mihi quasdam tamquam *θέσεις* quae et πολιτικά<sup>1</sup> sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum ab querellis et in eo ipso, de quo agitur, exercere. Eae sunt huiusmodi.”

*εἰ μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννομένη* etc. without mentioning the name of Caesar, or Rome or Pompey, the Optimates, his own services in the Catilinarian affair, the urgent provision for his own family—and still discussing all these problems in the abstract manner<sup>2</sup>—*θετικώτερον* indeed. The grammatical form is uniform: *εἰ μενετέον*—*εἰ . . . πραγματευτέον, εἰ πειρατέον . . . ; εἰ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν . . . , ἢ . . . λτέον; εἰ πόλεμον ἐπακτέον . . . καὶ πολιορκητέον . . . ; εἰ . . . συναπογραπτέον τοῖς ἀρίστοις; εἰ . . . συγκινδυνευτέον*; with this one variation: *εἰ ὁ μεγάλα τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετήσας* (i. e. Cicero) . . . *κινδυνεύσειεν ἄν . . . ἢ ἐφετέον . . .* „In his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in utramque partem tum Graece tum Latine et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τῶν προῤῃγου τι delibero.” Few passages in his extant writings so clearly exhibit the idiosyncrasy of the extraordinary man: the restlessness, the galling sense of political impotency, the eagerness of the foremost patronus to keep on training, and that too, consciously, with an appropriation of Theophrastean method and manner.<sup>4</sup>

If we knew no more of Cicero's professional preference for *θέσεις* we could ourselves write what Quintilian wrote 10, 5, 11, „infinite quaestiones, quas vocari *θέσεις* diximus, quibus Cicero iam princeps in republica exerceri solebat.” But Quintilian could

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *πρακτικά*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Top. 84 once only in this manner: „si expetendae divitiae, si fugienda paupertas.”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the survey of 44, B. C. De Div. II 1, 4. Cumque Aristoteles itemque Theophrastus, etc.

know more than we can know: it is not at all improbable that Tiro his *libertus amanuensis* to whom Cicero dictated so much and who was his literary confidant, recorded data of this kind in his (we do not know how many) *Libri de vita M. Tullii Ciceronis*.

## 5

In conclusion we ask—and we cannot very well help asking—what did Cicero strive for in this practical and technical emphasis laid by him on *thesis*? We may cite for this ascending from concrete ‘*causa*’ to the abstract *thesis* which contained the real merits of the case in hand, de Or. III 120 sq., Or. 45 sq., Or. 126, Part. 103. He claims that this dwelling on the abstract underlying truth, the principle involved, affords far greater freedom of elaboration of oratory on the side of manner and style too, it allowed far better and greater fitness in the end, to jurors, to reach a verdict. It permitted a greater range of presentation and argument, it broke down the narrow limits of strict adherence to the specific questions involved, it afforded Cicero the chance to be himself—to combine culture and dialectic—philosophy in a word, with the narrower sphere of *τέχνη* (de Orat. III 120 sq.). Even more specific if possible is what he wrote some ten years later (Or. 45 sq.) in outlining „*excellentis eloquentiae speciem et formam*” . . . . The eminent orator then, in order to really avail himself of the current discrimination of the various kinds of *status*, must always move the pleading away from specific persons and times, i. e., resort to the analysis of the abstract elements immanent in or relevant to the case. Why? *LATIUS enim de genere quam de parte*<sup>1</sup> *disceptare licet*: i. e. the discussion may take a much wider range when it deals with generic truth than when it deals with the specific law-point of the case.

To this matter he returns in the same dialogue further on 125, where he calls the elaboration of *thesis* one of the two factors [in an oration] particularly luminous and forceful. On the *thesis* often entire cases depend, excepting in those where the question of *fact* is the central element.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he again reverts to Aristotle’s didactic practice in his rhetorical instruction.

Tersely and drily he presents the same matter in the manual written for his son Marcus (Part. 61, sqq.)—*sed est propositum* (i. e.

<sup>1</sup> *Genus* and *pars* are Cicero’s Latinizations of *γένος* and *εἶδος*.

<sup>2</sup> *Status coniecturalis*.

*thesis*) quasi LATIOR pars causae: i. e. a principle inherent in the concrete case at bar. Thus we may add, by way of illustration, Cicero in the very finished pro Milone elaborated in his exordium the principle of self-defense, § 7 sqq., in his pro Archia dwelt upon the intrinsic as well as relative value of literary culture, in the pro Murena with exquisite skill and grace elucidated the relative value and standing of military distinction as over against the fame of the civilian lawyer. It is therefore a conscious and, consequently to the student, a doubly significant element in his professional and literary ideals, and I trust that the foregoing exposition may justify itself to students of Latin Literature and Ancient Rhetoric.

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#### IV.—THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN LIVY.

##### I.

The number of occurrences of the ablative absolute in Livy can not be definitely determined, for texts and interpretations vary, as all do not see the relationship of words in the same way. These considerations do not affect very many passages, but the impossibility of reaching exact results can be shown by two examples. Ad 21, 49, 8 are given the following forms of the verb: *missi* Wfsb., *missis* Mg., *dimissi* Hwg., *dimissis* Wfl., *dimitti* Harant, *missi milites* Hasenmüller. Differences in interpretation can be seen in comparing explanations of *persecutis hostibus* 3, 42, 3, which in the Weissenborn-Müller 7th edition is called a dative, against earlier editions and the Woelfflin-Luterbacher 4th edition ad 21, 36, 7. We have collected from the Weissenborn-Müller edition 6457 examples, counting as one, two nouns with one participle, or two participles with one noun. This number may be considered as sufficiently exact for all practical purposes, but it might be increased by the addition of a few instances where, if the construction changes, the abl. abs. occurs, e. g. 5, 18, 5 *quaeso . . . delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti meisque pro eo adiectis precibus mandetis*, where the latter part is a variation in phraseology for *mihi* which is used in the first of the sentence. On the other hand the number might be reduced by striking out a few which may be taken as ablatives of quality, e. g. 3, 60, 10 *adortusque nec omnes dum eductos nec, qui erant, satis explicatis ordinibus*, which we have taken as an abl. abs., looking at the process rather than at the result. However, examples of this kind are but a very small part of the entire number which is affected chiefly by the interpretation given to three classes of constructions: 1. Gerundive forms, 2. Certain plurals of the present participle, 3. Some ablative forms of the neuter participle.

1. If we accept the extremes of interpretation both the active and the passive of three participles are found in the ablative absolute. But the few examples of the future passive do not differ

from those which are classed as present passive, and these in turn may be taken as a free use of the modal ablative of the gerund or gerundive, so that by interpretation these two passives may be eliminated. We have taken the interpretation which gives for Livy the least number of ablatives absolute, though this conclusion does not find support in all quarters, as may be seen from the following.

Zumpt, Latin Grammar §643, after giving some instances of the abl. abs. of the future passive, quotes from Livy, 5, 43, 7 *cum diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret*; 21, 2, 1 *ita se Africo bello . . . in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit*; and 33, 3, 5 *exercendo cotidie milite hostem opperiebatur*. Helm, Quaestiones Syntacticae de Participiorum usu Tacitino Velleiano Sallustiano, p. 104-5 argues for the same construction in Tacitus, Annals 3, 19 and 14, 4, in all of which, however, the ablative expresses the coincident limitation of the main action, and the forms should be considered as ablatives of the gerundive, though this is not the interpretation given by all critics to similar passages in Livy. Kühnast Liv. Syn., p. 256-7 says "Tritt aber das Gerundium oder Gerundiv bei L. sonst unabhängig von der Zeit des Hauptverbs auf. . . mag man es als Abl. instr. oder absol. ansehen." Draeger 2, p. 850 classifies similar examples as modal ablatives, quoting among others 3, 39, 7; 4, 29, 3; 5, 43, 7; 24, 36, 1; 28, 14, 11; and 32, 16, 4. It will be interesting to compare with these the statements in the Weissenborn-Müller edition. Ad 3, 39, 7 "*quanto fortior dolor libertate sua vindicanda quam cupiditas iniusta dominatione*," the reading of a part of the MSS in *libertate . . . in iniusta* is now accepted. Ad 4, 29, 3 "*repetendo signo primam impressionem factam*," the note is, "*repetendo = eo quod repetebatur* oder *= cum repeteretur*; vgl. 5, 43, 7; zu 2, 32, 4." The comment ad 32, 16, 4 "*ad Maleum trahendis . . . navibus . . . pervenit*," is, "Abl. abs. mit dem Part. Praes. Pass. = einem Abl. modi." Cf. ad 33, 3, 5 *exercendo milite* "ein Abl. modi (eig. Abl. abs. mit Part. Praes. Pass.); s. 4, 29, 3; 8, 11, 1." As these admit the possibility of the modal ablative as an explanation, they and all similar examples have been classed as gerundives.

2. When the participle is used in connection with *venire* and its compounds, it may often be taken as a dative or as an ablative. See Weissenborn ad 9, 5, 11; 37, 12, 3; 37, 38, 6. We have assumed that the personal element is stronger than the temporal, and have classed the following as datives: 4, 28, 6 *pedem iam*



referentibus advenit; 9, 5, 11 haec frementibus hora fatalis advenit; (21, 57, 3 perf.); 31, 41, 10 Philippus inopinantibus advenit; 37, 38, 6 metantibus et muniendo occupatis . . . advenere. 1, 48, 9 ni scelus . . . agitantī intervenisset; 9, 14, 1; (10, 12, 5 *incertis*); 37, 12, 3 haec agentibus cum intervenisset nuntius; cf. 40, 9, 7 mihi quirītanti intervenisses. 10, 29, 5 superveniunt deinde his restituentibus pugnam; 24, 35, 9; 28, 7, 7; 30, 14, 3; 34, 29, 4; 36, 10, 6; 36, 21, 7; 36, 29, 11 ita datīs qui . . . Nicander consultantibus supervenit; (37, 32, 8 *intentis*); 42, 56, 5 parantibus iam oppugnare supervenit praetor. 32, 6, 4 has "hoc consilium per multos dies agitantī ei nuntius venit," and for that reason we have taken as a dative 29, 4, 3 iam haec agitantibus nuntius tandem venit. In 22, 61, 6 morantibus . . . venisse, the participle is an abl. abs., as the relation of the parties is not the same as in the other examples. There are a few instances, however, in which these verbs are used with the abl. abs.: 24, 41, 2 dubiis sociorum animis in tempore advenisset; 36, 44, 11 commisso certamine advenerat; 31, 25 2 inopinantibus Achaeis contioni ipsi supervenit; 30, 12, 21 factis nuptiis supervenit Laelius. In the last the completion of the act expressed in the abl. abs. prevents its use as the dative, and in the next to the last, the indirect object of the verb is expressed by another dative.

There are numerous instances in which the plural of the present participle stands alone, and at times the interpretation varies between the ablative absolute and the dative dependent on some expression in the sentence. In 37, 1, 6 exprimere cupientibus, quarum rerum in se arbitrium senatui permetterent, nihil certi responsum est, the words seem to be based directly on the words of Polybius 21, 1, 5 τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν ἀξιούντων διασαφῆσαι ῥητῶς ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ δίδοναι τὴν ἐπιτροπήν. If the Greek decides the construction for Livy, in a few other passages formally indeterminate, the ablative absolute might be assumed as the construction for Livy, e. g. 5, 15, 9 sciscitantibus quidnam id esset . . . respondit; 31, 28, 2 pollicentibus auxilia respondit consul; 41, 2, 6 nec percunctantibus reddere responsum poterant; and similar to these, 42, 26, 5 haesitantibus in responso . . . dictum; 10, 25, 6 respondentibusque lignatum se ire "ain tandem?" inquit . . .; 3, 50, 4 quaerentibus, quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit, which is a variation for *respondit*. Notwithstanding the construction in the passage from Polybius, these and all similar examples have been counted as datives, as have passages similar to 1, 23, 10 quaerentibus utrimque

ratio initur; and 23, 10, 9 haec vociferanti (e) obvolutum caput est, although the ablative absolute occurs in 25, 9, 13 cum excitasset vigilem dicente vix sustineri grandis bestiae onus, portula aperitur; but here it is directly due to the words of Polybius 8, 31, 6 τοῦ δ' εὐπότος ἔξωθεν ἀνοίγειν ταχύως, ὅτι βαρύνονται.

3. Draeger 2, pp. 800-2 gives a number of forms as ablatives absolute of the neuter of the perf. pass. participle, and though we shall cite the occurrences which have adverbial force, we have not included the 43 instances in the number of the ablatives absolute. Livy uses some of them both with and without prepositions, and their full adverbial force seems to have been established by his time. If originally absolute, they had become fully parasitic, and were used only as simple verbal modifiers.

#### NUMBER.

After making the deductions already mentioned, the number counted for the different decades is as follows:

	Perfect.	Present.	Future.	Adjectives.	Nouns.	
Decade 1.	1563	323	1	78	126	2091
" 3.	1547	296	2	104	37	1986
" 4.	1312	250	2	73	46	1683
" 5.	548	100	2	26	21	697
	<hr/> 4970	<hr/> 969	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 281	<hr/> 230	<hr/> 6457

As will be seen, the ablatives absolute are used with about the same frequency in all parts of Livy, though in the first decade the names of officers, owing to the character of the account, are used in the abl. abs. more frequently than in other parts. Under adjectives have been classed those occurrences in which an adjective is used instead of a participle with the noun.

#### FUTURE PARTICIPLE.

Livy was among the first to use the ablative absolute of the future participle, though the construction is such an innovation as we should expect to find in the Histories of Sallust if they had come down to us entire. Seneca Suas. 6, 24 quotes from Asin. Pollio, huius ergo viri tot tantisque operibus mansuris in omne aevum praedicare de ingenio atque industria superva <cuum est>. It was also used by Pompeius Trogus, if our assumption is correct that the passage in Justinus, 1, 2, 1, tot ac tantis gentibus vix

patienter uni viro, nedum feminae parituris, has been transferred from Trogus to the pages of Justinus. Livy uses it but once in the first decade, 4, 18, 6 nec Etruscis, nisi cogerentur, pugnam inituris, et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, where *inituris* may be due to the following abl. abs., as also in 28, 15, 13 prima luce oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis . . . congestis augent vallum. There is a differentiation of the construction 41, 19, 10 aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut vi expugnaturi, and 31, 36, 6 equitibus extemplo invasuris, is followed by *habiturus* which takes the place of a final clause. *Tamquam* is used with the participle 30, 10, 10 t. exituris contra Romanis; and 36, 41, 1 t. non transi-turis in Asiam Romanis; MSS readings vary 44, 11, 9 aliis parte alia in urbem inrupturis. 45, 35, 6 dederat nihil relicturis, si aviditati indulgeretur, quod in aerarium deferret, given by Koeberlin (De Participiorum Usu Liviano Capita Selecta. Erlangae 1888, p. 53) is to be taken as a dative. Cf. 3, 64, 5 concederet sortem comitiorum collegis habituris e lege potius comitia quam ex voluntate patrum; and 23, 44, 2 an dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium? Comparatively few examples of this construction are found in later writers, though Curtius, as we should expect, followed Livy in this respect. See Reisig-Haase 3, p. 765, N. 589.

#### DEPONENT VERBS.

The ablative absolute of deponent verbs is found in but a small part of the passages where it is admissible. Of 1751 nominatives of deponent and semi-deponent verbs, the larger part are intransitive—*profectus*, *ratus*, *ortus*, *moratus*, *lapsus* and the compounds of *gradior*—and of the remainder, about 400 have a dependent noun where the abl. abs. might have been used. Choosing between the two constructions, Livy generally preferred the nominative, and it is easy to parallel his ablatives with the nominative as in 1, 17, 3 regnari omnes volebant libertatis dulcedine nondum experta; and 9, 17, 5 nondum alteram fortunam expertus decessit; 23, 36, 7 perpopulato agro . . . castra locat; and 22, 20, 5 agrum circa depopulati . . . tecta . . . incenderunt. In some of the passages the abl. of the deponent is due to an ablative absolute accompaniment as in 10, 10, 8 qua pacta acceptaque; 21, 21, 2; 23, 1, 4; 9, 36, 13 caesis fugatisque iis late depopulato agro; 4, 44, 10; 4, 53, 1; 22, 60, 9; 29, 35, 4 non agris modo . . . populatis, sed urbibus etiam . . . expugnatis.

In Livy the most commonly occurring are forms of *orior*, *orto* (39) *coorto* (4); and of *morior*, *mortuo*, 1, 32, 1 m. Tullo; 3, 9, 8; 21, 19, 3 vivo eo . . . ne mortuo quidem auctore; 29, 29, 7; 38, 54, 2; 39, 9, 2 mortuis deinde tutoribus; and demortuo 9, 34, 20.

The abl. abs. of verbs of motion without dependent constructions occur with some frequency: *profecto* 22, 24, 1 p. . . ad urbem dictatore; 23, 19, 3; 23, 22, 4; 24, 9, 5; 33, 27, 11 profectis in Italiam Romanis; 36, 37, 1; 42, 18, 6; 42, 36, 8; 44, 20, 1; 44, 32, 10. *egresso* 7, 11, 7 egressis ad opem ferendam Tiburibus; 24, 19, 9; 36, 12, 5; 38, 23, 4; 43, 18, 11; 43, 22, 3. *congresso* 7, 22, 4 c. hoste. *digresso* 21, 61, 5 vixdum d. eo Hasdrubal aderat. *ingresso* 2, 63, 7 consule i. in fines. *regresso* 22, 60, 9 plerisque r. in castra sua; 44, 28, 16. *transgresso* 10, 27, 1 t. Appenino. The abl. abs. of compounds of *lapsus* is found 4, 55, 4 dilapsis ad praedam militibus; 32, 38, 7 paucis . . . elapsis; *prolapsis* 21, 36, 7; 27, 19, 10; 39, 49, 3. *Emenso* is used 43, 21, 9 itinere ingenti emenso. *Persecutis* hostibus 3, 42, 4 can be taken as dative or as an ablative. Cf. 42, 53, 8.

The abls. abs. of other verbs occur as follows: *experto* 1, 17, 3; 2, 29, 1; 28, 34, 3 and 6; 31, 29, 3. *pacto* 8, 24, 8; 10, 5, 12; 10, 10, 8; 34, 19, 8. *partito* 5, 40, 8; 21, 21, 2; 22, 27, 6; 23, 1, 4; 27, 8, 17; 28, 19, 9. *populato* 29, 35, 4; 45, 44, 1. *depopulato* 5, 12, 6; 6, 29, 4; 9, 36, 13; 10, 39, 5; 21, 51, 4; 37, 13, 9; 37, 21, 9. *perpopulato* 22, 9, 2; 23, 36, 7; 26, 9, 11; *nixis* 44, 9, 6; *tribunis ratis* 38, 25, 9; cf. 3, 36, 5.

The earliest example of an acc. dependent on the abl. abs. of a deponent verb is Sall. J. 103, 7 Sulla omnia pollicito, and the construction seems to have won for itself a permanent place. (See Archiv 1, 344). Livy uses *auso* with dependent construction, in connection with another abl. abs. 30, 25, 5 seu clam misso a Carthagine nuntio, uti fieret, seu Hasdrubale, qui classi praeerat, sine publica fraude auso facinus; and 36, 32, 9 adsentienti omni concilio nec Diophane ultra tendere auso Zacynthus Romanis traditur. With deponent verbs 7, 7, 7 conatis equitibus . . . turbare; 1, 29, 6 egressis urbem (?) Albanis; 4, 52, 4 defuncta civitate plurimorum morbis, 4, 44, 10 omnia expertis patribus; 23, 26, 2 inter se partitis copias; 34, 16, 10 regresso Tarraconem consule; 4, 53, 1 Volscis . . . capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam; 37, 12, 8 multis nobilibus secutis inter cetera auctoritatem Pausistrati; 36, 2, 6 consulibus sortitis provincias; 23, 39, 5 transgresso Voltturnum Fabio. The two following, 44,

5, 10 circumspectiendi spatium fuit vix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad insistendum nactus locum; and 32, 37, 5 quibus longiorem exorsis orationem brevis interrogatio . . . incidit sermonem, may be taken as datives or as ablatives.

## THE NEUTER OF THE PERF. PASS.

The ablative singular of a few adjectives are found (see Draeger 2, p. 808, § 585, 2 b): *dubio* 28, 17, 14; *incerto* 28, 36, 12; *sereno* 31, 12, 5; 37, 3, 3; *tranquillo* 24, 8, 13; 26, 51, 6; 31, 23, 4. The first two of these have a dependent construction, and the second, *incerto prae tenebris quid aut peterent aut vitarent*, is like the instances in which the subject is the omitted antecedent of the following pronominal statement, and with them have been placed a number given by Draeger 2, pp. 800-2. The remaining examples of the neuter singular of the perf. participle in the ablative absolute may be divided into two classes, (1) Those in which the verbal force of the participle is retained, and (2) those which have an adverbial force.

1. *audito* 28, 7, 17; 34, 19, 10. *augurato* 1, 18, 6; 5, 54, 7. *auspicato* 1, 36, 6; 3, 20, 6; 5, 14, 4; 5, 21, 1; 5, 38, 1; 5, 52, 2, 15 and 16; 6, 12, 7; 6, 41, 5, 6 and 10 (four times); 21, 63, 9; 28, 28, 11; 41, 18, 8; 45, 12, 10. *cognito* 33, 41, 5; 37, 13, 5; 44, 28, 4. *comperito* 31, 39, 4 and 7; 33, 5, 4. *debellato* 26, 21, 4; 29, 32, 3; 30, 8, 1. *edicto* 5, 19, 9; 10, 36, 7. *explorato* 23, 42, 9; 23, 43, 7; 27, 2, 12; 31, 2, 7; 32, 15, 5; 38, 18, 7. *palam facto* 22, 55, 3. *impetrato* 9, 16, 5; 9, 30, 10. *inaugurato* 1, 36, 3; 1, 44, 4; 5, 52, 2. *inauspicato* 21, 63, 7. *inexplorato* 6, 30, 4; 21, 25, 9; 22, 4, 4; 26, 3, 4; 27, 26, 6. *lato* 23, 14, 2. *litato* 5, 38, 1. *pacto* 28, 21, 5. *permisso* 6, 25, 5; 34, 31, 1; 38, 10, 2; 45, 5, 3. *submoto* 28, 27, 15; 25, 3, 18; 45, 7, 4.

2. *bipartito* 40, 32, 6. *compecto* 5, 11, 7. *consulto* 3, 38, 12; 3, 40, 8; 5, 10, 7; 9, 44, 4; 26, 19, 6. *directo* 1, 11, 9. *improviso* twenty-four times. *inopinato* 21, 52, 10; 26, 6, 9; 31, 47, 6. *necopinato* 3, 15, 4; 5, 8, 6; 7, 17, 9; 9, 16, 9. *tripertito* 4, 59, 2; 21, 7, 4; 21, 23, 1; 23, 16, 8.

Livy also uses adverbially participles with prepositions, the most important being *ex composito* (32) *ex improviso* (11) *ex insperato* (8) and *ex necopinato* 4, 27, 8; 41, 5, 10; also in Cic. N. D. 2, 48, 123. *Pro dubio* is also used adverbially, and all the examples under 2 may be considered as full fledged adverbs and not as ablatives proper.

### AGREEMENT OF SUBJECT AND PARTICIPLE.

The use of two subjects in the singular with a participle in the singular is not uncommon, especially where the nouns are differentiated expressions for a single term, or where the two are very closely related: 2, 54, 1 frumento stipendioque imperato; 24, 7, 6 clamore et tumultu audito; 30, 21, 5 auro argentoque reddito. 1, 27, 4 Mettito exercituque eius ab Alba accito; 3, 26, 10 absterso pulvere ac sudore; 3, 51, 7 auctore Acilio Numitorioque; 22, 22, 16 loco et tempore constituto; 22, 54, 9 consule exercituque amisso; 24, 7, 6 clamore et tumultu audito; 25, 18, 14 parma atque equo relicto; 29, 9, 3 multitudine simul ac tumultu crescente. The subjects stand in an adversative relation 4, 27, 1 relictoque Cn. Iulio consule . . . et L. Iulio magistro equitum. In a few instances the subjects are connected by *et* . . . *et*: 3, 56, 1 fundata deinde et potestate tribunacia et plebis libertate; 4, 61, 9 diruta et arce et urbe Artena. More noticeable than these is a succession of nouns with sing. part.: 44, 23, 5 iure iurando obsidibusque et pecunia accepta; 33, 20, 4 Zephyrio et Solis et Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio; 45, 22, 7 Demetriade et Chalcide et saltu Thermopylarum occupato.

When the subject is made up of a singular and a plural, the participle not uncommonly agrees with the singular next to it: 5, 18, 10 ducibus exercituque caeso; 5, 37, 6 antecedente fama nuntiisque; 5, 39, 10 armisque et frumento conlato; 8, 1, 5 sauciis ac parte impedimentorum relicta; 8, 20, 10 necato Vitruvio sociisque eius; 21, 45, 4 revocato Maharbale atque equitibus; 24, 18, 4 iusso deinde eo ceterisque; 27, 19, 10 armis equoque sumpto; 30, 12, 22 misso Syphace et captivis; 32, 31, 2 relicto duce castrisque; 30, 21, 11 dimisso Laelio legatisque; 33, 34, 7 Thebis Phthioticis et Pharsalo excepta; 41, 12, 7 litteris Ti. Claudii et senatus consulto accepto; 42, 34, 5 devicto Philippo Macedonibusque. Cf. 31, 47, 3 adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis. 30, 23, 2 absente consulum altero ambobusve.

One part of the subject is expressed by a relative clause in 24, 1, 9 L. Atilio praefecto praesidii quique cum eo milites Romani erant, clam in portum deductis; 27, 5, 6 exim Muttine et si quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum erant, in senatum introductis. For a similar expression see 43, 23, 6 dimissis Chaonumque et si qui alii Epirotae erant praesidiis.

## SUBJECT OMITTED.

The subject of the abl. abs. is frequently to be supplied from a following relative whose antecedent is the real subject of the participle.

*Perfect.*—This is most common with some form of *missis*: 1, 37, 1 *missis qui magnam vim lignorum . . . conicerent*; 29, 30, 11; 31, 45, 3; 32, 24, 7; 32, 26, 7; 34, 38, 1; 36, 12, 4; 37, 17, 4; 39, 34, 10; 40, 49, 5; 43, 18, 6; 44, 23, 9; 44, 35, 2; 45, 32, 8. *dimissis* (22, 7, 5 *captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis*;) 26, 28, 8; 28, 39, 5; 32, 26, 13; 33, 14, 12; 42, 31, 7 *dimissis si qui parum idonei essent*; 44, 46, 1. *inmissis* 26, 6, 11. *praemissis* 21, 23, 1; 34, 28, 2; 37, 6, 2; 42, 38, 10; 44, 4, 11. With other participles the use is more restricted: *accitis* 4, 46, 12; *collectis* 33, 11, 1; *compulsis* 32, 13, 12. *conlaudatis* 1, 52, 1; 42, 53, 8 *nihil cunctatis qui incolebant*; *datis* 31, 28, 5; 36, 29, 11; 38, 10, 2 *dato qui proficisceretur*; *deiectis* 4, 53, 9; *dissupatis* and also *occulcatis* 27, 14, 7; *relictis quos non idoneos credebatur* 29, 24, 13. Cf. 31, 46, 12 *relictis quot satis videbantur*; *submotis* 39, 44, 8 *submotis ab hasta, qui ludificati priorem locationem erant*.

Similar to these, but few in number and with a different set of verbs, are the passages in which the pronoun is neuter. The form most commonly used is *auditis*: 21, 21, 1 *auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent*; 25, 13, 9; 28, 31, 1; 29, 21, 1; 44, 30, 12. The antecedent of the pronoun is also expressed, e. g. 24, 23, 3 *qui auditis iis quae Syracusis acta erant*. Only single instances of most of the other participles occur: 45, 39, 7 *adapertis forte quae velanda erant*; 44, 19, 2 *cognitis mox quae nosci prius in rem essent*; *direptis* 41, 2, 11; *editis* 44, 45, 10; *expositis* 25, 28, 5; 33, 44, 6 (cf. 42, 21, 7 *is expositis quas in Corsica res gessisset*); *ignotis* 44, 27, 13; *omissis* 36, 43, 3; 40, 39, 5; *peractis* 37, 4, 1; 42, 44, 8; *perfectis* 31, 22, 3; *perpetratis* 24, 11, 1; *raptis* 29, 28, 6; *relatis* 42, 25, 2 *r. ordine quae vidissent quaeque audissent*; *subductis* 42, 27, 1 *s. quae possent usui essent*; and in the singular: 35, 35, 14 *imperato quod res poposcisset*; 22, 20, 6 *quod satis in usum fuit sublato*. The pronominal clause is used with a participle in a complete abl. abs., e. g. 32, 26, 10 *senatu vocato edoctoque quae indices adferrent*.

Instances in which both parts are in the singular are far less

common, and the classification under this head differs from that of Draeger, who places them with the other examples of the ablative absolute of the neuter singular. Exposito 44, 35, 13 e. quid pararet; nuntiato 25, 9, 4 et ne ibi quidem n. quo pergerent; remisso 6, 17, 6 r. id quod erupturi erant.

*Iussis* in several passages is followed by a relative clause and dependent infinitive: 36, 44 3 iussis qui sequebantur . . . proras derigere; 38, 39, 4 iussis ab Epheso sequi qui ibi relictis erant; 45, 28, 8 iussis qui arguebantur Amphipoli adesse. Cf. 32, 16, 9 Attali adventu audito venit iussis, ut quaeque ex sua classe venissent naves, Euboeam petere.

The present participle also is sometimes followed by a personal relative clause: 2, 10, 7 revocantibus qui rescindebant; 3, 24, 5; 4, 30, 10 novos ritus . . . inferentibus in domos, quibus quaestui sunt capti superstitione animi; 4, 50, 3 increpante qui vulneraverat; 5, 10, 5 invitis conferentibus qui domi remanebant; 5, 40, 2 digredientibus; 24, 18, 14 credentibus; 28, 29, 11 torpentibus; 28, 30, 4 qui eam rem pollicerentur in castra venientibus; 29, 9, 2 sequentibus quorum fuit; 30, 37, 11 adversantibus; 31, 37, 7 dantibus; 34, 39, 10 adiuvantibus; 36, 18, 5 multum a. qui. . . ingerebant; 36, 12, 5 trepidantibus. Compare with these 2, 29, 5 quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant. Similar to these is 3, 44, 9 auctoribus, qui aderant, ut sequeretur, ad tribunal Appi perventum est. The same form of expression with an adjective is found 21, 50, 7 nondum gnaris eius quae Messanae erant; and, if we interpret as an ablative absolute, with another pronominal form of expression, 10, 12, 5 nox incertis, qua data victoria esset, intervenit.

In a few passages the subject of the perf. part. in the abl. abs. is to be understood from the context, or from a construction the equivalent of a relative clause: 1, 31, 2 missis ad id visendum; 33, 11, 1; 39, 35, 4; 2, 34, 3 dimissis passim ad frumendum; 10, 29, 18 dimissis ad quaerendum corpus. In 29, 5, 8 Mago milites Gallos dimissis clam per agros eorum mercede conducere, if correct, a general subject must be supplied. In other instances it can be readily supplied from the context: 6, 29, 6 ad ea circumlatum bellum . . . captis; 7, 27, 8 quattuor milia deditorum habita; eos vinctos . . . venditis deinde magnam pecuniam in aerarium redegit; 10, 3, 5 Marsos fundit. compulsis deinde in munitas urbes . . . cepit; 22, 46, 8 sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetera . . . obliquus erat; 28, 12, 9 nec ab



domo quicquam mittebatur de Hispania retinenda sollicitis, tamquam omnia prospera in Italia essent; 29, 22, 2 quo die venerunt hospitio comiter acceptis, postero die . . . ostendit; 42, 36, 7 ita dimissis P. Licinio consuli mandatum, intra decimum diem iuberet eos Italia decedere. Similar to these are a few instances of the use of *iussis*: 2, 7, 8 ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae; 38, 10, 2 iussis proficisci Romam; 42, 53, 1 tantum iussis ad iter parare.

There are numerous examples in which the present participle stands alone, and in many instances it may be taken as a dative or an ablative according to the interpretative angle at which it is viewed: 1, 23, 10 quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur; 2, 23, 5 sciscitantibus unde ille habitus, unde deformitas . . . ait; 2, 49, 7 praetereuntibus Capitolium; 4, 60, 1; 8, 21, 1 prout cuiusque ingenium erat atrocius mitiusve suadentibus; 22, 1, 10 metentibus . . . spicas cecidisse; 25, 9, 13; 25, 41, 2; 27, 20, 4; 30, 3, 7; 31, 46, 13; 34, 33, 11; 36, 14, 12; 38, 15, 2; 38, 26, 7; 42, 16, 7. Here also may be classed experientibus 32, 2, 2; and metentibus . . . explesse 23, 12, 1 given as datives by Draeger 2, 790.

In some of these examples the subject of the participle is to be supplied from the statement outside of the clause in which it stands, as in 38, 26, 7 velut destinatum petentibus (sc. hostibus), vulnera accipiebant; 42, 16, 7 secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus (sc. amicis) neminem. Somewhat resembling these are the instances in which the real subject of the ablative absolute is not in the main, but in a subordinate statement, e.g. 7, 14, 9 instructo vani terroris apparatu . . . credere duces Gallorum; 8, 20, 7 senatus . . . consulem Plautium, dirutis Priverni muris praesidioque valido imposito, ad triumphum accersit; 39, 54, 13 Galli redditis omnibus, quae . . . habebant, Italia excesserunt (sc. legati); 45, 26, 10 simili pertinacia Cephalonis principis clausum Tecmonem ipso interfecto . . . recepit. In other passages the abl. abs. is used with an impersonal verb, e.g. 5, 25, 7 adhibito Camillo visum; 5, 31, 1 delenita plebe certatum est; 5, 54, 7 capite humano invento responsum est.

#### SUBJECT OF MAIN STATEMENT INCLUDED.

The arrangement of the subject of the main clause within the abl. abs. is comparatively infrequent: 1, 7, 11 dextra Hercules data; (1, 29, 4 quibus quisque poterat elatis); 1, 39, 2 sedato eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum; 4, 44, 10; 9, 14, 2 ea legatione

Papirius audita; 21, 31, 9 sedatis Hannibal certaminibus; 21, 45 9; 21, 48, 5; 22, 17, 7; 24, 25, 3 clausis Adranodorus Insulae portis; 29, 2, 2; 32, 24, 4 relictis suis quisque stationibus; 33, 3, 4 emeritis quidam stipendiis; 33, 9, 11 omissis plerique armis; 36, 7, 7 hoc ego adiuncto; 45, 10, 2. The present participle is used 38, 47, 7 accusantibus meis ipse legatis. See Draeger 2, p. 792; Reisig-Haase 3, p. 771, N. 591.

Similar to these are the passages in which the subject of the main verb is arranged between two ablatives absolute, though it may not stand in the same relation to them both: 1, 52, 1 revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius conlaudatisque qui, though this may be a dative depending on ita verba fecit 1, 58, 1 paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino; 4, 49, 7; 7, 7, 8; 7, 32, 1; 7, 37, 1; 7, 41, 3; 8, 19, 13; 8, 39, 3 deleto prope equitatu hostium M. Fabius circumductis paulum alis; 32, 24, 6; 33, 20, 10; 42, 55, 5. The ablative absolute itself may be placed between two clauses to which it stands in the same relation, e. g. 8, 30, 7 auctores habeo bis cum hoste signa conlata dictatore absente, bis rem egregie gestam.

#### SEPARATION OF PARTS.

As shown by Bombe, *De Abl. Abs. ap. antiquissimos Rom. scriptores usu*, p. 31 seqq., in the earliest writers the parts of the abl. abs. are rarely separated. In Lucretius (Bombe p. 35; Holtze p. 13) separation is not uncommon, though but rarely more than one word intervenes as if the original solidarity of the abl. abs. were kept in view. It is along this line of the separation of the parts that there came a greater freedom in the use of the construction.

*Nepos.*—In Nepos about 18% of the example have the parts separated, in nearly all instances by a single word—noun, adverb, prepositional phrase—nominal modifiers rarely occurring, e. g. Han. 10, 1 sic conservatis suis rebus omnibus; Att. 22, 4 comitantibus omnibus bonis. When there is separation by two words, counting as one prepositional phrases, one of them is an adjective: Milt. 2, 4 Chersoneso tali modo constituta; Lys. 2, 1 potestate in omnibus urbibus constituta; Ham. 3, 1 rebus his ex sententia peractis; an adverb: Alc. 4, 7 praesidio ibi perpetuo posito; Han. 6, 2 exhaustis iam patriae facultatibus; or two accusatives: Pelop. 3, 3 vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato. Separation by three

words is uncommon: Iph. 3, 3 placatis in se suorum civium animis; Chabrias 1, 2 fugatis iam ab eo conducticiis catervis. The subject is included in Paus. 5, 1 his rebus ephori cognitis; Dion. 2, 5 hoc aeger sumpto sopitus, diem obiit supremum; Han. 7, 4 hoc responso Carthaginienses cognito Hannibalem et Magonem revocarunt. Cf. Datam. 5, 5 talibus ille litteris cognitis.

*Sallust.*—In the Catiline the parts of the ablative absolute are separated in about 10% of the examples, and there appears a form not in Nepos, separation by a clause, 43, 1 paratis, ut videbatur, magnis copiis, while others are separated by genitive or adverb. In the Jugurtha 20% have intervening words. Relative clauses are relatively common in this position: 72, 1 Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis; 73, 3 et Romae plebes litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis; 84, 5 omnibus, quae postulaverat, decretis; 104, 1 confecto quod intenderat negotio. Cf. Livy 23, 31, 8 confecto quod mandatum est negotio.

In a dozen passages more than one word intervenes: 18, 3 multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus; 51, 3 omnibus labore et aestu languidis. In other instances the words are so closely connected that we should not expect them to be separated: 19, 1 aliis novarum rerum avidis; 21, 2 and 40, 4 etiam tum; 29, 2 plerisque ex factione eius corruptis; 60, 6 illis studio suorum adstrictis; 63, 4 plerisque faciem eius ignorantibus; 91, 2 castris levi munimento positis; 36, 4 Albinus Aulo fratre in castris propraetore relicto Romam decessit; 102, 13 missis antea Romam legatis. In addition to 18, 3, quoted above, the subject is included 105, 1 quis rebus Bocchus cognitis, though here the order of words is not the same in all editions.

In the orations and epistles of the Histories of Sallust, separation is noticeable only in the Ep. Mithridatis. The spurious works present nothing of importance in this respect, excepting In Sall. 5, 14 quo hic nondum mortuo; and Ep. Caes. 3, 4 tamquam urbe capta, which has nothing similar in Sall. excepting Jug. 100, 3 quasi nullo imposito.

*Caesar.*—In the B. G. the parts of the abl. abs. are separated in about one-fourth of the instances, and in but a small number of these do more than two words intervene. Sometimes it is a single adverb, e. g. 3, 3, 1 concilio celeriter advocato; 5, 11, 7 castris egregie munitis; 7, 15, 6 dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente. Adjectives less frequently intervene: 7, 46, 3 spatio

*vacuo relicto*; 7, 77, 1 *consumpto omni frumento*. The separation is most commonly by a single genitive: 1, 42, 1 *cognito Caesaris adventu*; 5, 6, 4 *omni spe impetrandi adempta*; 7, 75, 1 *concilio principum indicto*; or by a prepositional phrase: 3, 23, 8 *hac re ad consilium delata*; 5, 1, 9 *iis ad diem adductis*; 6, 31, 2 *dimissis per agros nuntiis*; or by a phrase and dependent genitive: 3, 22, 4 *clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato*; 6, 44, 1 *concilio in eum locum Galliae indicto*; 7, 80, 1 *omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum disposito*. Occasionally another required case is used instead of the genitive: 6, 3, 2 *praeda militibus concessa*; 6, 44, 3 *frumento exercitui proviso*; 7, 68, 2; 7, 67, 1 *omnibus iure iurando adactis*; 7, 81, 5 *prospectu tenebris adempto*; 3, 29, 2 *magno spatio paucis diebus confecto*. In a few instances a compact group of three words intervene: 4, 4, 5 *itinere una nocte equitatu confecto*; 1, 25, 3 *scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis*; 5, 51, 1 *nostris vero etiam de vallo deductis*; 7, 6, 1 *his rebus in Italiam Caesari nuntiatis*; 4, 19, 4; 4, 32, 1 *legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa*; 7, 41, 1 *tribus horis [noctis] exercitui ad quietem datis*. Exclusive of those containing an explanatory clause, in but few instances are the parts more widely separated than in the examples just quoted: 7, 73, 2 *truncis arborum admodum firmis ramis abscisis*; 7, 37, 6 *adulescentibus et oratione magistratus et praemio deductis*; 5, 8, 1 *Labieno in continente cum tribus legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto*.

Separation by clauses alone, or in connection with other words, is fairly common: 1, 37, 5 *re frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata*; 3, 15, 1 *deiectis, ut diximus, antennis*; 2, 33, 2 *inito, ut intellectum est, consilio*; 6, 3, 4 *concilio Galliae primo vere, uti instituerat, indicto*. Relative clauses occur more frequently: 2, 7, 3 *aedificiis, quos adire poterant, incensis*; 2, 8, 5 *duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis*; 2, 29, 4; 6, 30, 2 *omni militari instrumento, quod circum habebat, erepto*; 7, 57, 1; 2, 32, 4; 5, 3, 4 *iis qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant, in silvam Arduennam abditis*.

The insertion of the subject of the principal clause between the parts of the ablative absolute is not of frequent occurrence: 1, 44, 10 *debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia*; 2, 11, 2; 5, 49, 4; 6, 9, 8; 6, 17, 5; 7, 1, 4 *indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis*.

In some instances two participles are used with one subject, and

the absolute construction is extended to a considerable length by placing the second participle at some distance from the first: 4, 17, 7 quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem revinctis; 5, 21, 1 Trinobantibus defensis atque omni militum iniuria prohibitis. More common is the separation from the absolute noun of a modifying adjective: 3, 6, 3 sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis; 5, 4, 1 omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis; 5, 30, 1 hac in utramque partem disputatione habita; 6, 3, 2 magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto; 6, 9, 5 firmo in Treveris ad pontem praesidio relicto; 6, 40, 6; 7, 36, 1; 7, 50, 4; 7, 56, 4; 7, 66, 4 maioribus enim coactis copiis.

In the *Bellum Civile* about one-third of the instances are divided, adverbs intervening a little more frequently than in the B. G., but in other respects the two works are the same. Book VIII of the B. G., and the B. Al. have an especially large number of adverbs intervening, and in the latter work about 40% of the examples are divided. The B. Af. does not separate the parts quite so freely, while the B. H. varies little from the earlier usage of an undivided ablative absolute.

*Livy*.—Of 6457 ablatives absolute noticed in Livy one-third have the parts separated. This is especially frequent at the beginning of clauses when continuative particles and adverbs are commonly included. Some of these will be given with a single citation for each: *enim* 32, 31, 3; *igitur* 23, 26, 7; *ita* 8, 20, 10; *itaque* 8, 30, 11. *deinde* 6, 8, 1; *iam* 3, 40, 8; *inde* 7, 7, 2; *nondum* 1, 17, 3; *prius* 22, 6, 4; *postremo* 22, 49, 2; *saepe* 3, 12, 4; *simul* 10, 22, 3; *statim* 28, 7, 9;  *tandem* 2, 57, 2. *alibi* 5, 1, 1; *ibi* 10, 36, 18; *nusquam* 3, 64, 9; *passim* 21, 57, 5; *procul* 40, 8, 5; *haud p.* 23, 43, 6; *undique* 2, 11, 1; *utrimque* 7, 26, 7. *etiam* 25, 31, 10; *quidem* 28, 5, 15; *quoque* 24, 30, 1. *frustra* 3, 26, 1; *haudquam* 8, 12, 11; *nequiquam* 7, 12, 6. *feliciter* 10, 37, 8; *foede* 22, 3, 1; *mature* 22, 32, 1; *raptim* 9, 38, 2; *rile* 22, 10, 8; *salubriter* 3, 59, 1; *temere* 10, 40, 13.

The genitive is the case most frequently included within the abl. abs., though there is no hesitation in so placing other forms: 1, 37, 5 captivis Romam missis; 10, 25, 11 praepositoque castris L. Scipione; 7, 5, 5 omnibus abire iussis; 6, 5, 1 civitate aedificando occupata. When there are more words than one placed between the parts they may be any of the combinations of modifiers that can be grouped around the subject and the participle, e. g. 23, 30, 3 absumptis enim frugum alimentis; 3, 3, 1

relicto itaque castris praesidio; 5, 40, 10 salvo etiam tum discrimine; 3, 48, 6 multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente; 36, 3, 13 omnibus iam satis comparatis; 7, 24, 3 humero matari prope traiecto; 5, 7, 5 consilio prius inter se habito; 5, 8, 2 proditis repente portarum custodibus; 5, 49, 8 tribunis rem intentius agentibus; 9, 45, 2 oratione ultro citro habita; 5, 13, 1 neglectis die festo custodiis urbis; 2, 15, 7 spe omni reditus incisa; 1, 19, 4 positis externorum periculorum curis; 1, 33, 4 bello Latino Medulliam compulso; 1, 18, 8 dextra in caput Numae imposita; 5, 47, 7 vocatis classico ad concilium militibus; 6, 4, 3 pretio pro auro matronis persoluto; 3, 4, 5 principibus coloniae Romam excitis; 5, 25, 8 coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis; 8, 9, 5 manu subter togam ad mentum exserta; 1, 19, 3 pace terra marique parta; 32, 26, 10 quibus domi custodiri iussis.

Other modifiers are freely introduced, and in this way the participle is frequently far removed from its noun, just as though it were a finite form of the verb with its subject, e. g. 1, 38, 2 paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis; 7, 11, 9 consulibus in senatu et apud populum magnifice conlaudatis; 29, 15, 1 dempto iam tandem deum benignitate metu; 10, 1, 3 quaestione ab consulibus ex senatus consulto habita; 26, 25, 11 senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam Epirum missis; 25, 39, 9 concursu ex totis castris ad primum clamorem et tumultum facto. Separation by clauses is worthy of especial notice: 29, 32, 7 quibusdam, ut occurrerent, per obliqua tendentibus; 22, 40, 8 frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto; 29, 24, 2, legatis propere, priusquam res vulgaretur, remissis; 40, 33, 4 superatis, ubi primum remiserunt imbres, amnibus; 42, 66, 7 iumentis, cum stimularentur, in turba saevientibus; 4, 48, 10 probantibus cunctis et ante omnes Q. Servilio Prisco, quod non degenerasset ab stirpe Claudia, conlaudante. When the relative clause is placed between the parts it seems to make no difference whether the antecedent precedes or follows: 10, 43, 6 loco, quem magis timuerant, victo; 32, 24, 6 relicto, quem conferti tuebantur, loco; 34, 43, 9 dimissis, quos senatus censuisset, exercitibus; 31, 26, 4; 36, 8, 5 ossibus, quae passim strata erant, coacervatis; 3, 52, 3 nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante; 21, 28, 9 resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis. At times there is inserted a parenthetic statement, e. g. 1, 47, 10; 2, 6, 1, his, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis; 8, 9, 2; 10, 1, 5 ore—nam pervius erat—invento; 31, 32, 1 pecunia, ut fama est, ab rege accepta; 37, 14, 5 sacrificio, ut adsolet, rite facto.

For convenience some of the passages in which the parts are most widely separated may be arranged under subheads according to the part of the abl. abs. which the included words modify.

*Subject and Participle.*—1, 7, 14 donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio; 4, 32, 4 Larte Tolumnio rege Veientium in conspectu duorum exercituum occiso; 22, 20, 7 ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata; 28, 5, 15 segetibus tamen, quae iam prope maturitatem erant, maxime in sinu Aenianum evastatis; 30, 10, 4 rostratis, quae praesidio aliis esse poterant, in postremam aciem receptis; 31, 16, 2 Philocle quodam ex praefectis suis cum duobus milibus peditum, equitibus ducentis ad populandos Atheniensium agros misso.

*Subject.*—1, 59, 11 his atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis; 7, 26, 14 aqua etiam praeter cetera necessaria usui deficiente; 8, 12, 6 ibi Publilio, cuius ductu auspicioque res gestae erant, in deditionem accipiente; 31, 2, 8; 23, 48, 2 retento Nolae necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio; 6, 35, 6 nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento; 39, 17, 4 litteris hospitem de senatus consulto et contione et edicto consulum acceptis; 43, 19, 2 ibi Romanis—quattuor milia autem hominum erant—praeter principes in custodiam civitatum divisis. However, the most noticeable modifiers of the subject are the relative clauses, and the instances of the widest separation are due to these as in the first two examples quoted.

*Participle.*—4, 50, 6 tribunis militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decernentibus; 4, 18, 3 iam militibus castra urbemque se oppugnaturus frementibus; 22, 3, 8 omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus; 25, 17, 5 ipso Hannibale omni rerum verborumque honore exequias celebrante; 4, 12, 6 regno prope per largitionis dulcedinem in cervices accepto; 23, 46, 9; 4, 13, 2 frumento namque ex Etruria privata pecunia per hospitem clientiumque ministeria coempto; 26, 2, 1 imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato; 27, 5, 7 rogatione ab tribuno plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata; 30, 8, 2 praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis; 31, 26, 2 parte militum ad praedandum passim per agros dimissa; 37, 35, 2 legationibus ultro citroque nequiquam de pace missis; 37, 26, 5 Polyxenida cum classe ad

temptandum omni modo certaminis fortunam misso; 38, 16, 6 Macedonibus per speciem legationis ab Antipatro ad speculandum missis; 38, 37, 11 L. Manlio fratre cum quattuor milibus militum Oroanda ad reliquum pecuniae ex eo, quod pepigerant, exigendum misso; 27, 5, 1 M. Valerio Messalla praefecto classis cum parte navium in Africam praedatum simul speculatumque, quae populus Carthaginiensis ageret pararetque, misso.

*Subordinate Word.*—An explanation is sometimes added of some word that is included: 21, 12, 1 Maharbale Himilconis filio—eum praefecerat Hannibal—ita impigre rem agente; 21, 32, 11 die deinde simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto; 27, 32, 4 contracto iam inter Aetolos et Tralles—Illyriorum id est genus—certamine; 25, 9, 1 decem milibus peditum atque equitum, quos in expeditionem velocitate corporum ac levitate armorum aptissimos esse ratos est, electis; 27, 10, 11 cetera expedientibus, quae ad bellum opus erant, consulibus aurum . . . promi placuit; 31, 15, 8 omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur, in societatem acceptis; 37, 37, 2 castrisque in campo, qui est subiectus montibus, positis; 42, 51, 2; 44, 30, 10; 37, 51, 7 dilectibus intra paucos dies—neque enim multi milites legendi erant—perfectis; 38, 31, 5 triginta hominibus ex factione, cum qua consiliorum aliqua societas Philopoemeni atque exulibus erat, interfectis; 38, 39, 6; 40, 28, 3 clamore pariter omnium qui in castris erant, calorum quoque et lixarum, sublato.

As a good example of expansion of all parts will be given 6, 22 1 quattuor collegis, Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium Q. Servilio C. Sulpicio L. Aemilio quartum, ad praesidium urbis, et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur—omnia enim inde suspecta erant—relictis.

Here also may be given a few examples of extended ablatives absolute in which the absolute group is of considerable length: 4, 48, 10; 6, 35, 10 eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem habuit; cf. 26, 22, 12 plenis iam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello, et, si utique novum aliquem adversus Poenos consulem creari vellent, M. Valerio Laevino, in which *plenis* is abl. agreeing with the preceding *de tribus . . . duobus*.



## V.—EARLY PARALLELISMS IN ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* 5 and 23, gives a survey of early Greek historiography, in which he speaks of the logographers as (5) *ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσφύζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνήμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνώσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτ' ἀφαιροῦντες* . . . *λέξιν* . . . *ἐπιτηδεύσαντες* . . . *τὴν σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύνταμον καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῇ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσιν τεχνικὴν.* ὁ δ' Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς Ἡρόδοτος, he continues, . . . *τὴν τε πραγματικὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐξήνεγκε καὶ λαμπρότερον* . . . *καὶ τῇ λέξει προσσπέδωκε τὰς παραλειφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφῶν ἀρετάς.* (23) *οὗτος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποιικίαν, μακρῷ δὴ τινα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλετο.*

This passage exhibits a number of striking similarities, both in matter and phraseology, to the conversation ascribed by Cicero, *De Oratore* II 51–54, to Antonius and Catulus: “Age vero,” inquit Antonius, ‘qualis oratoris et quanti hominis in dicendo putas esse historiam scribere?’ ‘Si ut Graeci scripserunt, summi,’ inquit Catulus; ‘si ut nostri, nihil opus est oratore; satis est non esse mendacem.’ ‘Atqui, ne nostros contemnas,’ inquit Antonius, ‘Graeci quoque ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio, cuius rei memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus efferebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi: ii qui etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem (οἷας παρέλαβον) scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis (μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσιν τεχνικὴν) monumenta (μνήμαι) solum (μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτ' ἀφαιροῦντες) temporum hominum locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes Hellanicus Acusilas fuit aliique permulti, talis noster Cato et Pictor

et Piso, qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornetur oratio—modo enim huc ista sunt importata—et, dum intellegatur quid dicant (σαφή), unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem (σύντομον). Paulum se erexit (ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐξήνεγκε) et addidit (προσαπέδωκε) maiorem historiae sonum vocis vir optimus Crassi familiaris Antipater. Ceteri non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.' 'Est,' inquit Catulus, 'ut dicis. Sed iste ipse Caelius neque distinxit historiam varietate<sup>1</sup> colorum (κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλίαν) neque verborum collocatione (κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων) et tractu orationis (κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν) leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus, sed ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut potuit dolavit; vicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores (τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερεβάλετο).'"

In the above conversation, Cicero seems partly to accept, partly to criticise a comparison of the earliest Latin historians to the Greek logographers, and of Caelius Antipater, the first Roman *exornator rerum*, to Herodotus, *qui princeps genus hoc ornavit* (De Or. II 55). Antonius is appropriately made an apologist for the Roman side, while Catulus denies that Caelius has paralleled the achievements of Herodotus in the two divisions of λέξις and the use of imagery (περὶ Θουκ. 22).

The resemblances in phraseology indicate that the original of the sketch in Dionysius was used as a model by some Roman literary critic prior to the time of composition of the De Oratore. It seems altogether likely that the body of criticism extant in Cicero's time, which made Ennius a Homer, Afranius a Menander, and Plautus an Epicharmus, and manufactured an analogue for the old Attic comedy, also carried parallelism with Greek literature into the field of historical composition. Cicero, admitting the undeveloped state of Roman historiography, protests against the exaggerated rank which had been given to Caelius. The Latin authority used by Cicero may also have contained a characterization of Greek historians, which was a model for the estimate of them given by Antonius directly following the passage quoted above.

Cicero has, in De Legibus I 5-7, a personal motive for disparaging the Roman historians, for his plan, which Atticus here urges him to fulfil, is to write himself a history which shall be

<sup>1</sup> If the grouping of these passages from Dionysius and Cicero be right, it affords evidence for the correctness of Jacobs' emendation of *colorum* (54) in place of the MS reading *locorum*.

worthy of comparison with the productions of the Greeks. In surveying the field of historical composition, he again uses the two-fold classification employed in the *De Oratore*, making Atticus, in language which recalls the earlier criticism, say of Caelius, who begins the new epoch: "Antipater paulo inflavit vehementius habuitque vires agrestis ille quidem atque horridas, sine nitore ac palaestra, sed tamen admonere reliquos potuit ut adcuratius scriberent." The predecessors of Caelius are grouped as *exiles scriptores*, while Sisenna<sup>1</sup> is recognized as the best Roman historian up to that time, and compared to Clitarchus, which was perhaps another current literary parallelism.

In the *Brutus*, 63 and 66, Cicero makes use of a comparison, for which the Atticists<sup>2</sup> of his time seem to be responsible, of Cato to Lysias, Philistus, and Thucydides. Later in the work (293, 294), this estimate is criticised and corrected by Atticus, who calls it an example of Socratic irony. It seems probable that Cicero is here dealing with another current literary parallelism, which he criticises through a person of the dialogue, as in the *De Oratore* and *De Legibus*.

Cicero, in his own opinion and in that of his friends, was the man to write an appropriate history of Rome. This judgment is stated by Nepos<sup>3</sup> in *libro de historicis Latinis*, fr. 7: "Non ignorare debes unum hoc genus Latinarum litterarum adhuc non modo non respondere Graeciae, sed omnino rude atque incohatum morte Ciceronis relictum. ille enim fuit unus qui potuerit et etiam debuerit historiam digna voce pronuntiare, quippe qui oratoriam eloquentiam rudem a maioribus acceptam perpoliverit, philosophiam ante eum incomptam Latinam sua conformavit oratione. ex quo dubito interitu eius utrum res publica an historia magis doleat."

From the preceding discussion, the conclusion seems to follow that there existed in Cicero's time a body of early literary criticism which in historiography compared Roman writers to individual Greek writers—Caelius to Herodotus and the predecessors of Caelius to the Greek logographers, Cato to Thucydides, and Sisenna to Clitarchus. This would give the Romans representatives in the three departments of σύνθεσις—ἀνθηρά, ἀνθηρά, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Brutus*, 228.

<sup>2</sup> Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* I 258-259.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Atticus in *De Legibus* I 5-7.

κοινή. The early critics seem to have considered Latin literature in all its branches as developed and complete. Cicero and his friends, while admitting that in historiography these comparisons are to some extent justifiable, criticise and limit them, and call attention to the rudimentary condition of Roman literature in this department.

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## NOTES.

### TENNYSONIANA.

The familiar line in Tennyson 'Ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington,'

"O good gray head which all men knew,"

may have been suggested by Claudian, *De Bello Gothico*, 459-60. This is the vivid passage which describes the return of Claudian's hero to Rome after the battle of Pollentia, just when the Romans were expecting the arrival of the dreaded Alaric. It was quoted by Disraeli, Nov. 15, 1852, in his speech in moving a resolution thanking the Queen for having ordered a public funeral for the Duke of Wellington: "Who, indeed, can ever forget that venerable and classic head, ripe with time and radiant as it were with glory?"

'Stilichonis apex et cognita fulsit  
Canities' "

('Hansard', Third Series, vol. cxxiii, col. 153). Disraeli's oration achieved an immediate notoriety because of certain striking resemblances to an article published twenty-three years earlier by the French historian Thiers. These were gleefully set forth next morning in the London 'Globe.' It is probable that Tennyson read the speech which was so much discussed, and so bitterly criticized, and, whether consciously or not, made use of the Latin quotation for the ode on which he was then engaged. Indeed, his indebtedness is apparently not confined to the Latin phrase: Disraeli also states that Wellington "never lost a single gun." Perhaps I should add that Disraeli's biographer seems to include the quotation from Claudian among the good things which were borrowed from the French article (T. E. Kebbel, 'Life of Lord Beaconsfield,' p. 88). But he is mistaken. The French article was a review of the 'Mémoires' of Marshal St. Cyr, published in the *Revue Française* for November, 1829. It was for some time falsely ascribed to Armand Carrel, and was even printed in *Littérature*

and Paulin's edition of Carrel's works (Paris, 1859, vol. v, pp. 132-74). It seems to contain no mention either of Claudian or of any one's "cognita canities."

Tennyson's poem 'The Death of Oenone' was dedicated to Professor Jowett as:

" a Grecian tale re-told,  
Which, cast in later Grecian mould,  
Quintus Calaber  
Somewhat lazily handled of old."

The point of the phrase "somewhat lazily handled" is not very obvious; the judgment of Sainte-Beuve seems fairer: "*L'Épisode d'Oenone s'élève et se détache par une beauté de premier ordre; cette peinture vaudrait seule à l'auteur un rang incontestable parmi les vrais poètes.*" Moreover, the Greek poem has supplied, or suggested, almost all the details of the English story—a fact which is worth remembering in view of Tennyson's own opinion that his new 'Oenone' was "even more strictly classical in form and language than the old" (Mém. ii, 386). The author of the Mém. is sadly wrong when he calls 'The Death of Oenone' one of 'those classical subjects from mythology and legend, which had been before but imperfectly treated, or of which the stories were slight' (ii. 13). Mr. Stopford Brooke condemns as unclassical two features of the poem which come directly from the Greek (Tennyson: *His Art and Relation to Modern Life*, p. 142). He thinks that Tennyson has changed the ancient story—changed it for the worse: "It is too improbable that Paris should walk up Ida to call for Oenone, considering where and how he was wounded; or stagger down the hill from her. If the art of the piece were made better by this change in the tale, this criticism would be naught; but it is not made better, and the improbability is impossibility." And he protests against calling the union between Paris and the nymph Oenone a marriage; it was not a marriage, he insists, nor anything that resembled it. "Nor do I understand the husband and wife and widow business, unless it be that Tennyson desired to express over again his devotion to the eternity and sanctity of the marriage relation. This is wholly out of place in the story," etc. But in both of these matters, Tennyson is simply following his Greek model: see Quintus, X. 264, 332-3, 265, 414, 286, 468, etc. Even so a good scholar as Professor Arthur Palmer forgot that the English poem is merely

"a Grecian tale re-told," and wrote in his commentary on Ovid, *Her. v.* 156, that Tennyson "defrauds Evadne of her unique place in mythology by making Oenone leap on to the burning pyre of Paris," compare Quintus, *X.* 466 ff.:

ἀλλὰ καλυψαμένη περὶ φάρει καλὰ πρόσωπα  
αἴψα πυρῇ ἐνέπαλτο· γόνυ δ' ἄρα πουλὺν ὄρινε·  
καίετο δ' ἀμφὶ πόσει.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

#### ΚΑΙΤΟΙ WITH THE PARTICIPLE.

Two American scholars, Morgan in his *Eight Orations of Lysias*, Boston, 1897, and Smyth in his *Greek Melic Poets*, London, 1900, have recently accepted as a rarity the construction of *καίτοι* with the participle, the doctrine going back to Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* § 861, cf. also Kuehner, 644 and Krueger 56. 13. 2. Morgan at *Lysias XXXI* 34 attempts, in his appendix, the defense of the construction on the ground of its "naturalness." Its origin of course is the analogical influence of *καίπερ* with the participle—a force that resulted conversely in the use of *καίπερ* with the finite verb—but the evidence brought for the operation of this force in classic times proves on examination insufficient.

The passages usually cited are: Simonides, ap. Plato, *Prot.* 339 C; Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 159; *Lysias*, *XXXI* 34; Plato, *Rep.* VI 511 D; *Axioch.* 364 B. To these Morgan adds Xenophon, *Mem.* I 7. 2. Of these six passages, one is in a spurious dialogue of Plato's. Two more in reality are not examples of the construction: In the passage from Xenophon, *καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν δαπανῶν, μηδὲν δ' ὠφελοῦμενος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κακοδοξῶν πῶς οὐκ ἐπιπόνως τε καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς καὶ καταγελάστως βιώσεται, καίτοι* introduces the question beginning with *πῶς* and the participles are conditional as the negative shows, cf. *Antiphon*, VI 32 for the order of the words. In the example from Simonides we have simply a case of the omission of the copula, cf. Gildersleeve, *SCG.* § 83, for the general range of this usage, and note that such omissions are very frequent in this poem. Examples of the omission of the copula when the predicate is a participle are, to be sure, not very plentiful. From Homer are cited *Ω* 42 which is rather an anacoluthon, and *λ* 606 ff. The participle in the latter example

however *ἐοικώς* is quite thoroughly adjectivized and examples with it recur: Theognis, 279; Timocreon, 2. 3; Pindar, Pyth. I 34 (Christ); Frag. 81. Other examples from lyric poets are: Solon, 13. 52 (unless a distich has fallen out); Theognis, 227 (the version in Solon 13. 71, however contains a copula *καίται*); Anacreon, 21, 9-11 (better than to supply *ῆι* from preceding stanza); Alkaios, 15. 5; and especially Archilochus, 2. 1, *Ἐν δορὶ μὲν μοι μάζα μαγαγμένη* which are a sufficient warrant for the construction proposed.

Of the three passages that remain, Blaydes has emended the one from Aristophanes: *καίτοι τά γ' ἄλλ' εἶπας σὺ δεξιώτατα*. The emendation has been adopted by von Velsen and is undoubtedly to be preferred to the *εἰποῦσα* of the Manuscripts. In the passage from Lysias *Ἰκανά μοι νομίζω εἰρῆσθαι, καίτοι πολλά γε παραλείπων* Frohberger simply changes *καίτοι* to *καίπερ*. This however is impossible, as it is contrary to the usage, not only of Lysias, but of all the early orators. Cf. my dissertation, *The Participle in Hesiod*, Reprint from *The Catholic University Bulletin*, III p. 431 n.<sup>1</sup> The correction can also be accomplished with less violence to the tradition by reading *παραλείπω*. Itacism would yield *παραλίπω* which would then be corrected (!) to *παραλιπών* in accordance with the tendency of the scribes to introduce this familiar construction, cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 43 where, though the original text was clear, *καίτοι δάκνω[ν] γ' ἑμαυτὸν* has got into two manuscripts. Demosthenes XVIII 110 illustrates the use of the present and clinches the matter: *ἰκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλώσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε παραλείπω κτλ.* The passage in the Republic does not seem to be questioned by any of the editors, but in the light of the above facts it cannot be allowed to stand. The words *καίτοι νοητῶν ὄντων μετὰ ἀρχῆς* could easily be dispensed with and it may be that the false syntax points to their being a gloss; if not, it is necessary to change *καίτοι* to *καίπερ*.

For the sake of completeness it may be mentioned that in Herodotus VIII 53, Abicht and Stein read *καίτοι περ* with the α-family, Holder, van Herwerden and Kallenberg *καίπερ* with the β-family. This course seems to be preferable as affording the simplest explanation of the variant: *καίτοι* was first written, because familiar to the scribe, and then corrected, the correction however was taken for an addition and both were copied. The mistake

<sup>1</sup> *καίπερ* is not used by Lysias, 2. 6; 6. 11 belongs to Pseudo-Lysias.



may have been made either in *a* or in the archetype itself. Even if the reading of the *a*-family is preferred it does not strengthen the case for *καίτοι* with the participle, as it must be explained with Abicht as *καίπερ* strengthened by the addition of *τοί* and it would be better to write *καί τοί περ*. Such a division of *καί . . . περ* would be very improbable in a prose author.

The construction of *καίτοι* with the participle is then entirely post-classic.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon.** By CONSTANCE PESSELS, Ph. D., Instructor in English in the University of Texas. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1896. Pp. 83.

**The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon.** By MORGAN CAL-LAWAY, Jr., Professor of English in the University of Texas. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 141-360. Baltimore, 1901.

During the eight years since the publication of the first part of Dr. J. E. Wülfing's exhaustive work on the Syntax of Alfred, the field of Old English syntax has attracted fewer investigators than for several years previously. On this side of the Atlantic there have appeared but three additions to the list of monographs in my "Bibliographical Guide" (1895); of these, two are concerned with the same general topic as the earliest American dissertation in the field—the Old English participle.

The first, Dr. Pessels' treatise on "The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon," bears the imprint of Trübner, of Strassburg; but, when one discovers that a typical page (28) contains eleven obvious errors in printing, and that the word "progressive" is spelled somewhat indifferently with one *s* and with two, one cannot suppress the thought that if the author had not time for the requisite proof-reading, he should have employed a printer nearer home, and one whose native language was English.

Unfortunately, this carelessness is not confined to the printing of the book; it is characteristic. The author's work is conceived on sufficiently broad lines; his collections may fairly claim to be exhaustive; but one feels at every turn that his whole heart has not been in his work, and that details of every sort have been slighted. Thus (p. 18, foot), he makes *indicative* (in the abbreviation *ind.*) and *deponent* (*dep.*) correlative terms. Again, his arithmetic is faulty: on p. 67, he makes  $\frac{1}{11}$  only  $3\%$  (instead of  $15\%$ ) greater than  $\frac{1}{17}$ . In fact, one need not go further than the title-page: the word "periphrastic" applies equally to all compound tenses; but the author uses it in a restricted sense, for the forms made up of the verb *to be* with present participles, without deeming it at all necessary to give notice of the fact.

To proceed to matters of more importance, the constitution of his quotations is extremely careless; they are often so short as

to be of no practical value for the illustration of his statements. No device, other than three tables—only the first of which can be regarded as of conclusive value—, has been introduced for making the work easy of comprehension at a glance. The work throughout is monotonous and unrelieved; until the reader is driven to suspect that the lack of perspective in the book is but the reflection of a similar lack in the author's mind.

Dr. Pessels' results, so far as they concern the verb-*forms* under survey, are open to little objection; he derives these from the compound tenses of Latin, and properly lays much stress on the influence of the Latin deponent verbs. But in the treatment of the *functions* of these forms, the author is fairly beyond his depth. Nothing shows this more clearly than a strange and apparently quite unconscious inexactness in the use of terms, which greatly detracts from the value and authority of his statements. He nowhere makes a sharp discrimination—nor, so far as can be seen, does he even realize that discrimination is desirable—between progressive and durative uses of the past tense, nor is he able to see any essential difference between “was going” and “used to go”; yet, in his final chapter, he repeatedly uses the term “progressive” as if it were, to him and to his readers, a word of absolutely definite meaning. It may well be so to his readers; but the source of their information will not have been this monograph.

Again, the author has apparently quite failed to realize that the exact shade of meaning expressed by a given verb cannot be determined either by guess-work or by lottery. In his Introduction, after reviewing the utterances of past grammarians upon the subject in hand, he proposes to “record” all the occurrences of periphrastic tenses in Old English, and so to decide where doctors have disagreed. A record may perhaps be sufficient for establishing the origin of verb-*forms*—these frequently demand the consideration of nothing outside themselves; thus far Pessels is successful. But the study of verbal functions is a matter of much greater complexity. Here the whole sentence must be included in the view. It is true that the verb is one of the most elementary components of the sentence, but it is no less true that the reasons for the employment of a given verb-form, and no other—and these reasons are the goal of Dr. Pessels' quest—can be accurately determined only after all the other components which enter into the expression of the complete idea have been duly weighed. For example, nothing would be of so great assistance in determining the presence of “progressive” force in a given verb, or its absence from it, as to know whether it occurs in a principal or a secondary clause, and the relation of the tenses in the two clauses; if the word “progressive” has any meaning in grammar, it denotes the progress of an action relatively—either to present time, or to that of some other action. Flamme, quoted by Pessels, p. 5, has already pointed out that “*Gleichzeitigkeit*” is

one of the leading ideas expressed by the Old English periphrastic tenses. And yet Pessels never even tells us, except possibly by a mere accident, whether the sentence contains any other verb beside the one under view, to say nothing of more detailed information. He is sadly deficient in perception of what is essential to the discussion. He ignores points of prime importance, and then wastes time in such fruitless labor as the separate treatment of all his subjunctives; considerations of mode are absolutely foreign to his problem.

He does indeed draw a line between the cases in which the periphrastic form has a "temporal modifier" and those in which it has not, a distinction which might be of some value. But he undertakes no classification of these modifiers, according as they express point of time, duration, repetition, goal, etc.; so that, in the paragraph (pp. 59 ff.) where occurs the fullest discussion of the subject, accusatives of extent, adverbs like *dæghwamlice*, and *oð ðæt* clauses are all united as "denoting continuance." Moreover, the collection is very carelessly made; I may perhaps be pardoned for printing a list, by no means exhaustive, of errors from Bede. Among cases "accompanied by a temporal modifier," figures wrongly 348, 4: "*Ne pinre forþfore swa neah is, nu þu þus rotlice and þus glædlice to us sprecende eart*," where the author has mistaken the conjunction *nu* for an adverb. Among those "without a temporal modifier," occur 94, 11: "*he nu hwonne on þam ilcan bið on wuldre arisende*" (*nu hwonne* = Lat. *quandoque*, which the author probably took for a conjunction); 398, 26: "*wæs ic in ða ærestan tid minre geoguðhadnisse in his geferscipe drohtigende*"; 108, 8: "*he ða (= ðissum tidum, ante) wæs smeagende mid þone . . . pāpan Bonēfatio*"; 202, 25 (should be 26) "*þa wæs he . . . noht feorr from þære byrig, þe we æt forespre-cende wæron*."

Criteria were at hand for enabling the author to get results approaching definiteness; but he has apparently preferred to classify his examples by inspiration. Inspiration is, however, at least in linguistic matters, sadly subject to moods; and figures, such as those in the tables on pp. 52 f., which are based upon it, can be accepted only as expressions of temporary opinion or feeling. "Historical perfects" there may be here; but the author has carefully refrained from telling us how he distinguished them from other uses of the past tense.

So much for the general aspects of the work; a few special points may be worthy of mention. On p. 23, in Bede 346, 29, *on æfenne þære neahte þe he of worulde gongende wæs*, the verb is grouped with others as a "Future Preterite"; this may be worth noting as an early example of our familiar use of "is going" and "is coming" with future force (cf. French *je vais*, especially in periphrases like *je vais acheter* = I am going to buy). An exhaustive study of this interesting development of verbs of motion, in our own and other languages (cf. Lat. *amatum iri*), would be a pretty piece of work.

In the same paragraph, when he says that three other cases from Bede (212, 25 (2); 108, 11), which correspond to a Latin future participle, "express the Future Preterite," the author fails to note that, owing to a complete change of construction in the Old English version, all future sense is lost; these three verbs express simple past time, though the employment of the periphrastic *form* may well be due to the influence of the Latin participle.

On p. 56, Pessels discusses the interesting double glosses (e. g. *lag vel licgende was*) in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels; he feels that these are due to a conflict in the author's mind between form and signification. Those which gloss Latin deponent perfects are accounted for on the ground of form. But those which correspond to imperfects cannot be explained so easily; and here Pessels performs one of his most astonishing feats. As a fundamental statement, he "assumes" that "the periphrasis has something of the force of the Modern English progressive"; and says that the glossator has regarded it as appropriate here because of the progressive idea inherent in the Latin imperfect (this statement is too strong; the Latin imperfect is a tense of relative time, but by no means always of progressive force; the author must not be misled by the "*amabam* = I was loving" of the school-grammars). Pessels then continues (p. 57), "that there should be some *weakening* of the progressive force (after this violent transference from Modern to Old English) is not surprising, but that this force *continued* in the periphrasis is amply testified by the examples here collected, and its final triumph in the subsequent history of the language." (Italics and parenthesis are mine.) This is a rarely good example of the interesting mental process known as *Circulus in Probando*. The result is not necessarily wrong; *licgende was* may have distinctively progressive force; but "assumption" is not the best means of convincing us that such is the case.

P. 58 (cf. p. 15), from Logeman's "Rule of St. Benet," Pessels cites three occurrences (he omits 26, 7, which is similar) of the present participle with *to*; all these gloss Latin gerundives, by the form of which they were undoubtedly influenced, as both terminate in *-end* (in fact, one instance, *smeagenda*, 26, 11, seems to have taken over *-enda* bodily from *requirenda*). The author fails to note that in 5, 14, *sin to gereccanne and lichama haligre beboda gehirsumnesse to campierende*, the participial form is coordinated with an inflected infinitive in *-enne*, of which it is here the equivalent and variant. All these cases are then infinitives of corrupt form, and have no place in Dr. Pessels' field.

It is a pleasure to turn from this immature work to a new study from the hand of Dr. Callaway, the earliest and best known of American investigators in Old English syntax. His treatise on "The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon" is marked by all the qualities which made his study of The Absolute Participle so admirable; while the passage of twelve years has not un-

naturally added to the breadth and grasp of the author's view, the authority of his treatment, and the catholicity of his whole attitude.

The work, like its predecessor, is divided into seven sections: (1) Statistics, (2) Uses, and (3) Origin of the Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, (4) Anglo-Saxon rendering of the Latin Appositive Participle, (5) Origin of the construction in the other Germanic languages, (6) the Anglo-Saxon Appositive Participle as a Norm of Style, and (7) a brief summary chapter of "Results." Owing to the far greater mass of material handled—3010 cases, as against 349—some of these chapters (especially, of course, the first) are much longer than the corresponding ones in the dissertation of 1889; but the treatment is at once compact without being crowded, and clear and adequate, while avoiding diffuseness. It can, I think, never be charged against Dr. Callaway that his data are meagre or his quotations too short; on the other hand, his judicious employment of tables and of skilful devices of printing makes economy of space entirely compatible with good perspective and complete lucidity.

Dr. Callaway preserves unchanged his early respectful attitude toward other investigators; he is agreeably free from that cocksureness which so often detracts from the effect of work of this sort; but the present treatise is marked by greater independence than his earlier study, and his *obiter dicta* give evidence of an increasingly philosophical attitude toward life, as well as toward the narrow problems of syntax. Independence, however, does not mean insistence, in Dr. Callaway's case; in fact, if there is an opposing view, he is the first to call attention to it; if any of his results are open to query, he prefers to raise the query himself. He pursues his own road in reaching his conclusions, but the whole work is marked by an unwillingness to dogmatize which is one of its chief recommendations.

The atmosphere of Pessels' book is murky, or at least hazy—one sees but a few things, and those indistinctly; but Callaway's work is full of light; definition and classification are alike simple, clear, concise. In fact, the present monograph offers a contrast to Pessels' work at almost every point; and one could hardly have a better preparation than a reading of the latter if he would properly appreciate the care which Callaway has expended upon every least detail of his work.

The author conceives the scope of the term "appositive" as a broad one: he applies it not only to participles which express an adverbial idea, but to those which are equivalent to a relative clause. He defends this liberal interpretation skilfully (especially by means of the examples on pp. 272 f.), and (p. 149) urges the general acceptance of "appositive participle" as a grammatical category with an application similar in all respects to that of "noun in apposition."

After giving some guesses at the probable order of development of the various uses of the participle, he turns with apparent relief

from the region of speculation to "matters about which a reasonable degree of certainty is possible," and treats of the inflexion and the position (prevailingly postpositive) of the appositive participle.

One cannot help admiring the author's clearness of arrangement in the long chapter (112 pages) of statistics; the examples occurring in each work of Old English prose and poetry are listed separately, while figures are introduced at every step to show exactly the relations of part to whole. (It is only fair to Dr. Pessels to say that he follows the same plan, the excellence of which is, however, largely obscured in his case by the clumsiness of the printing.) The schematic arrangement of Callaway's work is usually quite free from the woodenness which so often characterizes German work of this sort. But, in his desire to give formal balance to his statistics from the Boethius (pp. 167 f.), the author has twice introduced the caption, "II. With an Object (o)", followed by the grave statement, "No example." An American cannot afford to waste space and printer's ink in this fashion. At the end of the chapter, the statistical results are brought together into a two-page table which shows all the significant facts at a glance, with summations so frequent as to give one control of every step in the author's processes, and to answer one's questions almost before they arise.

The art of constructing tables is one in which Dr. Callaway is especially strong; those which follow and summarize Chap. II (pp. 292-296), exhibiting the "uses" of the appositive participle, and Chap. III (pp. 315-320), showing the Latin equivalents of the participles in Old English translations, are triumphs of lucidity.

The author draws his lines of classification between prose and poetry; between present and past tenses; and between participles with an object and those without. His interpretation of the term "object" with past participles is a very liberal one; it includes any noun-modifier of the participle. He would probably not put this forward as a definition, but for his purpose—the determination of the peculiarly verbal element in these participles—the extension has a practical value.

It is impossible that in so large a collection there should not be some cases in the classification of which any two investigators would differ. The distinction between the attributive and appositive uses of the participle is largely one of emphasis: if the idea expressed by the participle is the one of chief importance—if it is a *necessary* qualification—the participle is likely to be attributive, and to precede its noun; but, as it gradually loses in emphasis, and becomes first simply descriptive, and then the mere addition of something more or less extraneous, it becomes appositive, and tends to follow its noun. I should incline to regard two examples on p. 223—Luke I, 27 and Matt. XI, 7—as attributive. Again, as the author suggests, it is difficult to distinguish sharply between adverbial uses of the participle and

those which are equivalent to modal clauses. Callaway lists a number of such cases on p. 275, where he makes the excellent suggestion that these expressions are properly not participles, but participial adverbs, and should be so called, as in the grammar of other languages. It seems to me that the negative element in *unwandiende* (Greg. 381, 25, p. 171), *ungewitnode* (Greg. 117, 23, p. 174), and *ungeniedde* (Greg. 137, 19, ib.) sets them beyond question in the same category.

Like Pessels—only with a vast difference—Callaway gives the Latin originals, where they exist, of all his examples. One of his captions constantly appears in the form: "An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually in immediate connection with an appositive participle." This statement seems too strong; in 9 out of 23 occurrences, the Latin verb has no participle near it. In one case (p. 185, Benedict 22, 10), where *myngað clypiende* = Lat. *clamat dicens*, *dicens*, rather than *clamat*, should probably be given as the source of *clypiende*.

P. 230, Note 2, Callaway mentions some examples of "pure adverbs" from The Rule of St. Benet. The study of glosses can, it seems to me, have but slight value for syntactical purposes: the evidence which they furnish may be confirmatory of results gained elsewhere, but taken alone it is a very insufficient ground for any opinion whatever. The glosses are little more than collections of English words; it is only by mere chance that they ever contain real English sentences. *Teonde*, in the two examples cited, may "seem in use to be a pure adverb"; but all one can say with certainty is that the glossator set it down as the nearest approach *in form* to *subtrahendo* and *protrahendo*, respectively. The corresponding passages from Benedict, which Dr. Callaway subjoins in brackets, show how a *translator* treated these Latin words. It would seem that Callaway gives himself quite too much anxiety over Benet. In a note on p. 229, he gravely defines six present participles found there as verbal nouns, though the usage has no parallel elsewhere; this would be very interesting were Benet not a gloss; as it is, the suggestion cannot be taken seriously. The author forgets that he is dealing with what the Germans would call "Unenglisch."

Under "conditional uses" (p. 285), Callaway lists ten cases of the familiar expression "*geteled rime(s)*", following numerals, from the poetry. His second thought on these cases (pp. 305f.) is better: here he says, "the participle is not unmistakably conditional," and "its use appears to have been phraseological, rather than syntactical." We have to do here with a pure idiomatic construction; the user was quite unconscious of *geteled* as a separate syntactical element in the sentence; the exact analysis of such expressions would be possible only in a more primitive stage of the language.

Some of Callaway's notes on minor points in passing are suggestive. The discussion of a number of participles from the



Gospels, hitherto cited as appositive (pp. 224 f.), is interesting; though in Luke IX, 34, it is just as easy to take *him* as reflexive dative with *ondredon* (in which case *gangende* is appositive), as to say that it combines with *gangende* to form a "crude" absolute dative; on its face, the former explanation is the natural one; the Latin original, *intransibus illis*, lends color to the latter. On p. 225, Professor Bright, as editor, inserts a footnote, still maintaining his position in regard to "*hine bewend*," (= *conversus*, Luke IX, 55), where, according to his view, *hine* is carried over from the active voice.

Callaway's attitude (p. 291) toward the "pleonastic *and*," which often occurs with participles, is very sane, as is his treatment on the preceding page of "supplementary particles," added to give color. In the note (p. 290) on Passive Participles in an Active Sense, where he is entirely right in insisting that *druncen* has passive force, he seems to have mistaken the ground-meaning of *forscylldigian* (= "to condemn"); *forscylldigod* (*Ælf. Hom.* I, 66, 12) is no less passive than *druncen*.

Callaway reaches the conclusion that the spirit of Old English was favorable only to those appositive participles which had pronounced adjectival (descriptive) force; and that those with clearly verbal force are either not appositive or not of native origin. For example, the participles which denote manner are numerous in the poetry and original prose, and are thus probably native; but those denoting means, which retain more of their verbal character, can practically always be traced to a Latin source. The author is able to show that, common and natural as it seems, the temporal use, except of a very few participles of but slight verbal force, is not native to our language. Moreover, the Old English present participle, when used appositively, had not originally the power of governing a direct object; while of the appositive preterite participle with a direct object, there is in all the literature only the single doubtful case mentioned above (Luke IX, 55, *hine bewend*).

As one reads the section on the Governing Power of the Participle (pp. 307-314), one can hardly escape the feeling that here, if anywhere, the author's ingenuity has got the better of him. In no part of the book does he show greater command of resources; his arguments, taken separately, are very convincing; but they are too varied—one feels that he is tilting at a mark which he is determined to demolish, and that, for every new face which it shows, he makes a dash from a different quarter. His disposal of a large number of cases from the poetry as accusative compounds is very clever; he shows much insight on this point. But one feels that in inventing Latin sources for all other troublesome cases, his facility is so great as to excite question.

The chapter on Old English renderings of the Latin appositive participle (pp. 321 ff.) is full of interest. The author admits at the outset that "no principle has been consistently followed by

the Anglo-Saxon translators"; this is another example of that ability to make due allowance for individuality in both Anglo-Saxons and modern investigators which is so refreshing a trait throughout the author's work. In section II (pp. 323 ff.), by an odd mistake, his headings read, "The Latin Temporal (Relative, etc.) Clause," where he means the Latin appositive participle equivalent to such a clause.

One of the most valuable features of Callaway's tables, referred to above, is the light they shed on stylistic questions. In his chapter (pp. 344 ff.) on the Anglo-Saxon Appositive Participle as a Norm of Style, the author discusses these facts with admirable liveliness. He shows the value of the construction as an element in Old English style, and almost leaves one with the impression that literary men consciously set about to transplant so valuable a resource from Latin into their own language, and to propagate it there. He illustrates the advance in this point from Alfred to Ælfric by a contrast between New High German and Modern English, and inspires in the reader a feeling of real sympathy for the destitute condition of Alfred and the Germans. He regards the introduction of the appositive present participle with the power of governing an object as the chief contribution of the Late West Saxon writers to English prose style.

There is still left for consideration one of the most important features of the book: I refer to the inclusion, as a separate category, under the name "Co-ordinate Participle," of appositive participles essentially equivalent to independent clauses, which either (1) denote an accompanying circumstance, or (2) repeat the idea of the principal verb. These uses, which are recognized by writers on Greek and Latin syntax, have received scant treatment at the hands of English and Germanic grammarians. A couple of examples will suggest the familiarity of the participle employed in this way: *behyddon his lichaman, secgende* (Ælf. L. S., I, 146, 458); *hy awehton hyne, ðus cweðende* (Matt. VIII, 25). In each case, the participle might as well have been a verb connected by *and*. But, while Callaway does well in frankly accepting this as a new category, and in not attempting to range these examples under the old heads, one feels that the possession of the category has been a constant temptation to him, and that he has used it as a sort of catch-all. Of the 23 cases listed as "Circumstantial" on pp. 286 f., I should be inclined to question all but 8; of the 15 discarded, I regard 3 (Bened. 30, 3; Metres of Boeth. 20, 214, 221) as iterative; the others are, I should say, modal—a possibility which the author himself admits on p. 307. On the latter page, and the one preceding it, may be found another interesting example of Dr. Callaway's ingenuity in the construction of evidence; here he actually goes so far as to cite other writers, against his own earlier statements, as authority for throwing out certain cases which were in the way of his endeavor to establish a Latin source for the "Co-ordinate Use."

There remains only the duty of pointing out a few additional

errors in printing not noted by the author, in a work whose typography is in general as careful as its whole execution is admirable. P. 158, l. 18, for *hauperibus* read *pauperibus*; p. 276, l. 5, for *si* read *se*; p. 287, l. 13, for *immilans* read *imilans*; l. 20, for *Bæth.* read *Boeth.*; l. 29, for *transuivit* read *transiuit*; pp. 345, 346, 347, wherever the difference between Modern English and New High German is compared to that between Alfred and Ælfric, the order should be transposed; it is Alfred, not Ælfric, who is on a par with the Germans.

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D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturæ con note di ENRICO CESAREO, Libro I, Satira I (71 pp.); Satira II (50 pp.). Messina, 1900.

It is often the experience of the teacher to take up a new book with pleasurable anticipation, to examine it, at first with eagerness, then with waning interest, and finally to lay it aside in disappointment. Such, I doubt not, will be the feelings of every American student of Juvenal into whose hands may fall the latest foreign edition of this author.

In the preface we are told that the editor has had before him several of the older commentaries as well as the most important editions of the last century except those of Mayor and Lewis. As far as the text is concerned, he professes to follow Friedländer save in a few cases where he has adopted another reading "*dopo matura riflessione*". On questions of etymology—which, by the way, need scarcely be discussed in a work of this sort—he relies on Doderlein (?) and Vansicék (sic!) and closes his preface with the hope "*La buona intenzione, se non altro, mi procuri il compimento dell' indulgente lettore*".

An examination of the very full commentary reveals the fact that the editor has contributed very little to the interpretation or illustration of the satires except a few more or less relevant passages from Dante, Ariosto and other Italian poets. Moreover, his knowledge of the recent important literature bearing on his author seems to be confined to what he could gather from Friedländer and Duff. For example, he makes no note of Housman's ingenious and almost certain explanation of I, 144 *intestata senectus* as 'old age unwitnessed' (Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, pp. 432 f.) nor does he mention the Bodleian fragments which furnish the most remarkable illustration of passages in the second satire. In short, the edition of Cesareo seems to serve no good purpose, being far too copious for the young student, and, for reasons suggested, of little value to the teacher and scholar. Fortunately only two parts have as yet appeared, and it is to be hoped, for the sake of all concerned, that the publication will not be carried to completion.

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## REPORTS.

### HERMES, XXXVI.

D. Detlefsen. Die Quellenschriften, insbesondere die lateinischen, in B. 10 der Nat. Hist. des Plinius. If we eliminate from Book 10, a treatise on birds, what Pliny clearly took from Aristotle and other Greek sources, and what he expressly derived from Nigidius Figulus, the remainder was taken mainly from Umbricius Melior. For sections 6-28 and 29-42 treat of the *alites* and *oscines*; and these Roman groupings, which interfere with the rest of the classification, derived from Aristotle, to which may be added the content of many passages and some technical expressions, point clearly to a book on Roman augury. Now Pliny mentions several who wrote de Etrusca disciplina, which title included, as we know from Festus, p. 260 f., a section on birds, and of these commends particularly Umbricius Melior as *haruspicum in nostro aevo peritissimus*. This praise, according to Pliny's custom, makes it highly probable that Umbricius was the source for the augural parts, especially as Umbricius, being the youngest of this class of writers and a contemporary, would be preferred by Pliny whose plan was to make his book up-to-date.

O. Seeck. Zur Chronologie des Kaisers Licinius. The year in which Licinius was elevated to the throne is proved to have been 308 A. D. and the year of his abdication, 324 A. D. [Th. Mommsen (Hermes XXXVI, p. 602-5) finds the date 308 A. D. to be correct, but holds to the commonly accepted date 323 A. D., for the overthrow of Licinius.]

W. Radtke. Aristodemus' Ἐπιγράμματα Θεβαϊκά. Aristodemus the Alexandrian, the pupil of Aristarchus, who wrote *περὶ Πινδάρου* has been identified by v. Wilamowitz with the author of a work on Thebes in which the mythological topography was a prominent feature. This work proves to have been a collection of epigrams with a mythological commentary. The epigrams were approved or declared spurious in the light of literature, Homer being naturally the chief authority to the Aristarchean; besides Corinna, The Thebaïd, Rhianus, Euphron were quoted. The work must have offered much valuable mythographical material from the Theban legends to the compilers and commentators of the first century B. C. This study depends mainly on Theon's commentaries to Lycophron, Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius, on the scholia to Eurip. Phoen., on the scholia to Homer and on Photius-Hesychius. Pausanias, Bk. IX is a promising field for further investigation.

H. Diels. *Die Olympionikenliste aus Oxyrhynchos*. In this list (vid. *Hermes* XXXV) there occur three passages to which the following enigmatical phrases are appended, according to Grenfell's reading: ὁ κρατισ[.], ὁ φιλις and ὁ καλλισ which Blass resolved in οὗτος κράτιστος, οὗτος φιλιςτος and οὗτος κάλλιστος. According to Diels ὁ stands for οὗτος, καλλισ probably for the historian Kallisthenes, who, we have reason to believe, prepared a list of Olympic victors for Aristotle and probably cited them in his history, φιλις for Philistos and reading κρατη, as we should for κρατισ (vid. photo. opp. p. 72), we have a reference to the famous Homeric scholar. The list is not to be attributed to Phlegon, but to a "handbook" of the time of the Empire. The citing of authorities shows that reliable official lists did not exist. The ancient Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφαί are the result of much learned labor, and while not unreliable we must expect contradictions. The list of Attic archons is more reliable.

B. Graef. *Archäologische Beiträge*. 1. Assteas und die Attische Bühne. Graef argues, against E. Bethe (*Jahrb. d. arch. Instituts* XV 1. 59 ff.), that this vase had nothing to do with the theater. 2. Die Schamhaftigkeit der Skythen. The golden γαρνός from Nikopol, Russia (*Wiener Vorlegebl.*, Ser. B. pl. 10) is far removed from genuine Attic art and unGreek in the care taken to hide the genitals. 3. Darstellung des Dionysos auf einer Korinthischen Vase. Loeschke (*Ath. Mitth.* XIX, pl. 8), has published a small Corinthian amphora with the return of Hephaestus. The long-robed figure following Hephaestus, named Thetis by Loeschke and Aphrodite by v. Wilamowitz, is probably Dionysos. 4. Der Bocksatyr auf einer schwarzfigurigen Vase. The male satyr in Bethe's *Prolegomena zur Gesch. d. Theaters* is not beardless. The back is turned and the beard is hidden by the shoulder. The line taken for the chin is really the mouth. 5. Zur Melischen Gigantomachie. In the vase from Melos (*Monum. grecs*, 1875, pl. I. II, *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, VIII 7), the figure with bow and arrows to the left of the chariot of Ares and Aphrodite is Bendis as shown by the peculiar Thracian head-dress. 6. Die Talosvase. This well-known amphora from Ruvo is not Attic as generally believed, but Apulian.

W. Christ. *Bacchylides und die Pythiadenrechnung*. Based on *Bacch.* IV, 13 ff., where δύο τ' Ὀλυμπιονίκας must be rendered "two Olympic victories" Christ now concedes to the followers of Bergk that the Pythiads must be reckoned from Ol. 49, 3 not from Ol. 48, 3 as Böckh maintained. (*A. J. P.* XXI 470.)

F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. *Gewichte aus Thera*. A brief account of lava stones used as weights is followed by a long and interesting discussion of the subject by C. F. Lehmann.

F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. *Eine Karneenfeier in Thera*. A reduced drawing (p. 135) shows us an archaic inscription (500 B. C.)

of five nearly perfect lines, the oldest evidence as to the Carnean festival on Thera (cf. Pindar, Pyth. V 75 ff.):

Ἀγλωτέλης πρᾶτιστος ἀγορὰν ἡικάδι  
Κα[ρ]νῆα θεὸν δέειν[ι]ξεν ἡο[ύ]νιπαντιδα  
καὶ Λακαρῶς.

Translated: "Agloteles the son of Enipantidas and Lakarto, first in public speaking, gave the god on 20. [Carnean] a Carnean feast." The date shows that the period from the 7th to the 15th of the Carnean month did not hold for all places. The site of the inscription near the only important spring on the island, the Zoodochos Pege, where even to-day the people resort to mix their wine, points to the rural character of the festival, such as the *Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς* celebrated at a later season of the year in Attica.

M. Wellmann. Zu den *Αἰτιολογούμενα* des Soran.

Miscellen. E. Klostermann. *Κομίατον*, commeatus.—F. Blass. Zu den neuen Fragmenten aus Hesiods Katalogen.—C. Robert. Die Phorkiden.—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. Der Bildhauer Antiphanes.

Ad. Brieger. Das Atomistische System durch Correctur des Anaxagoreischen Entstanden. The Atomistic system of philosophy is not to be derived from the Eleatic. Theophrastus recognized the strong contrast between the two, and Aristotle probably did not intend to give an historical account in *de gen. et corr.* I 8. 325<sup>a</sup> 23 ff. Assuming Leucippus, whose very existence has been questioned, to have founded the Atomistic school, it can still be shown that the origin of the system must be derived from Anaxagoras. Leucippus was probably the younger. Further, the influence of the Anaxagorean sensualism must not be restricted to the later phase of Atomism of Democritus, as the earlier stage of Leucippus bears the same marks. Finally, both taught that every object contained an infinite number of elementary particles; but whereas the impossibility of this in the case of the *ἄτομα* is striking, the difficulty is less apparent with the infinitely divisible *ὁμοιομερῆ*. Anaxagoras' system shows elements of progress over the Eleatic; its faults needed but to be recognized. The supposition of a void was comparatively easy; but to make the conception of indivisible particles plausible, they had to be represented as differently constituted from things as we see them. The modification of Anaxagoras' system at this point was an achievement of a high order. Both systems explain phenomena by means of the senses, guided by the understanding, in sharp contrast with the Eleatics. Thus the Atomistic system in its fundamental principles was developed through a correction of that of Anaxagoras. The older philosophies may have exerted a certain influence only. Though Theophrastus says that Parmenides was Leucippus' teacher, yet he could hardly have done more than sharpen his wits. That Anaxagoras in the history of philosophy should ever have been placed after the Atomists is

due to Plato (Phaed. c. 46-48), who praises him for his doctrine of the *νοῦς*, and following Plato, modern scholars have regarded Anaxagoras' system as a bridge from the physicists to the Socratics.

U. Wilcken. Zu den Pseudo-Aristotelischen Oeconomica. The collection of historical examples in Book 2 of the Oeconomica is in its origin a distinct work, made by a contemporary soon after 323 B. C. and that possibly at the suggestion of Aristotle (Polit. I 1259<sup>a</sup> 3 ff.). The words in l. c. I 8 *τινές τῶν πρότερον* refer indeed to events long past (Niebuhr), but they were probably added by the Peripatetic who, say about 250 B. C. added this collection to his theoretic discussion. Some of the stories have their parallels in Polyaeus and others and are usually inferior to those of the former; but this is hardly due to the original collector. They deserve more attention than has been given them.

Th. Mommsen. Die Diocletianische Reichspräefectur.

G. Thiele. Ionisch-Attische Studien. The authenticity of the Gorgias speeches has not yet been generally recognized, because the stylist is commonly separated from the personality of the man, which was shallow. Besides his style requires a deeper study. Norden has shown that we can no longer speak strictly of Gorgianic figures, and yet Gorgias uses them in a manner peculiarly his own. This peculiarity consists in a certain progression of sound to sound comparable to the movement in music from chord to chord, hence Thiele calls it the *Motiv*. This often determined the thought as rhyme will do in poetry. The Helen illustrates this principle best, and viewed as a *παίγνιον* awakens admiration for the skill displayed by the old rhetorician. It was one of his last productions. The key to the understanding of Gorgias' art is alliteration, which also throws light on his dialect. Besides we must accept an accent of stress along with the tonic accent, as in Helen 11 *πλάσαντες—πάντες*, Palamedes 15. *σύνεστε—οὔριστε*. The second example needs a stress on the penult to bring out the contrast. Isocrates' Helen has also been depreciated from a failure to see that it is an allegorical sermon on beauty. Gorgias' Helen is plainly referred to in Helen 14. *φησὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκώμιον γεγραφέναι περὶ αὐτῆς, τυγχάνει δ' ἀπολογία εἰρηκώς*. For it is strictly an apology, though spoken of at the end as an encomium; an unusual place for a title; but so cleverly put as to be worthy of the famous rhetorician. Isocrates does not mention his name in this connection, as the Helen was published anonymously. As regards the relative chronology of the two Helens and the Phaedrus it is unfortunate that the lower limits of Gorgias' life should be 362-58 according to Thiele's data, instead of 382-79 as he puts it.

F. Blass. Nachlese zu Bacchylides.

M. Ihm. Die sogenannte 'Villa Iouis' des Tiberius auf Capri und andere Suetoniana.

Miscellen.—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Venus von Milo.—v. Wilamowitz. Eine Handschrift

des Kallimachos.—F. Blass. Zu Aristophanes' Froeschen.—Karl Hude. Ueber γάρ in Appositiven Ausdrücken.—Ulrich Wilcken. δ ὀξύρυγχος χαρακτήρ.—G. F. Hill. Τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦν.—C. F. Lehmann. Zu den Ephemeriden Alexanders d. Grossen.

P. Stengel. Zu den Griechischen Sacralalterthümern. As the Homeric Greek was free to omit libations (vid. Hermes, 34, 474) so the slaying of animals for household use was not necessarily accompanied by sacrifice. When later he lost his faith in the actual participation of the god, sacrifices became symbolical, and with the increased number of sacred rites came a rigid adherence to their performance. In Homer there are only beginnings of a ritual. The word ἑνδορα occurs for the first time in No. 37 of Paton and Hicks' inscriptions from Cos in the phrase ἑνδορα ἐνδέρεται. It must mean the same as σπλάγγνα and in the ceremony described it would appear that the vitals were wrapped in the skin and offered to the god on the hearth in the temple.

Th. Preger. Das Gründungsdatum von Konstantinopel. On May 11, 330 A. D., the new imperial residence on the Bosphorus was inaugurated; but Constantine began to adorn the old city with magnificent buildings in July or August of 325 A. D., and on Nov. 26, 328 began to extend the walled limits of the city. However later, as the day of inauguration in 330 seemed more important to the emperor, the earlier dates were forgotten.

M. Ihm. Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton.

C. Robert. Archäologische Nachlese. (vid. Hermes 35) XV. Illustrationen zu einem griechischen Roman. The wall paintings from the house discovered 1879 near the villa Farnesina do not represent the fabulous judgments of the Egyptian king Bokchoris as suggested by Mau and Loewy, but the romantic history of two adventurers. XVI. Niobe auf einem pompeianischen Marmorbild. The source of this painting is Sophocles' Niobe as shown by the fragments published by Grenfell and Hunt. It furnishes the only representation of a σκηνή of the fifth century and proves Dörpfeld's theory of the stage. XVII. Iliasscenen in der Altkorinthischen Vasenmalerei. New interpretations are reached by observing that the Corinthian vase painters of the sixth century knew their Homer at least as well as the Athenian of the fifth. XVIII. Iliasscene auf griechischen Sarkophagen. Vietty's drawing of the sarcophagus near Sparta (Raoul Rochette, *Mon. inéd. pl. LIX*, 2-5) represents the battle at the ships, as shown by a comparison with five copies of the same scene. XIX. Bendis oder Iris? The Thracian head-dress discussed by Graef above is worn by Iris on the Petersburg vase (Wiener Vorlegebl., Ser. A. Pl. II. 1) proving that Iris is represented on the Melian vase.

F. Blass. Die Pseudippokratische Schrift Περὶ Φυσῶν und der Anonymus Londinensis.—Berichtigung zur Seite 310.—O. Lagercrantz. The Delphic E represented ἥ, meaning "he spoke".



F. Bechtel. Varia.

1. Εὔσοος. In Theocritus XXIV 8.

εὐδοτ' ἐμὰ ψυχά, δὴ ἀδελφεά, εὔσοα τέκνα.

the word εὔσοος is to be connected with the verb σεύω. Ancient testimony glosses the adjective with εὐκίνητος, εὐφορος and the noun with εὐθύνεια.

2. Στροιβήλη. This enigmatical name (Κατὰ Νεαίρας 50) should be Στροιβήλη, and so allied with the well-known Στροΐβος, as ἐρύγμηλος is with ἐρυγμός.

3. Boeotian ἔττε. This is not from ἔστε as Brugmann thinks, since the combinations στ, σθ are found. The western Locrians and the Phocians, who were unfamiliar with the augmented ἐν-ε used ἔντε, and for the same reason we should expect a Boeotian ἔντε. Führer and Prellwitz derive ἔττε from ἔντε, with a reference to ἔμπασις > ἔππασις, yet since Joh. Schmidt has shown that the latter passed through the stage ἔμπασις so we must posit a prehistoric ἔν-ττε. But what was—ττε?

W. Janell. Ueber die Echtheit und Abfassungszeit des Theages. Its non-Platonic character can be seen in the extravagant account of the daimonion, and of Socrates' magnetic power, which reveals a tendency, which unchecked would have made a magician of Socrates. It is not an imitation of the Laches with which it has only a similar subject in common. Nor is the error (Theages, 125 B) in assigning a Sophoclean verse to Euripides taken from Repub., VIII 568 A., for this seems to have been a common mistake. A close relation, however, does exist between Theages, 129 E—130 A. ff. and Theaetetus 150 C. ff.; but here Plato himself criticizes certain views expressed in the Theages. This gives us a *terminus ante quem*. A *terminus post quem* is furnished by the Apology and Alcibiades I so that the Theages was composed between 369 and 365 B. C.

F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. Inschriften von Rhodos und Thera.

Miscellen.—A. Wilhelm. Θεοὶ ἐπικούριοι.—Epigramm aus As-typalaia.—W. Dittenberger. Zum Brief des Antigonos an die Skepsier.—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen. Hermes Kypharissiphas.

Th. Preger. Konstantinos—Helios.

The bronze statue that surmounted the "burned column" at Constantinople up to 1106 A. D. was not an Apollo by Phidias as reputed, but a Helios of the Hellenistic or Roman period. The Sun-worship of Constantine is certain. That he had not changed as late as 330 is shown by his having the above statue set up in the forum in that year. At the same time he ordered a gilded Helios of wood for the *Pompa circensis*, with injunctions as regards its use each succeeding year.

W. H. Roscher. Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen Ε.

The fame of the Delphic  $\epsilon$  shows that it was one of the famous sayings, hence could not stand simply for  $\eta$  (vid. Lagercrantz above).

The following hexameters may lay claim to some degree of probability:

Εἰ. Θεῶ ἦρα. Νόμοις πείθευ. Φεῖδευ σὺ χρόνοις.  
Γνώθι σεαυτὸν. Μηδὲν ἄγαν. Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτη.

C. Robert in a brief note suggests that the Delphic  $\epsilon$  was originally an object which merely resembled an  $\epsilon$ .

O. Kern. Magnetische Studien.

An account of the festival of Artemis Leucophryene marks the beginning of a projected series of articles intended to elucidate the inscriptions from Magnesia. This festival dates from the epiphany of the goddess 221-20 B. C. But the first attempt to honor the goddess proved abortive, then about 202 B. C. a panhellenic festival took place. The postponement was principally due to the political situation; but also to the desire to complete certain projected buildings, as shown by hasty workmanship. After the great event the long stoa erected for the expected visitors, had its walls inscribed with the letters and decrees sent by princes and states in response to the invitations. The records show only one more celebration after this one. The lack of individuality of the Magnesian Artemis probably caused an early decline of her glory.

Th. Mommsen. Aetius.

We have here, based on the original sources, a fresh history of the Roman general Aetius, including a sketch of the Huns, improved in detail and historical sequence. Appended to this is a study of the Roman office of general, the main source of which is the Notitia dignitatum, which was begun in the time of Constantine I, but finally revised as we have it, about 425 A. D.

W. Crönert. Die *Λογικά Ζητήματα* des Chrysippos und die übrigen Papyri logischen Inhalts aus der herculanensischen Bibliothek.

F. Blass. Kritische Bemerkungen zu Platon's Phaidros. The application of a rhythmical test to Plato increases indeed the difficulties of textual criticism; but ensures richer and safer results. In answer to a charge of radicalism Blass defends some longer passages that have been rejected by Schanz. Interpolations of such length do not occur in the Phaedrus.

E. Bethe. Thymeliker und Skeniker.

The Hellenistic *θυμελικοί ἀγῶνες* with their choruses made use of the whole orchestra, which was known as *θυμέλη* from the time of Pratinas. In contrast dramatic performances were called from their characteristic locality *σκηνηκοὶ ἀγῶνες*, as proved by inscriptions of the 2nd and 3d centuries B. C. This distinction, known to Vitruvius (V. 8.), goes back to about 300 B. C.

Th. Mommsen. *Consularia* (Nachtrag zu Bd. 32, S. 538). See above *Zur Chronologie des Kaisers Licinius*.

Geo. Kaibel. *Sententiarum Liber Ultimus*.

Miscellen.—F. Bechtel. *Zur Entschädigungsurkunde von Trözen*.—P. Groebe. *Das Geburtsjahr und die Heimath des M. Caelius Rufus*.—M. Ihm. *Zu Julius Valerius*.—P. Stengel. *Nachtrag zu S. 332*.

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# PHILOLOGUS, LVIII (N. F. XII) 1899.

I, pp. 1–24. Ferd. Noack. *Das Proskenion in der Theaterfrage*. N. reaches a different conclusion from Bethe (*Hermes* 32, 320 ff.). There were two distinct types of theaters (p. 19), the Hellenistic with proscenium ornamented with columned façade before which the action took place in the orchestra; and that of Asia Minor, without the columns, in which the action was on the pulpitum proscenii. Vitruvius gives rules for making a 'normal' Greek theater, with features from both types, but as regards the stage he follows the type of Asia Minor. Thus the strongest of ancient authorities cited against Doerpfeld is got out of the way.

II, pp. 25–44. Alfred Gudeman. *Zur Germania des Tacitus*. *Germani* in 2, 14 would have been understood by the Romans as 'brothers.' We cannot tell for what native word it originally stood. *ac nunc Tungri* is to be considered a gloss. 9, 5 ff. read *Liburnicae*, 13, 6 *ceteris* for *ceteris*, 19, 13 transpose *maritum* and *matrimonium*, which passage G. thinks was corrupted by a wrong resolution of compendia. 23, 4 *si indulseris ebrietate* ff. is rejected on linguistic and other grounds, 33, 1 read *paene tum* for *penitus*, 43, 2 read *cludunt*, 46, 10 read *usu ac*. The MS tradition is upheld in: 4, 1. 11, 3. 11, 12. 15, 1. 22, 9. 46, 4.

III, pp. 45–51. L. Gurlitt. *Atius pigmentarius und Verwandtes*. (Zu Cicero ad fam. XV, 17, 3.) Cicero in writing to Cassius jokingly refers to Octavian by a pseudonym, Atius (his grandfather's name) and 'pigmentarius', from his great-grandfather's trade (*unguentarius*, v. Suet. Vit. Div. Aug. 4).

IV, pp. 52–76. H. Pomtow. *Delphische Inschriften*. The inscriptions of the east wall. Two plates and two cuts.

V, pp. 77–87. H. Lewy. *Parallelen zu antiken Sprichwörtern und Apophthegmen*. Thirty-two proverbs are illustrated by parallels mostly drawn from the Hebrew scriptures, Talmud, Midrasch and other Semitic writings.

VI, pp. 88–110. K. Münscher. *Die Isokratesüberlieferung*. Reply to E. Drerup, *Philologus* 55, 1896, p. 667 ff. We cannot

leap over 800 years from our four principal MSS to an archetype of the first or second century. There are two forms of the text. In the course of the first century A. D. the critical editions of Caecilius of Caleacte and Dionysius became the standard. The former accepted 28, the latter 25 speeches. Thus not 60 but the smaller number came to be circulated by the publishers.

VII, pp. 111-120. R. Helm. *Daphnis bei Theokrit*. Theocritus, like Vergil, Ovid and Nonnus, outlines this personage with freedom, and the myth of Daphnis must not be appealed to in the analysis of the idyll for supporting erroneous readings, e. g. vs. 85.

VIII, pp. 121-131. Eb. Nestle. *Zur Rekonstruktion der Septuaginta*. Especially the methods used by the martyr, Lucian of Antioch in his revision.

IX, pp. 132-147. A. Dammann. *Der Anfang des peloponnesischen Krieges*, p. 147: The hitherto accepted statement that the surprise of Plataeae by the Thebans was the beginning of the Peloponnesian War cannot be proved from Thucydides. From the historical standpoint and according to Thuc. it is not the surprise of Plataeae, but the first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians that was the beginning of the war. The words cited from V 20 ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν are accordingly genuine.

Miscellen.—Pp. 148-160. 1, pp. 148-154. E. Goebel. *Kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu Cicero's Tuskulanen*.

2, pp. 154-5. M. Petschenig. *Zu spätlateinischen Schriftstellern*. Eight notes on Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 3. 8, 14. 8, 19. 8, 20. 13; Marcellinus, *Com. ad a.* 512: 518 (Momms.).—Victor Tonnennensis *ad a.* 510, *Origo Constant.* 4, 12 (Momms.).

3, pp. 155-156. M. Maas. *Eine neue Deutung des Kalbträgers im Akropolis-Museum*. From Aristophanes *Äch.* 13 ἐπὶ μύσῳ it is suggested that the familiar archaic figure was a dedicatory statue of some victorious citharoedus.

4, pp. 157-160. M. Maas. *Juvenal und Josephus Iscanus*. Manilius, *Römische Dichter im Mittelalter*, Juvenal, *Philol. N. F.* IV, failed to mention the English monk Josephus Iscanus of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whose poem contains many imitations of Juvenal. It is also suggested that Shakespeare may have known this poem and used it in *Troilus and Cressida*.

P. 160. P. v. Winterfeld. *Zu Juvenal Sat. IV 9*. In Abelard to Heloise, ep. VII, *vitiata* appears for *vilata*. *vitiata* appears in Jahn's ed. of 1851.

X, pp. 161-169. L. Radermacher. *Dinarchus*, p. 169: For information about the life of Dinarchus, we have two sources of some importance, one in Dionysius, the other in Pseudo-Plutarch. After eliminating the traces of a worthless pre-Dionysian tradition, we get in the latter a biography written after Dionysius, based on the oration against Proxenus, fixing details more precisely or

modifying them, and recognizing a greater number of orations as genuine. It claims a certain independence, and can, not without probability, be referred to Caecilius of Caleacte.

XI, pp. 170-204. W. v. Voigt. Unter welchen Gestirnen wurden Caesar, Agrippa und Tiberius geboren? A contribution to the interpretation and dating of the *Astronomica* of Manilius. Caesar was born under Scorpio, Tiberius under Libra, Agrippa perhaps under Sagittarius (p. 197). The poem was published under Tiberius perhaps between 14 and 16 A. D., from allusion to the case of Libo. There follow five excursuses.

XII, pp. 205-214. Fr. Susemihl. Zum zweiten Theile des Parmenides. His system of the universe (p. 212) consisted of (1) dark firmament, (2) upper rim of fire = ether with all the stars, (3) miscellaneous hollow spheres (*a*) sun (*b*) milky way (*c*) moon; (4) and (5) lower double rim.

XIII, pp. 215-223. H. Weber. Zu der Schrift *περι ἀρχαίων ἱερειῶν*. Part III (continued from Philol. LVI, 230-243. Discussion of (1) p. 24, 5 ff. K. (2) p. 24, 14-16 K. (3) The writer differentiates his science from that of the physicists and sophists who were natural philosophers.

XIV, pp. 224-251. K. Lincke. Xenophons Hieron und Demetrios von Phaleron. This dialogue appears not to have been written by X.; it is a fruit of the dekaetia. P. 232: "The free Athenians, who were so jealous of their freedom, were to be shown that they were practically throwing themselves into the arms of a single leader of the state, and surrendering their freedom to him." Demetrios was probably meant. The question of the happiness of the tyrannos is only secondary.

XV, pp. 252-257. K. Praechter. Die Berner Handschrift der Anacharsisbriefe. Collation of (B) Cod. Bern. 579 saec. XIV. chart. fol. 28 r. B and *a* represent one, P and L another branch of a tradition from the common archetype. Two conjectures are added.

XVI, pp. 258-265. A. Hausrath. Ad Babrii editionem novissimam additamenta duo. Gleanings from Cod. Cryptoferrat. 27, and Vat. Graec. 949.

XVII, pp. 266-280. J. B. Mayor. Notulae Criticae in Clementis Alexandrini Protrepticum, with a few foot-notes by Dr. O. Stählin.

XVIII, pp. 281-303. P. de Winterfeld. Observationes Criticae (1) Avienus (8 notes). (2) The Precations of cod. Leid. Voss. Q. 9. (3) Aenigmata Tullii. (4) Correction to interlinear glosses of the cod. Pith. of Juvenal (ed. E. Lommatzsch). (5) Florus' verses to Hadrian. (6) Firm. Matern. p. 3, 28 f. (7) Hist. Apoll. Tyr. cap. 22, p. 41, 3R<sup>1</sup>. (8) The words *pisum* and *Neptunius heros*. (9) Riese Anthol. I, p. 85, v. 66. (10) Dicta Catonis II 3, and (11) lomentum.

P. 303. H. Deiter. Zu Cic. de nat. deor. I 1.

XIX, pp. 304-311. H. Blümner. Kritische Bemerkungen zu Ovids Ars Amatoria, 10 notes.

P. 311. G. Landgraf. Caes. bell. Gall. V. 50. 3 reads 'ut exploratis etc.', or 'at ut etc.'

Miscellen.—Pp. 312-320. 5, pp. 312-314. R. Koellner. Bemerkungen zu den Papyrusfragmenten des platonischen Laches.

6, pp. 314-316. L. Radermacher. Zu Isyllos von Epidauros.

7, pp. 316-318. W. Drexler. Zu Philo de posteritate Caini §161. The emendation *ιεράκων* for *δορκάδων* is wrong, (Philol. LVII 280). The gazelle was considered sharp-sighted.

8, pp. 318-319. J. Ziehen. Zur Kunstmythologie des Adonis. Carm. contra paganos vv. 17 ff. describe a picture.

9, pp. 319-320. J. Ziehen. Zur Kultgeschichte des Fackelwettilaufs. The statues of the city goddesses, Byzantium and Alexandria, had Cupids bearing torches, while Roma and Treves were without them. This is perhaps due to the prominence of the lampodromia in the Greek worship and its absence in the Roman.

XX, pp. 321-342. B. Heisterbergk. Solum Italicum. An exclusively legal expression denoting the territory of the Roman possessions, the opposite of *solum provinciale*, which last includes in the legal sense every thing which is liable to taxation.

XXI, pp. 343-347. A. Mommsen. 'ῥάκος auf attischen Inschriften. The word refers to garments offered to Artemis Brauronia by Athenian maidens after the first menstruation.

XXII, pp. 348-361. H. Jurenka. Pindars sechstes nemeisches Siegeslied. Based on his review of Christ's edition, Z. f. ö. G. 1897, p. 1071-1086, and he draws on Bacchylides for illustrative material. Verse 31 refers to the Aiacidæ from whom the Bassidæ were descended—a race celebrated of yore, which adds to the fame of its progenitors its own glory, i. e. the glory of the later and living descendants.

XXIII, pp. 362-400. W. Nestle. Die Bacchen des Euripides, pp. 399-400 summarize the conclusions. Eur. himself speaks by the mouth of the aged Cadmus and Tiresias. The prevailing view that the Bacchæ occupies a place by itself among his works, especially because it signifies a recantation of philosophical opinions expressed by the poet elsewhere, is untenable. It is unlikely that Euripides was converted between the seventy-second and seventy-fourth year of his age to the old faith in the gods. Similar passages for such a recantation might have been cited from the Suppliants and Ion. The hero, Pentheus opposes the cult of Dionysos from *ἔβρις*. Euripides through Cadmus and Tiresias emphasizes his own view that *σωφροσύνη* and *σοφία* are not incapable of being united with the Bacchic *ἐνθουσιασμός*.

XXIV, pp. 401-406. O. Immisch. Babriana, ad Ottonem Crusium. Notes on fab. 25 and 1 and the prooemium.

XXV, pp. 407-421. R. Fuchs. *Anecdota Hippocratea*. Die *Epistula Vindiciani ad Gaium* (oder *Pentadium*) nepotem suum und der *codex Dresdensis* Dc. 185.

XXVI, pp. 422-436. Fr. Reuss. Zu *Valerius Flaccus Argon.* I-IV. Conjectures.

XXVII, pp. 437-450. K. Niemeyer. Zu *Seneca*, 23 critical and exegetical notes on the dialogues and epistles.

XXVIII, pp. 451-466. S. Eitrem. *Observationes mythologicae maxime ad Ovidium spectantes*. (1) The Io-myth (*a*) the form in *Callimachus* (*b*) in *Ovid*. (2) *Phaethon*. (3) *Atalanta*. (4) The *Etruscan pirates*.

Miscellen.—Pp. 467-480. 10, pp. 467-9. P. Kretschmer. Eine theräische Felsinschrift.

11, pp. 469-472. R. Peppmüller. Zu *Demosthenes de corona*, 289. Reads in the epigram on the warriors who fell at *Chairo-neia*: v. 3 ἀπετῇ καὶ ἀδελμαῖνοι. v. 5 μὴ (ἐπὶ) ζυγόν. v. 8. ὅστέ' ἐπέι.

12, pp. 472-3. G. Lehnert: Zum *Cyclops* des *Euripides* reads σούς for τοὺς (288).

13, pp. 473-4. K. Praechter. Ein unbeachtetes *Herakleitos*-fragment. In the scholia to *Epictetus* of the cod. Bodl. gr. misc. 251 fol. 157a, in *Schenkl's* ed. p. LXXI ff. is the note 'Ἡρακλείτου' ψυχὰ ἀρηϊφάτου καθαρώτεραι ἢ ἐνὶ νούσοις. It does not come directly from *Her. περὶ φύσεως* but a later metrical version. With it is to be compared fr. 102 (Byw.).

14, pp. 474-6. R. Helm. De *Hecales Callimacheae* in *Latini-um conversae* fragmento. In *Fulg.* p. 180 (ed. *Muncker*) ientaculum inferre Iovi.

15, pp. 476-7. E. Goebel. Kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu *Cic. Tuskulanen*, 21 V. 78, 22 V. 113.

16, pp. 477-8. H. Fischer. H. Kurz über *Lucans Pharsalia*. In a letter to *Mörike* Sept. 1838, the poet K. wrote of the verse 'Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni,' "Ist das nun nicht ganz französisch? Ein grosser Witz, aber doch klein und nur frivol."

17, pp. 479-480. O. Cr. Zur Würdigung der Exkurse bei den antiken Prosaikern. Notes of our modern type were avoided by the ancients not for artistic considerations but because the ancient writer thought of the oral reading of his work.

18, p. 180. M. Petschenig. Zu *Corippus Ioh.* I. 32.

XXIX, pp. 481-497. P. Hartwig. Eine *Aretinische Gefässform* mit *Scenen aus der Phaethonsage*—with one plate. Description of a vase in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, No. 63, p. 89 of *Annual Report XIII*. It came from the workshop of *Perennius* from the hand of *Bargates* in the first century B. C.

XXX, pp. 498-502. H. Vysoký. *Epigraphische Kleinigkeiten*. I. Zum *Tragiker Arcestratos*. II. Zu den *dodonäischen Orakelinschriften*.

XXXI, pp. 503-552. W. Kolbe. De Atheniensium re navali quaestiones selectae. 1. Quomodo Atheniensium res maritimae usque ad 376 creverint atque deminutae sint. II. Quomodo res navalis administrata sit. a) De superiorum temporum ratione. b) De quinti saeculi ratione administrandi. 1. De magistratibus. 2. De trierarchia. 3. De nautarum stipendio et comaeatu.

XXXII, pp. 553-557. E. Lange. Noch einmal der Anfang des peloponnesischen Krieges. A rejoinder to Dammann's article in *Philol.* LVIII, pp. 132-147. He is certain that Thucydides himself considered the surprise of Plataeae as the beginning of the war.

XXXIII, pp. 558-576. W. Soltau. Ein chronologisches Fragment der Oxyrhynchos-Papyri (I Series, No. XII) Summary p. 576: The writer made use of a late chronographer who without possessing a thorough and minute knowledge of Greek and Roman history faithfully copied and 'contaminated' his sources: a man who, though he had respect for the data of Varro and Nepos, did not dare to use them when they seemed to contradict the usual statements of the Greek historians. A Greek Table was the basis, to which he added from a compendium which contained extracts from Varro, Nepos and another annalistic source.

XXXIV, pp. 577-593. O. Crusius. Pigres und die Batrachomyomachie bei Plutarch. 1. Plutarch could have used Ptolemaios Chennos. 2. The clause about Pigres in Herod. IX 52, came into the text from a marginal note, which pushed out the original. 3. The source of Plut. Sulla 36 is Ptolemaios Chennos. 4. The form 'batrachomyomachia' is the best attested and also the oldest.

XXXV, pp. 594-616. W. Drexler. Alte Beschwörungsformeln. 1. Byzantine incantation of the *ὑστίερα* and an Italian prayer against the male del fianco e di matrone. 2. A magic formula of Marcellus of Bordeaux on rings. 3. Notes on Kyranis II στ. ζ §8, 9. on the use of the lizard for disease of the eye.

XXXVI, pp. 617-620. H. Weber. Plautina. Notes on Amph. 291 ffg. 930, Asin., 631, Curc. 256 ffg.

Miscellen.—Pp. 621-632. 19, p. 621. G. Knaack. Zu den Kultstätten des Asklepios. (Supplem. to *Philol.* LIII 756.)

20, pp. 622-4. H. Lucas. Die Herkunft Bions und Horazens. Note on the Vita Horati "quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem!" A proverbial expression.

21, pp. 624-627. R. Fuchs. Pseudhippocrates, Epid. VI. 1, cap. 9.

22, pp. 627-628. P. de Winterfeld. Ad Ciceronem et Hyginum. In Cic. de or. I, 29, 132 after decere, read quod < facias; quod >. In Hyg. Astron. II, 5, read patefaceret for satisfaceret.

23, pp. 628-632. A. Frederking. Zu Ciceros Briefen. Indices, etc.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.



## BRIEF MENTION.

A mischievous writer in a recent number of the *Revue Critique* says that the ever-increasing tendency to publish editions with translations will bring with it greater confidence in the editors whose commentaries often lead one to suspect that they do not understand their texts. In DIELS'S *Herakleitos von Ephesos (Griechisch und Deutsch)*, (Berlin, Weidmann) the German version was not needed to show the editor's thorough adequacy, and the German press has congratulated the translator on the artistic skill with which he has caught the oracular tone of Nietzsche's 'Also Sprach Zarathustra'. But what interests me personally even more than the admirable rendering is the preface in which DIELS gives expression to a view which I have long entertained but have never had the courage to advocate. 'The philosophy of Herakleitos the Obscure is by no means so obscure', says DIELS, 'as is the unanimous plaint of ancient and modern times', and, himself an editor of Parmenides, he adds that Herakleitos is obscure in the form only, Parmenides is opaque in content also. As to the sense, as to the reach of his ideas, Herakleitos is perfectly clear, whereas Parmenides never succeeded in working himself out into perfect clearness even to his own mind. Herakleitos surrounds his ripe fruit with a protective envelope, so that it may not fall into the hands of unworthy nibblers. The wisdom of the Eleatic abides still in the bud and awaits the bright sunshine for its full unfolding. The system of Parmenides has evoked a development; Herakleitos, whose system was complete, has found imitators of every degree of slavishness but no real successor.

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The far-famed Herakleitean obscurity, continues DIELS, lies only in the style, and the question whether this obscurity is designed or no is not so easy to answer. He himself refers to the prophecy of Apollo and the voices of the Sibyl as the patterns of his oracular style. This looks like design. But how little does an artist know of his own style and his own design. There is no domain in which the freedom of the will is more overrated than in the domain of art, especially in the art of the writer. Herakleitos fancies that his style is his own, and he is undoubtedly the most subjective, and, in a certain sense, the most modern prose writer of antiquity; and yet this highly personal style bears the stamp of a period that was ringing with the prophetic cry, Overturn, Overturn, Overturn, of a period to be compared with

that of the Reformation, of the French Revolution. Orphicism was rampant in Attica, Ionia was under the sway of Rationalism, the brother of Mysticism; and scientific investigation and rapt vision were often united in the same person, as in Anaximenes, Pythagoras and even Xenophanes. Pindar, Aischylos, Herakleitos, all show the same impress and all speak the same hieratic language. And yet this hieratic stiffness of Herakleitos is relieved by a strong immixture of subjectivity. The prophet is, as one might say, at the same time a professor; and there never was a livelier wielder of the tawse than was the atrabilious Basileus of Ephesos.

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But I will yield no longer to the temptation of summarizing the essay, which is already as compact as it well can be; and as DIELS has abandoned the obscurity of Herakleitos' style to the uncovenanted mercies of the critics, I will only say that whenever the course of my studies brings me back to Herakleitos, I have always treated him exactly as I should do Pindar and Aischylos. He is as inevitable as they and not harder nor more obscure. 'Obscure' is really not the word for him. The Latin 'tenebri-cosus' is much better. The 'malae tenebrae Orci' are full of visions, and everyone who has had to do with poets, whose darkness is not a manufactured darkness,—not the darkness with which the squid envelops itself, but the midnight of the pole,—every such student knows how the eye becomes familiar with Erebos and how figure after figure comes out to reward the intense gaze, *νυκτιλαμπεί κυανέω τε δινόφω ταθείς*. And after this commonplace world what a season of refreshing is the intercourse with this dervish in his midden, not on it merely. True, as one looks over the list of 137 fragments and thinks what marvels have been evoked from these oracles, all of which go into some fifteen loosely printed pages, a mere student of philosophy as literature is ashamed to let his idle fancies twist themselves round these broken pillars of the bridge which Herakleitos threw over the universe and clamber over the parapets of the *γέφυραι πολέμοιο* from which he looked down on the Eternal Flux. And yet Herakleitos is poetry and must be poetically interpreted. What if he did say that the sun has the breadth of a human foot? (fr. 3 Diels). The magnitude of the sun was a problem in those days, and the Peloponnesos, which was an exaggerated standard to most of them, seems but scant measure to us. May we not have here merely a scornful reference to the Skiapods, figures of fairy tale, mentioned by Aristophanes in his *Märchenkomödie*? To be sure, the ordinary human foot suffices to shut out the sun as does the dollar in modern times; and as the philosopher lay in his dungbath he may easily have tried the experiment. *τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἐόντος ξυνοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἴδιαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν* (fr. 92 Byw.). What is that but a protest against the individualism that expresses itself in Pindar's *ἴδιος ἐν κοινῷ σταλαίς* (O. 13, 49)? Every

commentator has noticed the coincidence between *πᾶν ἱρπετόν* < θεοῦ > *πληγῇ νέμεται* (fr. 55 Byw.), a thought which survives in our 'instinct', and the *Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν* of the Agamemnon; and I never read the oracle in which Herakleitos says that the prayers of the masses to the statues of the gods are like talking to a dead wall without thinking of *ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις | ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα*. 'Without vision the people perish'. *ὥρας αἱ πάντα φέρουσι* (fr. 34 Byw.) is Sappho's *Ἔσπερε πάντα φέρεις*; and finally *τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός* (fr. 28 Byw.) recalls Shelley's 'Cloud' with its 'Lightning my pilot sits'. In fact, Shelley's 'pilot' may be due to Herakleitos's steersman, for it is hard to exaggerate Shelley's love of Greek or debt to Greek. See A. J. P. XII 94, and Churton Collins's review of Rossetti's edition of Shelley's *Adonais* in his *Ephemeria Critica*.

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However, I will reserve for one of those later days that may never come, my essay on the Poetry of Herakleitos; and I will only say that he that hath an ear can hear in these oracles everywhere the stately march of the dactylo-epitrite if one dare speak of dactylo-epitrites in the existing chaos of metre. But before leaving the fascinating subject of Herakleitos, I can not forbear to add an odd illustration of the danger of hasty criticism, the danger that the emitter of *Brief Mentions* himself runs every quarter. Some dozen years ago or more there appeared an American rendering of Herakleitos with an elaborate introduction. The book was promptly reviewed by an eminent Scottish Hellenist, who proceeded to point out sundry mistakes, which he considered elementary. Some of them were elementary, some incomprehensible; and as the translator was not a professed Grecian, he had to take his gruel, if I may use a bit of brutal British slang. But the gruel was Scottish gruel and in comparing the passages criticised with the new version, it seems to me that I can discern the influence of locality on the critic. So, for instance, my compatriot rendered the famous fragment (46 Byw.): *τὸ ἀντίφρον συμφέρον* 'The unlike is joined together' the general sense of which is not so very far from DIELS's version: 'Das auseinander Strebende vereinigt sich', whereas the critic's translation 'Counter-irritation is helpful' is singularly out of keeping with the context and suggests nothing so much as the *milieu* of the Scotch fiddle and the scratching post.

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It is not a little remarkable that, despite the activity developed by American classical scholars during the last quarter of a century, American contributions to conjectural criticism have been so few. This appeal from MSS that we have to a MS that has been lost does not seem to exercise the same fascination on the American as on the European mind. Of course, our German friends, our

German masters, would have a ready explanation. The American is a practical creature and as he knows that the margin of success is very small, that the public on which he wishes to unload his conjectural stock is very cool, and that editors very often fail to list the offerings that are made, it is not surprising that your practical American—we are all practical Americans—turns his attention to other fields of speculation. But this is only one aspect of the case. It can hardly be the sole explanation; and there are those who regard the scantiness of our conjectural work as a sign of philological nonage. For conjectural criticism demands the highest faculties. One must not only be master of all the possibilities and all the probabilities, every shade of vocabulary, every propriety of syntax, the period of the language, the sphere of the author, his thought, his habits. There must be added to all this the gift of insight that no apparatus however elaborate can replace. Otherwise conjectures are random guesses, which are so many impertinences to the busy mortals who are trying to understand their texts. Of course, a fair knowledge of the language and a certain palaeographic vision will suffice for a modest line of emendation; and every hour of the twenty-four some obscure proof-reader in some back room of a newspaper office is making corrections which would be classed among the *palmares emendationes*, if they were published in the critical apparatus of a Greek or Latin text. Not to be too personal, the peculiar character of my own handwriting forces on me problems of this sort every few days especially 'on a forgotten matter.' So in A. J. P. XXIII 20, l. 17 fr. top, the printed page shows 'in case of verbs.' On reading the passage over carefully, after it was too late, I emended 'verbs' into 'doubt' and my conjecture was confirmed by a careful examination of the *ductus litterarum* of the original. The only inference to be drawn from this is that we have not the same native familiarity with Latin and Greek that we have with English. Or else so much ado would not be made about very simple matters. On Persius 3, 29 Heinrich suggested in 1844 for *ve tuum* the reading *vetulum*. It seems too easy to be true. Nor is the sense perfectly satisfactory: 'old cock of a censor.' Still it is a way out of a grammatical difficulty. In the Classical Review for March 1888, p. 85, Mr. Stanwell makes the same suggestion, on which I did not fail to comment, A. J. P. IX 126. And yet in the Classical Review for June of this year (p. 283) the editor, who is also the editor of a Corpus Poetarum Latinorum and an eminent scholar, divides the prize for 'the correction' between Messrs. A. C. Clark, A. B. Cook and A. B. Keith, carefully arranged in alphabetical order. And now comes in the July number Mr. J. U. Powell and claims the correction as original with Mr. Stanwell.

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Now it is to me a thing incomprehensible that scholars should be so enthusiastic about the credit of such minuscule affairs,

still more incomprehensible that they should rush into print without a decent examination of the critical apparatus. But the higher work of the conjectural critic is another matter and I only regret that much of it is not done in this country. Unfortunately when articles in this line are offered to me, I am often forced by pressure of matter to postpone publication with the almost invariable result that after a few weeks the enthusiastic author is as eager to withdraw his conjecture as he was to advance it. But one elaborate reconstruction of a famous passage has been in my editorial drawer for a considerable time, and while I cannot reproduce the whole, I must no longer withhold the 'evident correction.' The thing is done *secundum artem*. The text, as it stands, is torn to pieces and there is a long and learned disquisition on the mosquito in antiquity and the cryptic use of the *culex anopheles* in Greek poetry, all which I must suppress. The passage is found in Aischylos, Ag. 965 and runs in Wecklein's ed. thus:

τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως  
δεῖμα προστατήριον  
καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκίλευστος ἄμσθος ἀοιδά;

The chorus is commenting on the language of Klytaimestra, in the half-echoing way that choruses have. Klytaimestra had said v. 882:

ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν  
λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην  
ριπαῖσι θωύσσοντος,

and with these words in mind the chorus utters the distressful chant:

τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπίδων  
δῆγμα<sup>1</sup> προσστικτήριον  
καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται.

The changes are very simple, the sense penetratingly appropriate. There is no contradiction such as we have between *ἐμπέδως*, *προστατήριον* and *ποτᾶται*; the fact that *προσστικτήριον* is not in the lexicæ ought to count in its favor and no one who has heard the buzz of the New Jersey *culex* can fail to appreciate the propriety of *μαντιπολεῖ* (*νυκτιπολεῖ*?) δ' ἀκίλευστος ἄμσθος ἀοιδά in this new setting.

The first part of CARL WUNDERER'S *Polybios-Forschungen* (Leipzig, Dietrichsche Buchhandlung) had to do with *Proverbs and Proverbial Turns in Polybios*. It is an interesting contribution to the study of the great historian, great despite his limitations; and the second part, *Citata und gefügelte Worte bei Polybios*, is not less interesting and is even more important, more important for the

<sup>1</sup> Anticipated by Stephanus.—B. L. G.

appreciation of Polybios and more important for our own comfort. With all the wealth of Greek literature at his command, Polybios was less penetrated by its spirit than we poor moderns. Hesiod, Epicharmos, Simonides, Pindar were known to him, according to WUNDERER, only by their *ἴσα πρεσβεία*. Alkaios, Sappho, Anakreon, he either did not know or ignored; and WUNDERER thinks that Polybios showed all that he knew. Of the dramatists the old masters Aischylos and Sophokles exercised no influence on his aesthetic views of the character of the tragedy. The thoughts of Euripides, who dominated the Hellenistic age, are readily recognized in the historian but the wise sayings of the tragic poet were the common property of the Greek people, and quotations and allusions no more prove the study of the drama as drama, than the use of Biblical texts proves actual familiarity with the passages *in situ*. Homer is still the poet *κατ' ἐξοχήν* and Polybios finds it necessary to bring up the Homeric Question. But the quotations are all trite, and while the Stoic ideal of Odysseus may have comforted, encouraged and instructed the historian in practical life and while he may have found guidance in the oracle of Homeric wisdom, Polybios had only the current knowledge of the Homeric poems and they exercised no deeper influence on the aesthetic and moral training of the historian.

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This unliterary or non-literary character of Polybios' history is to be explained, says WUNDERER, by the personality of the writer and the trend of his time. Here and there a vivid description is to be found in Polybios but his light is for the most part a *siccum lumen*. He despised the rhetoricians; and the rhetoricians of a later day—witness Dionysios—returned the compliment in the name of the guild. In fact, he learned to value the treasures of his own literature only when he saw how the Romans valued them. His training had been a practical one and his affinities were with the Stoics, who prized poetry for its ethical contents solely. The religious basis of morality was gone and the poet had taken the place of the prophet and the priest. But this 'verhängnisvolle Wirkung' of the Stoics, of which WUNDERER speaks, is quite in line with the original Greek conception of the office of poetry. The didactic function of the poet, it is not too much to say, was always present to the Greek mind. We repeat after Horace 'miscuit utile dulci' but we must remember that in the beginning the Greek poured wine into the water and not the other way. But the subject is a large one and cannot be developed here. Suffice it to say that WUNDERER'S new study helps to reconcile the Greek scholar to the oncoming of Rome. It was time for the Roman to take up the lamp that the Greek splinter (Ar., V. 249) had failed to quicken into light and life. One of the greatest debts we owe the Roman is the victory of the earlier and healthier Greek literature over the later growth. (A. J. P. XIX 115.)

## NECROLOGY.

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### ALFRED WILLIAM STRATTON.

American scholars, especially of the younger generation, as well as his many warm friends in Canada and the United States, have heard or read, with a great shock, of the recent death of Professor ALFRED WILLIAM STRATTON in India. He died at the early age of 38, at Gulmarg in Kashmir, on the 23d of August of the present year. With him comes to an end one of the most hopeful, interesting and useful careers ever entered upon by an American scholar.

Professor Stratton was a Canadian by birth, was graduated in 1887 in the University of Toronto, and for some years after taught the classics in the Hamilton Collegiate Institute. In 1892 he came to the Johns Hopkins University as a student of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, was appointed Fellow in 1893, and promoted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1895. As he entered these studies through the door of the Classics his dissertation occupied middle ground between Greek and Comparative Philology. He felt induced very early in his studies to collect on a scale as exhaustive as possible, the materials for a complete history of Greek noun-formation, in other words, the history of the Greek noun-suffixes. The dissertation which he presented, 'the first of a series of papers in which I hope to present an account of the history of noun-formation in Greek', dealt with the most important *m*- suffixes (*-mo-*, *-meno-*, *-men-*, and *-mṇto-*); it was published in the second volume of the University of Chicago Series, entitled *Studies in Classical Philology* (1899, vol. ii, pp. 115-243). The little book made its mark: it is by far the most exhaustive and penetrating treatment of a chapter in Greek noun-formation that has yet been made. A complete history of the whole subject along Stratton's lines of research would be an invaluable contribution to the history of Greek grammar, as well as to the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages.

Soon after taking his degree he was appointed Assistant and later Associate in Sanskrit at the University of Chicago; there he remained, a successful teacher and investigator, until the year 1899.

At that time the combined position of Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore and Registrar of the Panjab University became vacant. The incumbent of that position, the famous Indologist, M. A. Stein, had accepted the post of Principal of the Madrassah in Calcutta: I was called upon to suggest a successor. It was pleasant to be able to recommend without the least reserve such a man as Dr. Stratton; he was duly appointed to the difficult, responsible, and rewardful post. The duties of the position were to administer the affairs of higher education in the Panjab, and at the same time to manage the Oriental College of the University and to lecture on Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. With characteristic breadth and thoroughness Stratton set about to meet the needs of his offices. The teachers of the Oriental College are all natives, the students very largely so. It was necessary to converse fluently in Sanskrit with the Pandits, and to be able to lecture in Hindustani or Urdu, the *lingua franca* of North-India. At the time of his death these things had ceased to be problems for Stratton; and the ardent labor and close application necessary for such accomplishments may readily be imagined, considering that he was during the same time what we should call the President of the entire Panjab University.

Large plans for ultimate researches were not wanting during these brief years. At the Johns Hopkins University he had conceived the plan of an exhaustive bibliography of the Upaniṣads. These highly interesting theosophic treatises, indefinitely numerous in their variety and nomenclature, published singly and in collections both in India and in Europe, required the ordering hand of a sound scholar. This work was continued in Chicago and the ultimate completion of it seemed secure. North-India is the home of the Vedic school of the Kathas and Stratton's studies led him constantly to the search of materials for the ultimate publication of the Sūtras of this school. A good paper of an archaeological character, on a recently excavated sculpture of the Buddhist goddess Haritī was read at the last meeting, in April 1902, of the American Oriental Society and will be published in the forthcoming volume of its Journal.

In July of the present year he left Lahore for his vacation in



Kashmir; he appeared to be well, though overworked and weakened by the heat of the North-Indian summer, the hottest summer of any civilized country. The second day after reaching the mountains he fell ill of Malta fever, died, and was buried at Gulmarg. His wife was with him until the end came: there are no children.

Indian science has lost through his death one of its most promising workers; those who knew him best a friend and companion of singular attractiveness of character. He was destined to become a large scholar, but without the least accompanying touch of self-seeking or aggressiveness. Gentle, amiable, and devoted, he will be remembered, I think, with affection and admiration by every one who knew him in the course of his brief but varied career.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

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## I.—THE TALE OF GYGES AND THE KING OF LYDIA.

### II.

We have now to consider the two great motifs of the Herodotean narrative—the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge. Did these belong to the popular tale, or did Herodotos find them elsewhere and insert them in the place of other incidents now lost? On this point the testimony of Plato is only negative. Nor does the replacement of the ring help us at all in itself. Undoubtedly the ring belonged to the murder scene. But this does not imply that the queen's revenge was the cause of the murder. No one, it is true, can disabuse himself of the feeling that the ring had something to do with the door episode. We may be sure that, in some form or other, the door episode goes back to the popular story. But this, too, does not presuppose the folly of Kandaules and, with it, the motive for the queen's revenge as elements in the popular legend. In short, we are again driven back to the brief summary of Plato. Nevertheless, before seeking possible testimony in other sources, it is worth noting that certain general considerations tend to suggest that something like the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge did exist in the popular story.

1. If Herodotos used the popular story at all—and this seems to be beyond a doubt—it would hardly be worth considering unless it had contained some such incidents as these.

2. Other versions of the story agree that Gyges was obliged to slay or be slain and that it was the queen who put him in this position.

3. The summary given by Plato does not preclude the presence of both elements. In such a brief statement as this, it is, in fact, just these two incidents that were most likely to be omitted. An abstract concerns itself with the result, not the details.

But we shall get more light on this point from the later references to Gyges. We should remind ourselves, however, that now our investigation is attended by growing complication and uncertainty. We may have to reckon with the faint echo of still other versions long since lost, or of antique attempts to reconcile Herodotos and Plato on no better testimony than ours.

These two versions were now famous in the literature. Their dary and reflex influence upon the old popular version itself no means, impossible. An inaccurate and defective memory, is not the exclusive possession of our own day. Finally, we have to deal with mere rhetoricians. This tribe cannot be trusted to preserve a paltry fact at the expense of a moral sentiment or a brilliant antithesis.

The first important passage to be considered is still a fifth version of Gyges' rise to power. This is found in Iustinus, I 7, 14 f., and reads as follows:

Fuere Lydis multi ante Croesum reges variis casibus memorabiles, nullus tamen fortunae Candauli comparandus. Hic uxorem, quam propter formae pulchritudinem deperiebat, praedicare omnibus solebat, non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia, nisi etiam matrimonii reticenda publicaret, prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset. Ad postremum, ut adfirmationi suae fidem faceret, nudam sodali suo Gygi ostendit. Quo pacto et amicum in adulterium uxoris sollicitatum hostem sibi fecit et uxorem, veluti tradito alii amore, a se alienavit. Namque brevi tempore caedes Candauli nuptiarum pretium fuit et uxor mariti sanguine dotata regnum viri et se pariter adultero tradidit.

The work of Iustinus, which Schanz<sup>1</sup> is inclined to place in the third century A. D., is a collection of edifying extracts of the most pronounced rhetorical type from the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus. This was written in the age of Augustus. It is now generally acknowledged that the principal authority of Trogus was Timagenes, a Greek historian of the same period, but slightly earlier. The credit of this discovery belongs to A. von Gutschmid,<sup>2</sup> but his rather sweeping conclusions are

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Röm. Literatur*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl., München, 1899, par. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, V 352; V 218.

now more clearly limited and defined.<sup>1</sup> Whether Trogus took this story of Kandaules directly from Timagenes is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> But, at all events, either directly or through Timagenes, it goes back to some Alexandrian source not far from the time of Plato.<sup>3</sup> This is the important point for us and may be considered as fairly proved.

Now, this version of Iustinus + Trogus + X might be merely a development of Herodotos for a special rhetorical purpose, though, when we consider the period of X, his entire dependence on Herodotos may fairly be doubted. Or, as this version comes to us through a line of historians, X, or his ultimate literary source, must be the result of rationalization. If so, the date of X goes to show that the legend used was none other than that which Herodotos and Plato had before them. Or, thirdly, the version of Iustinus may represent a rationalization colored by the reflex influence of Herodotos. Let us examine the passage itself.

The account of Iustinus comes nearer to Herodotos, as Gutschmid<sup>4</sup> observes, than any other version. But, of course, this observation has no definite value for us until we are able to say wherein Herodotos differed from the popular story. Gutschmid also noted that Iustinus' closing words, *regnum viri*, etc., seem to echo the last sentence of Herodotos, *ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλῆην Γύγης*. But who will fail to perceive that this phrase forms an equally fitting and characteristic ending to the popular story?

On the other hand, though this version of Iustinus is not only shrouded in rhetoric, but, to a certain extent, has actually disappeared in it, no one will fail to perceive that it contains elements not found in Herodotos. The differences, as Gutschmid himself observes, are noteworthy. Kandaules talks of his wife to everyone, not to Gyges alone, as in Herodotos. This, to be sure, might be due to carelessness. The story is several degrees removed from its literary source and rhetoric is not concerned with accuracy in details. But a far more important difference

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Hermes*, XVI 619; Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVI 477; Einleit. in *das Stud. der alten Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 115, f., etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Schanz, l. c., par. 329, and authorities quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Many attempts to identify the ultimate authority of Trogus more definitely have been made (cf. Schanz, l. c., par. 329) but with no great success. But the purposes of this investigation do not require any further examination of this question. For us it is sufficient to call him X.

<sup>4</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, V 53, f.

between Iustinus and Herodotos is suggested by the sentence, *quo pacto—alienavit* and the expression, *brevi post tempore*. Upon considering these with the remainder of the passage, the version which emerges from Iustinus' rhetoric is about as follows:

Kandaules talked of his wife to everybody. This emphasizes more than in Herodotos the folly and bad taste of the king. Finally, to prove his statements, he puts Gyges, his trusted friend, behind the door, as in Herodotos (*nudam—ostendit*). As in Herodotos again, the queen saw Gyges, but made no sign, as she understood the situation. Her love for Kandaules is therefore turned to hatred, and she dreams of revenge (*uxorem—alienavit*). Hence she yields to Gyges, who had fallen in love with her, and had therefore become the king's enemy (*quo pacto—fecit*). Not long after, having gained Gyges, she offered him the throne and herself if he would kill the king. The deed is accomplished and the price paid in full.

It has already been observed that the door episode here is undoubtedly that of Herodotos. It is equally clear, on the other hand, that the love affair is that of the popular story, and that it also occurs in the chronological sequence implied by Plato's summary. It is not found in Herodotos, but we have already discovered that its absence is due to rationalization. We have even followed one trace, perhaps, of the process in his passing comment regarding Gyges' visits to the queen. The replacement of the ring motif brought to light that these visits in the popular story must have referred to the love affair. The version of Iustinus shows that, setting aside the ring motif, which, in this connection, is not yet accounted for, the love affair was, or could be, quite in harmony with the door episode. In Iustinus the love affair was, in fact, the immediate result of it. The visits are, naturally, after the door episode, not before it, as in Herodotos. The interview with Gyges is *brevi post tempore*, i. e., after the love affair was a *fait accompli*, not, as in Herodotos,<sup>1</sup> the very next morning. These two changes in Herodotos would evidently be due to rationalization, with the view of placing the queen, and, especially, Gyges, in a more favorable light, but, at the same time, without disturbing the great dramatic events of the story. For it will be observed that, while Iustinus' version shows that the love affair of the old legend is perfectly compatible with the door episode, it also shows that the love affair is in perfect

<sup>1</sup> ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ τὰχιστα ἐγγίνεε, etc. The reader will observe with what a trifling alteration Herodotos changed the whole atmosphere of the story.

harmony with the queen's revenge. The motive of her revenge is the same as in Herodotos, it is only her method of executing it that has changed. The love affair, in short, has become a chapter of it. How much the personal appearance of Gyges may have been supposed to influence the queen in her resolve to write this chapter cannot be said. At all events, it helped to square accounts with Kandaules by a method which some of the Italian *novelle*, among other literary authorities, would have us believe is peculiarly feminine. It also committed Gyges to herself and thus paved the way for further designs. It will be observed that the plot so far developed bears an even closer resemblance to the story of Rosamund than the version of Herodotos itself.

The last sentence of Iustinus is a rolling period so full of rhetoric and moral sentiment that the details of the murder have entirely disappeared and the substance of the interview has all but reached the vanishing point. It might appear, at first sight, that when she thought the proper time had come the queen simply appealed to Gyges through the motives of lust and ambition, without any reference to the door episode. The statement of Plato does not help us here. For a moment, therefore, let us consider Iustinus from another point of view.

The version of Iustinus is a highly rhetorical passage, the object of which is not so much to tell the story of Kandaules as to point a moral to be derived from that story. It is also an abridgment. Further, it is the abridgment of a rationalized version which was also clearly influenced by a strong rhetorical bias and, after the well-known methods of ancient rhetoric, presented from that side, a different side from the one presented by Herodotos. The centre of gravity, so to speak, in Iustinus is the folly of Kandaules, for the dire but natural consequences of which, he can blame no one but himself. The best way to bring out this sentiment and point the moral was to aggravate the guilt of Gyges and his accomplice as much as possible, having first emphasized the close and tender relations which had previously existed between them and Kandaules. It is clear that the story of Iustinus has been influenced by this consideration, and that it is due to this cause if his last sentence was meant to imply that the queen simply appealed to baser motives alone.

But as a matter of fact Iustinus' words do not necessarily imply this. They are also a rhetorical abridgment. The story

of Herodotos, evidently very close to Iustinus' original as well as to the popular tale, agrees with Xanthos that Gyges was forced by the queen to slay or be slain. This motif is not precluded by the abridgment of Iustinus any more than it was by the abridgment of Plato. It is perfectly compatible with the plot of Iustinus so far developed. The queen, having first posted her slaves as in Herodotos, may summon Gyges to the interview and tell him—as a last resort—that he must slay or be slain. She may also impart the information, hitherto kept to herself—certainly, in the popular story, Gyges never betrayed the fact—that she saw him *ἐξίοντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*, that she knew who placed him there, that, if he now refuses to comply with her wishes, she shall, let us say, copy Phaidra's method of revenge upon Hippolytos.

There can be little doubt that the murder scene in the model of Iustinus was the same that we find in Herodotos. The special point too that the queen makes of repeating the door scene betrays her state of mind and is a highly dramatic touch that can hardly have been absent from a popular tale which seems to have contained all the preliminary conditions leading up to it. In fact, Plato records that Gyges had the help of the queen in this episode and his statement has every appearance of referring to the account of it given by Herodotos.

We have seen that X, the ultimate literary source of Iustinus could not have been far from the time of Plato. This was the period of all others when we know that the old legend of Gyges was still current, when, in fact, the summary of Plato may have aroused new interest in it. Under such conditions it is not likely that X would have merely attempted to reconstruct Herodotos on the basis of Plato. It is easier and more reasonable to suppose that X was an independent rationalization of the old popular legend, affected, perhaps, by the phraseology of Herodotos. The high probability of this conclusion is further enhanced by the general considerations already mentioned.

If this is true—and I think that it can hardly be doubted—our question is answered, and we can be certain of that which, otherwise, is only highly probable. The old folk-tale used by Plato and Herodotos contained not only the erotic episode which Herodotos suppressed but it also contained the two great motifs of his version; the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge.

We now have to consider how the element of marvel was

harmonized with such a plot. The way in which the ring was used in the love affair has already been derived from Herodotos and Iustinus. The utility of it, also, for the slaughter of Kandaules is, of course, obvious. It may also be easily harmonized with the details of that scene preserved by Herodotos and referred to by Plato. What we still have to discover is how it was managed in the door scene. If Gyges possessed a ring of darkness, how was it that the queen saw him? That she did see him is the essential point of this episode in any version. It is not impossible, of course, to suggest a detail which will explain the situation. Plenty of hints for it might be drawn from other folk-tales of a similar nature. Fortunately, however, we are not driven to this solution of the difficulty.

Ptolemaios Chennos<sup>1</sup> who, according to Suidas, belonged to the latter half of the first century A. D., is known chiefly as the author of a *Καινὴ Ἱστορία* in seven<sup>2</sup> books. The abstract of it by Photios<sup>3</sup> shows that he was a mythographer of the semi-novelistic type.

In this work,<sup>4</sup> as reported by Photios, Chennos stated:

"The wife of Kandaules, whose name Herodotos does not mention, was called Nysia.<sup>5</sup> According to report, she was *δίκροτος*,<sup>6</sup> and extremely sharp

<sup>1</sup> See Christ, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, 3d edit., Munich, 1898, p. 762. See, also, Müller's *Geog. Graeci Min.*, II, p. LVII. I regret that the article of Hercher, JJ., Suppl. I 269-293, is not available to me.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sechs Bücher' (Christ, l. c.) is an oversight.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Mythographi Graeci*, Westermann, p. 192; Müller FHG, III, 383, note; IV 278.

<sup>5</sup> On these names (Tudo, Nysia, Habro) for the queen of Kandaules, see, especially, Müller, FHG, III 384, note 54, and IV 278.

Tudo (Damaskenos-Xanthos) is the only name deserving any serious consideration. She was a Mysian princess according to Xanthos, and Müller, l. c., therefore, suggests that Nysia is a mistake for Mysia. It is just as likely to be a name manufactured by the authority of Chennos on the basis of Mysia. Elsewhere, Nysia is not vouched for except in a passage which was probably derived directly or indirectly from Chennos himself. This is a poetical note which J. Tzetzes wrote on his own version of the Gyges story, *Chiliades*, I 144. It is found in Cramer's *Anecdota Oxon.*, III 351 (also quoted in Müller's FHG, IV 278);

Ἡ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τούτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ καὶ Κανδαύλου,  
Παρὰ Αἰνεία φέρεται Σαμακοῖς ἐν λόγοις  
Νυσοῖα κλῆσιν ἔχουσα πρὸς Τερτύλλαν ὡς γράφει  
Τὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἅμα τε καὶ Ἑφαιστίων κλῆσιν.

of sight, being in possession of the stone *δρακοντις*,<sup>1</sup> and on this account perceived Gyges when he was passing out of the door. Others call her Tudo,

On 'Aineias' and his *Σαμνακοὶ Λόγοι* see Müller, FHG, IV 278 (not mentioned in Pauly-Wissowa). This one reference of Tzetzes is all that we know of him. He may be real, but under the circumstances, the reputation of Tzetzes is such (cf., e. g. Krumbacher, *Byzant. Litt.* 2d edit., p. 527) that we need not take Aineias and his book too seriously. Neither Tzetzes nor Chennos himself (Hercher, l. c.) is above suspicion when supportin a statement by some remote authority. Bogus references are, in fact, a noticeable characteristic of Ancient Learning in her senility. We find it in the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, in the astonishing work of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, etc.

The Abas, however, cited by Chennos in this passage is mentioned elsewhere. See FHG, IV 278 and Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 19, no. 11.

The names of Klytia and Habro rest on the authority of Chennos alone.

The tale of Plexiroos is clearly an explanation manufactured *ad hoc*, though it is not at all unlikely that Chennos had an earlier authority for it. The intrusion of the mignon into all departments of literature is highly characteristic of the later Alexandrian Age.

As a matter of fact, Herodotos' failure to name the queen of Kandaules, in itself, tends to show that he had the popular story before him. The chances are that she had no name in the popular story. 'The queen,' *ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως*, is usually quite enough for a fairy-tale.

<sup>1</sup> That is, she had a 'double pupil.' On the origin and meaning of this word and its connection with the superstition of the Evil Eye and supernatural keenness of vision see my article 'Pupula Duplex, a comment on Ovid, *Amores*, I 8, 15,' *Studies in honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 287-300. On p. 291, f., of that article I mentioned Cuvier (Pliny, III, p. 24, Lemaire) and E. Müller (Philol. VII, p. 254, n. 40) as the only two persons who, to my knowledge, had ever expressed any opinion on a pupula duplex. I might have added from the sphere of literature, Théophile Gautier, 'Le Roi Candaule,' *Nouvelles*, Paris, Fasquelle, 1893, p. 376, and Robert Lytton, 'Gyges and Candaules,' *Chronicles and Characters*, London, 1868, vol. I, p. 66. The passage from Gautier is well worth reading as a piece of fine writing on a phenomenon which he did not understand. Lytton says:

She mused a little; and her intricate eyes,  
Orb within orb, grew dark with cruel light.

These lines were evidently suggested by the passage from Chennos. They do not explain *δίκορος*.

At the time my investigation of the double pupil was published (cf. p. 290, n. 1) the 4th volume of *Mélinus*, containing one of Tuchmann's valuable articles on the Evil Eye was not available to me. Since then, a copy has come into my hands, and, for the benefit of any who may be interested in the subject, I add here a notable reference (l. c., p. 33) to the superstition in modern times which had entirely escaped me.

Ami-Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris, 1840, vol. II, p. 123, gives the contents of two Servian folk-songs in which the leading part is played by the double pupil as a sign of the Evil Eye.



some Klytia, but Abas calls her Habro. They say that Herodotos suppressed her name because his favorite Plexiroos, a native of Halikarnasos, fell in love

Tuchmann also notes (l. c., p. 33) Vair, *Trois Livres des Charmes*, Paris, 1583, p. 106 and (l. c., p. 79), Bogue, *Discours des Sorciers*, Paris, 1607, pp. 313-318; *Six Advis en fait de Sorcelerie*, pp. 28-30 and 60. These, however, belong to a class which I had purposely omitted from my investigation because they are nothing but the more or less inaccurate reference to Pliny, VII, 17 not infrequently found in the numberless pseudo-scientific treatises on witchcraft which appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries. Vair, for example, says, (passage quoted by Tuchmann, l. c.); Finablement (ainsi que dit Didymus) ceux-là charment facilement . . . qui ont deux prunelles en chaque oeil, ou bien l'effigie d'un cheval en l'un d'eux . . . The passage is practically a translation of Pliny, VII, 17. 'Ainsi que dit Didymus'—the mention of Didymos in this connection is also found in later authorities—is an interesting case of hereditary citation by name only.

The ultimate authority for 'ainsi que dit Didymus' is a fragment of Didymos Chalkenteros, *Symposiaka*, II, regarding Pliny's Thibii (preserved by Steph. Byzant., 314, 6, M.; cf. M. Schmidt, *Fragmenta Didymi Chal.*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 370) which reads; *θανατοὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, οἷς ἂν πλησιάσῃ, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς θάλασσαν ῥιπέντα οὐ καταδύνουσιν.*

It is perfectly obvious that Didymos and Pliny had a common source for this statement. This, as we learn from Pliny himself (l. c.) was Phylarchos. It was, therefore, proper that Didymos should be mentioned as a Pliny-commentary at this point, and as a matter of fact, his name was found there earlier than Dalecamp's edition of 1587. The exact source, however, is not given and the fragment itself is not quoted.

Now, it will be observed that the reference to the double pupil which Vair ascribed to Didymos is not found in Didymos at all but in Pliny, of whom Vair says nothing. It would, therefore, appear that some previous authority on the point taken up by Vair had found the name of Didymos in a Pliny-commentary (VII, 17) and without taking the trouble to trace the reference had, innocently or otherwise, concealed the real source of his information by referring it to Didymos. In fact he may have looked upon Didymos as the original source of the passage and therefore referred to him directly as the author of it, without mentioning Pliny. This is a well-known mediaeval habit of citation and not always designed to awe the reader with a show of superior and recondite learning. At all events, it is evident that Vair and several of his successors in the same line of discussion quoted the name of Didymos without looking up the passage in question.

<sup>1</sup>So Westermann. The word is not found in L. and S. (8th ed.). "Draconitis sive Dracontias" according to Pliny XXXVII 158. Compare Solinus, XXX 16, 17; Isidorus, XIV 14, 7; XIV, 5, 15; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 7, 656, f. (Philostratos, *Apoll. Tyan.*, III 6). The superstition of dragon-stones, toad-stones, adder-stones, etc., etc., is world-wide and quite too extensive to allow of further mention here.

with an hetaira by the name of Nysia, and failing to win her, hanged himself in despair. For this reason Herodotos avoided mentioning the name of Nysia because it was hateful to him."

The important point for us in this curious passage is the reason why Nysia, as Chennos names her, saw Gyges when he went out of the door. She possessed a "double-pupil" and also a "dragon-stone." These, Chennos observes, gave her supernatural powers of vision. In my article on the double pupil I pointed out that, in his desire to emphasize this gift of Nysia, Chennos has, after the manner of his kind, unnecessarily doubled powers amounting to the same thing. One or the other would have been sufficient. It is very likely, therefore, that one of these gifts is a later addition either by Chennos himself or some predecessor.

It will be noted that no ring of Gyges is mentioned here.<sup>1</sup> Either the double pupil or the dragon-stone, however, gives its possessor a keenness of vision superior not only to objects merely opaque to ordinary mortals but also, be it observed, to any sort of enchantment. This, in itself, suggests that Gyges did have his ring although Chennos does not mention it. But here, again, we are so fortunate as to have the support of a reference—the only one which has survived from antiquity.

About a century after Chennos, Philostratos, while expatiating at length, in his life of Apollonios of Tyana,<sup>2</sup> on the subject of Indian dragons, the method of capturing them, etc., observes that the wonderful stone in their heads (i. e., the *δρακοντίτης* of Chennos) is "invincible even against the ring which, they say, was possessed by Gyges." This is clearly a reference to the version which Chennos or some one in the line of his authority had in mind. In this version Gyges had the ring which he found in the brazen horse. He was placed behind the door by Kandaules (who, doubtless, had no suspicion that he possessed such a ring<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> That, for that reason, Gyges did not possess a ring in this version was the conclusion which evidently prompted the *ἀλλήγορία* of Tzetzes and a reconstruction of Gutschmid's, both of which will be considered in another connection.

<sup>2</sup> III 6 (vol. I, p. 88, K.). This reference was overlooked by Gutschmid.

<sup>3</sup> This, of course, may be taken for granted. On page 290 of my article, on the double pupil, I suggested that in the version to which Chennos refers, Gyges was not put behind the door but, without the connivance of Kandaules, was simply relying upon his ring. A further examination of the old tale of Gyges and his ring shows that the statement should be revised. Gyges did rely upon his ring to escape, but he was put behind the door by Kandaules.

When Gyges left the room he naturally supposed that his ring had made it possible for him to escape without detection. But Nysia possessed supernatural powers which enabled her to see him in spite of it.

Here then, at last, we have the famous door-scene in its entirety. Nysia's discovery of Gyges is accomplished by one of the most popular and characteristic devices of folk-lore, even the most primitive. This is the use of the counter-charm.

I think that we may hardly doubt that this detail which we owe to the joint testimony of Chennos and Philostratos goes back to the old story. In fact, one fails to see how the old story, if it contained the door episode at all could get along without this motif. As we have good reason to believe that it did have the door episode the source of Chennos-Philostratos becomes a matter of less importance. A brief statement however will not be out of place as it leads us to other conclusions of some value.

The entire passage of Chennos appears to be nothing more than a series of comments on the version of Herodotos and suggested by other literary sources. We have already seen<sup>1</sup> that some of them may still be identified. This, however, proves no more than the fact that Chennos himself was perhaps, unacquainted with the old story as a whole and therefore attached some reference to it which he found, no one knows where, to the version of Herodotos which was familiar to all. In other words, we should here find a proof that by the end of the first century the old popular legend as such had wholly or partially disappeared. It may very well be that this was actually the case.

That Chennos himself invented his statement regarding the door episode is far from impossible *per se*. Hercher's brilliant investigation<sup>2</sup> showed that Chennos was not averse to this method of citation. But it has since been abundantly shown<sup>3</sup> that Hercher's conclusions were altogether too sweeping. Moreover, in this particular instance, the theory of manufactured information is rendered improbable by, at least, three things:

1. When Chennos gives bogus information he usually supports it, after the manner of his kind, by definite, but purely imaginary, authorities. He gives no authority here.

2. Philostratos, evidently referring to the same story, adds a detail not found in Chennos.

<sup>1</sup> Compare note 5, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> JJ., Suppl. I, p. 269-293.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Müller, Geog. Graeci Min. II, p. LVII.

3. The testimony of both Philostratos and Chennos is to the effect that in the first and second century, at least, the superstition of the *δρακονίτης* was closely associated with this particular story. Such being the case a passage from Pliny also tends not only to show that the statement of Chennos-Philostratos goes back to an earlier source, but, also, in a general way, what that source may have been.

In XXXVII 158, a passage on jewels which begins by quoting Zoroaster,<sup>1</sup> Pliny mentions various names for the dragon-stone. This implies that he may have looked up the subject in more than one authority. He then adds a brief description of how dragon-stones are procured, which shows something very like a community of source with Philostratos, l. c. All this suggests that, although he does not happen to mention it, Pliny, who is somewhat earlier than Chennos, must have been acquainted with that version of the Gyges story in which the dragon-stone played such an important part.

If Pliny is to be reckoned with here, the source of Chennos-Philostratos is even more likely to have been some of the Alexandrian paradoxographi who preserved the reference to Gyges among those passages on the magic and curative qualities of precious stones so characteristic of the age. If so, the ultimate source can hardly be other than the old story of Gyges itself. To a similar source and in a passage on rings might be traced that reference of Pliny to Midas's ring of invisibility which I have already mentioned.

It will be seen that the chief importance of investigating the sources of Chennos here was simply to show how his statement regarding the door scene may have gone back to the old story. That it actually did go back to the old story or that the old story contained practically the same thing was already acknowledged.

If, however, as seems likely, Pliny did know the story to which Chennos refers, his testimony also has some negative value for another purpose. Chennos gave Nysia both a double pupil and a dragon-stone. Either confers upon its possessor exactly the same powers as the other. This habit of doubling marvels, as I have already said, is characteristic of his class. One of the two is a later addition to the story. Now, Pliny is our principal authority for the double pupil. He appears to have collected all the references to it which he could find. But he does not

<sup>1</sup> See the article on Damigeron in Pauly-Wissowa.

mention Nysia's double pupil. The omission suggests that he did not know the book of Chennos because it was not yet in existence, and that Nysia's double pupil was not mentioned except by Chennos. In other words, Nysia's double pupil is likely to have been the invention of Chennos himself. If so, the charm which she used in the old story was the dragon-stone.

Before finally leaving this passage of Chennos it will be necessary to consider, briefly, a quotation from Joannes Tzetzes, Chiliades, I 3. This passage consists of twenty-nine political verses, *περὶ τοῦ Γύγου*. Tzetzes tells the story of Plato, then the story of Herodotos, and closes as follows:

Ἄλλ' ἤδη σε σφαδάζοντα καὶ κεκηνότα βλέπω,  
 Τὴν Γύγου χρήζοντα μαθεῖν πᾶσαν ἀλληγορίαν.  
 Ποιμὴν δ' Γύγης λέγεται τῷ στρατηγῷ τυγχάνειν\*  
 Ἴππος χαλκοῦς ἀγέρωχός ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία,  
 Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα νεκρός, γυνὴ Κανθαύλου,  
 Τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἀπρακτός ἐνδοθεν καθημένη.  
 Ἦς τὸν δακτύλιον λαβὼν ὑπασπισταῖς δεικνύει,  
 Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπέκτεινε λαθραίως τὸν Κανθαύλῃ.  
 Στρέψας δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα  
 Γίνεται πᾶσιν ἐμφανής, λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.

A. von Gutschmid<sup>1</sup> combines this with the version of Iustinus and the reference in Chennos, and concludes that all go back to a popular story of Gyges, which he reconstructs as follows:

Kandaules zeigt dem Gyges sein nacktes Weib, sie aber sieht ihn *durch* die Thür mit Hilfe eines Zauberringes den sie ans Finger trägt, ruft ihn zu sich und übergibt ihm ihren Ring der *nach innen gedreht unsichtbar macht*, mit der Aufforderung den Kandaules zu tödten. Ungesehen führt er Mörder in Kandaules' Gemach, zeigt sich nach dessen Ermordung, indem er den Ring nach aussen dreht, wieder dem Volke und wird König.<sup>2</sup>

Granting for the moment that Tzetzes reflects any version of the popular story, Gutschmid's reconstruction is, in itself, open to objection.

1. Chennos does not say that the queen saw Gyges "durch die Thür," but that she saw him *ἐξίόντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*—as he went out of the chamber.

2. Moreover, if it was the queen herself who gave Gyges the ring of darkness, the story of Plato, undeniably a portion of the

<sup>1</sup> L. c. V, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

old popular tale, must drop out altogether. This is not to be believed. In that case, too, the *δρακοντίτης* is identified with the ring of Gyges, and, therefore, has the power of making its possessor invisible. But the *δρακοντίτης* does not make its possessor invisible. On the contrary, as we have already seen, it makes visible to its possessor that which is invisible to less favored mortals. This idea runs through the folk-lore of all nations.

3. But Gutschmid's reconstruction is also quite upset by the passage from Philostratos which he does not mention and appears to have missed. This reference, as we have already seen, makes it clear that in the story to which Chennos referred the queen used her dragon-stone as a counter-charm to the ring of Gyges, and was thus enabled to see him *ἐξίόντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*.

The note of Tzetzes shows that he may have had some distant knowledge of the story told by Chennos. But his *ἀλληγορία*, upon which Gutschmid founds so much of his reconstruction, so far from containing any hint of a popular story of Gyges, is nothing more than an attempt to harmonize and explain the versions of Plato and Herodotos. It is accomplished by a peculiar species of rationalization eminently characteristic of Tzetzes and his period. This type of *ἀλληγορία* seems to have given the utmost comfort to those who used it, and was much admired by our forefathers. Here, however, Tzetzes has seasoned his *ἀλληγορία* of Plato and Herodotos with a touch of that Euhemerism which makes Palaiphatos, de Incredibilibus, one of the dreariest books ever written. We may, therefore, dismiss the *ἀλληγορία* of Tzetzes and, with it, the reconstruction of Gutschmid, as of no value in this investigation. Gyges was put behind the door by Kandaules. He depended upon his ring to escape unobserved, but was detected by Nysia's counter-charm, the *δρακοντίτης*. This was a detail of the old story, and is vouched for by the combined testimony of Chennos and Philostratos.

One last item of somewhat doubtful testimony remains to be considered before closing our case. This is the (popular?) proverb, *Γύγου δακτύλιος*.

Several articles or notices in various old lexicographers and collectors of proverbs<sup>1</sup> explain this phrase. I select the one

<sup>1</sup> Diogenianos, III 99 (I, p. 232, Leutsch); Gregory of Kypros, II 5 (id., I, 358); II 58 (II 106); Makarios, III 9 (II 154); Apostolios, V 71 (II, p. 353); XV 85 (II, p. 649); Diogenianos II 20 (II, p. 20); Suidas, s. v. *Γύγου δακτύλιος* (also in Schott's *Proverbia Graecorum*, Plantin, 1612, p. 395); Eudokia,

who, if not the source of all the rest, appears to represent the oldest and best tradition. Γύγου δακτύλιος, says Diogenianos,<sup>1</sup> is used ἐπὶ τῶν πολυμηχάνων καὶ πανούργων, of cunning and resourceful people:

"When Gyges was a shepherd, the earth split open and he found a corpse wearing a ring. He put the ring on, and when he discovered that by turning the setting he could be visible or not, as he pleased, he slew the king by means of it and reigned in his stead."

This explanation is repeated with some minor variations and differing degrees of completeness by the other authorities whom I have mentioned in note 1, p. 374. It appears to have been drawn from Plato, and some state the inference, if not the fact, in so many words.

It will be seen, at once, that for the purposes of our investigation the value of this proverb depends entirely upon its age and pedigree—in this case extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine with certainty. Diogenianos, himself, belonged to the second century, and portions of the *Paroemiographi* go back to the collections of the Alexandrian Age. But our existing corpus has been very much affected by various editions and additions. In this instance, the difficulty is increased by the fact that Γύγου δακτύλιος, as a proverb, is not once found in the elder literature. Indeed, for my own part, I cannot find it anywhere except in the lexical sources already mentioned. Commentators on the *Paroemiographi* (cf. Leutsch, e. g., on Diogenianos, l. c.) state that this proverb is often quoted by the late writers, but the assertion is not borne out by any of the examples which they cite. The earliest, are from Libanios and Gregory of Nazianzus. In none of them may a knowledge or use of the proverb be assumed. They appear to be no more than the usual literary reference to the story of Plato characteristic of the second and fourth centuries A. D., and principally due to the use of this passage in the schools for various

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Violarium, 99 (p. 169, Flach); on this work once attributed to Eudokia Makrembolitissa but now known to be a compilation of the 16th century, see Krumbacher, l. c., par. 240 (p. 578).

Schott, l. c., p. 395, refers to the epistles of Tzetzes, and Leutsch, to a passage from Theodoros Prodromos in Boissonade's *Anecdota Graeca*, II, p. 458. I regret that neither of these works is available to me: another case occurs in Zonaras, 456.

<sup>1</sup> III 99, vol. I, p. 232, Leutsch.

educational purposes. None of them is based on a proverb *Γύγου δακτύλιος*. If there was ever any connection at all, the process must be reversed. In other words, the proverb *Γύγου δακτύλιος* may be a late addition to the corpus, drawn from just such examples as those in Gregory and Libanios and supported or suggested as a proverbial phrase by the familiar use in the schools of Plato's version of the old story. Strictly speaking, therefore, it would never have been a proverb at all, and we thus have an explanation of its absence from earlier literature. If this was the origin of the phrase, it has no value for us in this investigation.

On the other hand, a much earlier pedigree for the proverb and a different history of it are by no means impossible. Strictly speaking, the abstract from Plato which Diogenianos gives to explain his proverb really does not explain it very clearly. The reason may be because this was not the story from which the proverb was derived. If so, the situation could be explained by supposing that the proverb first appeared in one of the early Alexandrian collections. At that time the old story was still generally known. The definition, *ἐπὶ τῶν πολυμηχάνων καὶ πανούργων*, which we still find in all the lexical articles, was therefore quite sufficient. In that case, the abstract of Plato's version—often omitted from our lexical articles—should appear only after the real source of the proverb, that is to say, the old story of Gyges, had been forgotten. If, then, the abstract of Plato's version which I have quoted was added by Diogenianos himself we should thus have a further confirmation of our suspicion that, by the time of Chennos and Philostratos, the memory of our story had practically faded out. The phrase itself, however, may have still survived in common use. Many a proverbial expression goes back to a story long since forgotten.<sup>1</sup> It is true that it never appears in the literature, but this may be merely a matter of chance.

But, at all events, whether the proverb is a survival of our old story or not, it is certainly more in harmony with it than with any other version which we have considered. Every incident of the that story as it has unfolded before us has made this more and more evident. The proverb, in short, reflects the traditional character of Gyges himself and the popular conception of his character in the days of Herodotos and Plato was derived from his

<sup>1</sup> See, in particular, the interesting and suggestive article by Crusius, *Märchenreminiscenzen im antiken Sprichwort*, *Verhandlungen der XL. Philologenversammlung*, 1890, p. 31-47.



adventures in the popular story. The adventures of Gyges with his ring were, naturally, the main interest of it. We have already discovered the most important ones. That there were others is beyond any reasonable doubt. The gap, so to speak, between the version of Plato and that of Herodotos is not yet accounted for. The ring was probably connected with some adventure in Sardis which first commended Gyges to the king's notice.

But, above all, a statement of Xanthos is of especial significance here. Xanthos, it will be remembered, says that Gyges, to begin with, was in high favor, but that, afterwards, the king became suspicious, and, with a view to getting rid of him, set him at various difficult tasks. Gyges, however, performed them all successfully and was finally reinstated in the king's favor. Is any reader of fairy tales inclined to doubt that, in this passage, Xanthos is probably drawing from the old popular legend of Gyges? The motif not only has a peculiar fitness here, but is common to the folk-lore of all nations. The hero finds his life contingent on the successful performance of certain extremely difficult and perilous tasks. They are usually three in number, and as a rule, the time in which they must be completed is absurdly inadequate. In character, too, they have a strong resemblance to those actually mentioned by Xanthos.<sup>1</sup> They are always performed successfully, usually with the aid of supernatural means, in this case, of course, by the ring of darkness. In most cases, the story then proceeds, to the fame and fortune of the hero as inevitably as to the ruin of the taskmaster.

So much for the details of our old legend so far as they may be discovered or guessed. But, before closing, we shall find it profitable to consider briefly the type of it as a whole.

The character of all the incidents as well as of all the actors as they have gradually been revealed, points to one conclusion. So far as type is concerned, the legend of how Gyges became king of Lydia is the story of the Adventurer, the Giant, and the Princess, or in more general terms, of Wit, its contrasted Opponent and Dupe, and its Reward. This lets in a flood of light upon a point which constituted one of the main differences between the various rationalizations which we have been considering. In fact, each rationalization represents and embodies the

<sup>1</sup> πόνους προστάτων χαλεπούς τε καὶ μεγάλους ἐπὶ τε κάπρον καὶ ἄλλα θηρία στέλλων.

author's interpretation of that point. This point is the ethics of the situation as portrayed in the old story.

In this favorite combination of the fairy tale, the Adventurer, Giant and Princess, no one was ever known to sympathize with the Giant, though, certainly, he is born for trouble as the sparks fly upward. It is quite useless for him to appeal to the courts of Fairy Land. Like the corporate giants of to-day he cannot recover damages and cannot expect any sympathy from the jury. He is stupid and brutal and full of folly. The hero outwits him, the princess betrays him and both live happily ever after, on the fruits of their combined labors.<sup>1</sup> Allowing for a touch or two of that alteration in Herodotos and Iustinus which we have already traced to diverging processes of rationalization, and will it be denied that Kandaules of the old story might well sit for the portrait of the Giant?

Not only the character of Kandaules but his situation is the same. The possession of the Princess—usually a sorceress, as in this story—is the one real condition of his life and power. The kingdom is within her gift as a matter of course. This is an unwritten law of Fairy Land which no one would dream of questioning. The difficulty with this condition does not begin until we transfer it to history, as Herodotos appears to have done, when he made the queen offer herself and the kingdom to Gyges in their memorable interview. A passage in the *Progymnasmata* of Nikolaos the Sophist (I, p. 288, W) shows that the difficulty in this statement was recognized by the ancient critics and much discussed by them. Modern commentators have usually seen in this detail of the Herodotean narrative the actual remains of a matriarchate in Lydia or, at all events of a theory to that effect held by the Greeks, and reflected, for example, in the legend of Herakles and Omphale.<sup>2</sup> But it would be more than dangerous

<sup>1</sup> A most excellent parallel, not only to the story of Gyges itself in a general way, but also to the ethics of the situation in the popular version, is found in Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti*, Bologna, 1899, p. 237, f. (V, IV). The Cornuto in this tale is a striking example of the Giant-type. Like Kandaules himself, like Antonio in Fletcher's 'Coxcomb', or in its original, the Curioso Impertinente of Cervantes, he is true to a rule which, so far as any popular story is concerned, holds good for every other Cornuto. He never gets any sympathy.

<sup>2</sup> See the examples collected by Gelzer, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV 516, f. and Radet, l. c. p. 121. Radet, in common with many others, suggests that the Lydians actually did attach importance to the transmission of royal authority in the female line and that the fact points to the existence of a primitive matriarchate.

for the theory of a Lydian matriarchate to lean too heavily on the statement of Herodotos that the queen gave the kingdom to Gyges. The ease and naturalness of this statement in the old story on the one hand, and the difficulty of it in Herodotos on the other, are sufficiently indicative of its probable source and character.

The Adventurer in this combination may be a mere *filius terrae* and thus illustrate the favorite motif of lowliness raised to power, or, he may be one who slays the Giant as an act of vengeance for wrongs committed by him and thus comes into his own again. In the case of Gyges the former is suggested by Plato's abstract, the latter, by the actual history of his family as related by Xanthos, a popular tradition of which is by no means incompatible with Plato's abstract.

The Adventurer, like all successful adventurers, is usually remarkable for his address, versatility and quickness of wit. His career is based upon the not over scrupulous use of these qualities and constitutes the real savor and lasting popularity of the story. That, in these respects, the legendary Gyges was a dignified prototype of Jack the Giant-killer and something very like a replica of Odysseus has become more and more evident as each detail of the popular story has come to light. True to the old proverb he is *πολυμήχανος καὶ πανούργος*, a Fortunatus, as befits the favorite of Hermes,<sup>1</sup> born to strength and beauty and the love of women, as befits the favorite of Aphrodite.<sup>2</sup>

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But recent investigation of the Herakles-Omphale legend, its sources and character, shows the danger of assuming that there really was any Lydian law of succession pointing to the existence of an ancient matriarchate. See E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, I 167; Cauer, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVI 244; K. Tümpel, *Philol.* L 607; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1902, p. 495, f.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Iliad*, 20, 395; *Autolykos*, in the *Odyssey*, 19, 395, f., etc., etc. See, also, Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1894.

The favorite of Hermes, of course, reflects the character and temperament of Hermes. But the story itself shows that Gyges must have been conceived up as the favorite of Hermes. Hermes is the god of blind luck. The highest cast of the dice, *Ἑρμοῦ κλήρος*, was named for him. Unexpected fortune, treasure-trove (Grimm, *D. M.*, p. 926, f., etc.) and the like are directly due to him. Compare the part played by him in the old fairy tale told by Phaedrus, *Append. III* (Riese). On the whole subject see Roscher, *l. c.*, p. 82, f. and *Lexikon*, I 2379, f. Magic rings are distinctly mentioned as the gift of Hermes by Lukian, *Navig.* 42, f.

Gyges may win the confidence of Kandaules and become his trusted adviser but there is no friendship with the Giant-type. Kandaules lays bare the secret of his life and fortune. From that moment he is merely a pawn in the game. Gyges, the Odysseus, and Nysia, the Kirke, of this story are now the principal characters. The scenes which follow—again suggestive, somehow, of the encounter of Odysseus and Kirke—really constitute a duel of wits between these Arcades ambo. Gyges had already done much to justify the favor of Hermes—if not of Aphrodite. But in the door episode he tried his disappearing trick once too often. Without knowing it he now has to deal with a rival magician. His charm is met and detected by the counter-charm of Nysia. In the love scenes which follow Gyges is far from telling all he knows—and so is Nysia. He says nothing of his ring or of the door incident—neither does she, until the time is ripe. Then she sends for him, plays the trump she has been keeping in reserve and takes the trick. Indeed, Nysia has scored every point which she undertook to make in this game. But in this realm of Oberon, Gyges the child of Fortune, is defeated only when defeat is the condition of his ultimate success.

My reconstruction of this old story is now as complete as I can

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In fact, the whole story of Gyges, his character, the discovery of his ring, the power of disappearing at will which it conferred upon him, his wealth, his unvarying good luck; all point to the favor of Hermes. Indeed, Kandaules, the name of Gyges' mortal patron in Herodotos and Iustinus, and, presumably, in the popular story (Sadyattes in Xanthos) was, also a Lydian name of Hermes (as well as of Herakles). Cf. Höper in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. Kandaulas. The parallel is suggestive to one attempting to trace the origin and genetic development of the old popular story before it reached the stage with which my investigation is exclusively concerned.

<sup>1</sup> The favor of Aphrodite is not as clearly suggested. Beauty and charm, however, are the gifts of Aphrodite. Compare the legends of Paris, Kinyras, Aineias, Phaon, etc. These qualities are expressly given to Gyges by Damaskenos-Xanthos and that the same was true of the popular tradition appears to be suggested by the fact that Horace, for example, gives the name of Gyges to the hero of Odes III 7 (cf. II 5, 20), in both cases, a person evidently distinguished for those qualities. The prominence of the erotic motif in the old story of Gyges also points in the same direction and is, to some extent, supported by certain scraps of legend regarding him which have reached us from other quarters, perhaps originally due to the same association of ideas. Compare Müller, *FHG.* IV 171, 47; II 314, 34.

make it. The task involves many complications and difficulties. Moreover, while some points will perhaps be acknowledged at first sight others rest on a chain of probabilities incapable of final and irrefragable proof. I have aimed, however, in every case, to state the point in such a way that the reader may easily form an opinion of its value.

The article has been long and the course of it has been frequently interrupted by the discussion of many minor, but necessary details. It will, therefore, not be out of place to close it with a brief survey of results.

Gyges first of the Lydian Mermnadai rose to the throne in the seventh century B. C. His complex character, his commanding personality, his long and adventurous career, all united to make him a popular hero. He was also the first great barbarian with whom the Greeks had come in contact. It is evident that at an early date a mass of tradition had gathered about him. Some of it was no doubt of Lydian origin, though the Lydian element can no longer be traced. The most of it, however, was due to the rich fancy of the Ionian Greeks. It is probable that much with regard to him might have been gleaned from the old lyric poets, especially Archilochos and Minnermos.

How far the tradition of Gyges which has reached us was affected by Kroisos it is impossible to determine. Perhaps to a considerable extent. Kroisos, last of the Mermnadai, was the Grand Monarque of his house. Hellenic court poets must have vied with each other in running back his pedigree and glorifying the achievements of his ancestors. Much of the Lydian legend of Herakles and Omphale has been ascribed to the efforts of these poets.<sup>1</sup> At such a time the old traditions of Gyges must have revived. For was he not, as Plato himself calls him, 'ancestor of the Lydian'?'<sup>2</sup> No doubt, also, these traditions were not only revived, but also revised and enlarged. The temple tradition of Delphi should also be mentioned. It was lively and favorable, for the best of reasons. One or more unknown logographers may perhaps be assumed among pre-Herodotean authorities. Xanthos is credited with the use of native Lydian sources.

But of all the traditions regarding Gyges the most notable and

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, end, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that in this very phrase we have a trace of the fact that the popular story which Plato and Herodotos knew actually did assume final form in the time of Kroisos. See p. 387, note.

dramatic was that which told how he became the king of Lydia. No less than five different versions of this event have reached us. The first is from Herodotos. The second goes back to the Lydiaka of Xanthos, though it is known to us only in an excerpt from Nikolaos Damaskenos which was made by Constantinus Porphyrogennetos in the tenth century. The third is from Plato. The fourth is partially (?) reported by Plutarch; his source is unknown. The fifth comes to us from Pompeius Trogus through a rhetorical abstract by Iustinus; the ultimate source appears to have been some historian of the Alexandrian Age.

There was, however, still another and far older version than any of these, though its age and ultimate source cannot be determined precisely. This was a genuine popular legend, a fairy-tale, describing the career of Gyges on his way to the throne. It probably originated among the Ionians and Lydians not far from the period of its hero. It was doubtless comparatively simple at the beginning and grew as time went on. At all events, in the days of Herodotos and Plato it was a fully developed tale of the Graeco-Oriental type with a dramatic plot and a number of adventures. The actual persistence of it in the popular tradition after Plato's time cannot be proved. The latest reference to it comes from Philostratos at the beginning of the third century, A. D. At that time, apparently, it had long been dead. I find no certain trace of it in the legends of modern Greece or Asia Minor. The whole of it as a popular story was probably never committed to writing, and can only be recovered from the consideration of a few scattered references and the various literary versions.

An abstract of the first half is given by Plato to illustrate a point in a philosophical discussion. The omissions and abbreviations are such as were dictated by the purpose for which it was intended. A single sentence at the end, brief, but very valuable, gives a general outline of the remainder. The second half lies behind the rationalization of Herodotos and emerges as soon as we study Herodotos in connection with the last sentence of Plato, the version of Iustinus and the references of Chennos and Philostratos. As each detail comes to light it becomes clear that the version of Herodotos was drawn directly from the popular story, and, apparently, from nothing else. Not only that, but Herodotos handled the old tale with the utmost conservatism. He removed the element of marvel as a matter of course. This is why we hear nothing of the half which Plato related. The removal

of charm and counter-charm in the door scene was easy. The equation, so to speak, was still undisturbed. The removal of the ring from the murder was still easier, moreover, it was now demanded, in order to preserve that parallelism between the murder scene and the door scene which was characteristic of the old story.

For various reasons, among them his own good taste and the Delphian tradition of Gyges, Herodotos deleted the love affair. His method was simple and conservative. The removal of the ring still left some visits to the queen after the door episode. Herodotos put them before it and changed the motive for them. The resulting gap was then filled by moving up the interview to the next morning after the door scene. Thus, the great event of the story, the queen's revenge, could remain undisturbed. The queen's offer of herself and the kingdom is a feature of the old fairy-tale. This, and not a primitive Lydian matriarchate, is the explanation of an action inconsistent with the ordinary laws of royal succession.

The gap between Plato and Herodotos should also be considered. There was an adventure here with the ring which introduced Gyges to Kandaules, though this is not vouched for by any antique authority. His confidence was finally gained by Gyges through the performance of several difficult tasks with the aid of the ring. For this detail Xanthos gives us the clue.

Gyges was conceived of as the favorite of Hermes and Aphrodite. The tradition of his beauty, strength and address, his versatility, cunning and energy, in short, of his likeness to Odysseus, goes back to the old popular story. The queen in that story had much in common with Kirke. For the sake of greater clearness I append here a brief outline of my attempted reconstruction. The type is that of the Adventurer, Giant and Princess.

Gyges [the son of Daskylos and] the ancestor of Kroisos was a shepherd when he was young, in the service of [Kandaules] king of Lydia. Once upon a time there was a storm and an earthquake so violent that the ground split open near the place where Gyges was watching his flocks. Gyges was amazed at the sight and finally went down into the cleft. The story tells of many wonderful things which he saw there (these details are lost).

[They were also seen by the other shepherds of Lydia? (Philos.)]

Among these wonderful things was a brazen horse which was hollow and had doors. In it was nothing but a corpse, of heroic size, and on one of its fingers a gold ring.

[The corpse—or the ring—was that of Midas? (Pliny)].

Gyges took the ring and came out again.

Sometime later he attended the monthly assembly of the shepherds and while there accidentally discovered the qualities of his ring, as described by Plato. He then procured his appointment as one of the messengers to the king and went up to Sardis to seek his fortune.

After reaching Sardis an adventure with the ring brought him to the notice of Kandaules (?). At first, he was highly favored but later the king, who was cruel and whimsical, became suspicious of Gyges and set him at several tasks certain, as he supposed, to compass his destruction. Gyges, however, performed them all successfully with the aid of his ring, was reinstated in favor and given great estates (Xanthos, who, himself, gives an idea of these tasks).

[Further adventures (amatory and otherwise) with his ring?].

Gyges was now not only rich and powerful but also admired and feared for his beauty, strength and address, and for his versatility and superhuman knowledge of what was going on. The king who, like everyone else, knew nothing of his ring (?), found Gyges invaluable, gave him the post of chief adviser and consulted him on all occasions.

There was one thing, however, which Kandaules had always kept jealously guarded, because it was the principal source, the real secret, of his power. This was his wife. She was [a Mysian princess and] exceedingly beautiful. But what made her indispensable to Kandaules was the fact that she was also very wise and powerful, being a mighty sorceress.

The one vulnerable spot in Kandaules was his passion for his wife. Like all who had ever seen her he was utterly bewitched by her beauty and as his confidence in Gyges increased he began to talk of it more and more freely. At last he insisted upon showing her. [Gyges refused, foreseeing mortal peril to himself from either, or both. But at last he was forced to comply and] the programme devised by Kandaules was carried out as related by Herodotos.

Gyges gazed upon her. She was more lovely even than Kandaules had described her, and Gyges fell in love with her then and there. Finally, having turned his ring around to make himself invisible, Gyges left the room.

The queen, however, [possessed a dragon-stone. Either when she first came into the room or] as he was going out [of it she] had seen Gyges [in spite of his magic ring]. But she made no sign. She knew that the situation was due to Kandaules and swore to be avenged. When, therefore, Gyges, perhaps at her own instigation, came to her and declared his passion, revenge and, possibly, other considerations, prompted her to yield. Gyges was able to visit her unobserved on account of his magic ring and the intrigue went on for some time, [nothing being said on either side regarding the door episode.]

At last, when the queen saw that Gyges was entirely in her power, and being also in love with him herself, she laid her plans and sent for him. When he arrived, she told him [for the first time—as in Herodotos—that she had seen him passing out of the chamber, and why.] that now Gyges must slay Kandaules or else die himself. Whatever the feelings of Gyges may have been, his situation, despite his magic ring, was even more desperate than in Herodotos. He had a sorceress to deal with and was committed to her by ties which he could not break, even if he had so desired.

Gyges acceded, the destruction of Kandaules was planned and carried out



by the two as described by Herodotos, and with the aid of the magic ring as hinted by Plato.

When the deed was accomplished she gave Gyges the kingdom, as she had promised. He made her his queen [and they lived happily ever after.]

Such is the tale of Gyges, ancestor of Kroisos the Lydian and the founder of the house of the Mermnadai.

It will be seen that the most of this story comes from Plato and Herodotos. Other versions and references have contributed something, but their principal use has been to show how and why this is the case. They have also shed important light upon the ethics of the old story.

As containing a record of the genuine history of Gyges, Plutarch and Herodotos have each had their day. Just at present Xanthos is in the ascendant. My investigation was not concerned with this point and yet, indirectly, it has borne upon it to a certain extent. Plutarch's account may be safely dropped as only partial and a mere aetiological myth at that. Plato, Herodotos and Iustinus reduce to one source, the old popular tale. All we have to consider, then, is the popular tale and Xanthos. Now even those who make the most of Xanthos as an historical authority, of course, recognize that he contains folk elements. I am inclined to believe that he contains little else. If this is the case, practically all the Greeks knew of Gyges, at all events, of this portion of his career, rested on folk-tradition. But for that reason to reject the truth of it in toto, would be more than unsafe. It must not be forgotten that Gyges, though a hero of the popular fancy, is also the Gu-gu of the Assyrian inscription and unmistakably a great historical personage; further, that, with due allowance for certain characteristic developments and additions, the traditions of such a man are by no means untrue simply because they are popular. Indeed, the general similarity between Xanthos and the popular story is suggestive of something approaching a common source. It is for the biographer of Gyges to decide how far this community of traditions regarding him is due to the fact that the ultimate source of them is the actual historical truth.

The different rationalizations of our story were largely influenced by the conception each author had or wished to convey of the ethics of the situation. It is interesting to see how entirely different are the characters of the three personages in the old tale, in Herodotos and in Iustinus, and yet how slight, withal, are the changes which made them so.

The most powerful reagent was the fact that Gyges, Kandaules, and the queen were taken out of the free air of Fairy Land and subjected to the laws of ordinary humanity. They were all lifted and ennobled by the surpassing genius of Herodotos. They were all debased by the rhetorical bias of Iustinus.

In the old tale, the hero and heroine slew the brutal and foolish king between them and lived happily ever after. The touch of unreality about them and their deeds is due to the atmospheric effects of Fairy Land and exonerates them from mere human responsibility. Perhaps this is why, in considering the best illustrations for this version, one reverts so readily to the old vase-paintings. The people in these paintings are not subject to the common law or the moral code. Be it a funeral or a feast, an action deserving a vote of thanks or a gibbet, they go about it with the same archaic smile.

Iustinus gives us the sermon of a popular phrase-maker based on the details of a sensational scandal in high life as reported by one of our "great dailies," near enough to the original to escape a suit for libel, vulgar enough to please the average morning reader. The archives of several well-known journals contain appropriate illustrations.

With Herodotos the old tale of Gyges emerges as a great tragedy of Destiny, a parallel, in prose, to the Agamemnon and the Oidipus Tyrannos. All the characters are worthy of the situation. No one can blame Kandaules for a madness which the gods have sent upon him and which drives him to his doom—*χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς*—as inexorably as it raises Gyges to his high estate, each in his own despite. So, too, the irresponsible sorceress of the old fairy tale, the vulgar assassin in Iustinus, becomes the evil genius of Kandaules. She vindicates her outraged womanhood and, law or no law, who shall deny the justice of her claim to remain the queen of Lydia with whatsoever mate she shall choose? But despite the simplicity and directness of the antique emotions it is a question whether this couple could "live happily ever after." Gyges undertakes his long task of royal power a sadder man and with no illusions. Nevertheless, there is room in his life for only one woman and he cannot doubt her.

If the results of this article are justified by the testimony presented, they are worth consideration merely for the light which they throw upon the methods of Herodotos himself.

One hardly knows which to esteem the more remarkable, his genius or his conservatism. The old tale of Gyges the Lydian was all but unchanged by him, yet under the spell of his surpassing art it rose once and for all to the beauty and dignity of a masterpiece. It is quite likely that its historical truth may be questioned. But for the most of us its historical truth is a matter of no serious concern. It is quite enough that the truth of it as a human document is immortal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have already stated my belief (p. 381 and n. 2) that the popular story as Herodotos and Plato knew it must have assumed final form in the time of Kroisos or as a result of contact with the Delphian tradition. It would be obviously then, if ever, that the folly of Kandaules, if not originally a part of the story, would be combined with the more ancient and simple tale of the ring. Moreover, the period as well as the source are against the supposition that the combination would have been effected by deleting the element of marvel. The point is, of course, important.

I ought to add that 'behind the open door' (p. 276, l. 14) is really not a correct translation of the Herodotean *ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοικτούμενης θύρης*. The door must be supposed to open *into* the room. The present participle adds a detail to the plot. It implies that Gyges must previously take such a position that the door, *as it opens*, shall swing back and conceal him.

## II.—THE LITERARY FORM OF HORACE SERM. I 6

(AD MAECENATEM DE VITA SUA).

In the following remarks on the famous composition which I have named in my title, I would call the attention of fellow Horatian students to certain features of literary form and stylistic treatment which, if they have been observed by others, do not seem to be recorded in the exegetical literature of this poem. I have dragged out of well-merited obscurity the superscription of the pseudo-Acronian scholia (if I understand aright Hauthal's perplexing apparatus), because it contains a suggestion at least of the point of view which I would here present, viz., the encomiastic-biographical, or in this case rather the encomiastic-autobiographical. That, like so much of ancient biography (and autobiography), our poem is written with an apologetic tendency which leads to self-laudation, is sufficiently obvious, and Horace himself confesses to this in the disavowal of the vulgar apology for low birth in 92: *non sic me defendam*, and in the deprecatory words, *ut me collaudem*, in 70.

That which has, however, apparently been overlooked, is the fact that this encomiastic-apologetic tendency finds expression in a treatment of the subject matter and in a stylistic tone established by the literary usage of centuries, and inculcated by the precepts of literary theory. It is not my purpose to force Horace into a rhetorical strait-jacket: I would only record what is obviously present. For the composition yields, without constraint, a good illustration of the persistence of more or less definitely fixed canons for the treatment of a special type of subject-matter. The recognition of them will not greatly affect the interpretation of the satire in detail, but it will contribute in some degree to placing the modern reader in the position of the audience for whom the work was written, and it will be found to explain certain features of style which Horace does not often reveal elsewhere in his satires.

The motive for writing Horace states simply in verses 45-48:

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,  
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum:  
nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim,  
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

It is the desire to meet the sneers of the jealous world by showing how little sting there was for him in the reproach *libertino patre natus*, and to confront the suggestion that his position with Maecenas was but a happy turn of the wheel of fortune. Plutarch remarks that to praise oneself is without censure if it be done in self-defense against attack,<sup>1</sup> and under this shield Horace may find justification. But the poet defends himself not in the spirit of apology, but rather in the tone of confident self-praise, the assurance of which he derives from the favor of Maecenas and his friends, and from the character of his father.

Apart from the digression in vss. 23 (*sed fulgente*) to 45 (*nunc ad me redeo*), which may here be passed over, the literary form, as disclosed in the points of view from which the argument is conducted, shows general observance of the theory and practice of encomiastic literature.<sup>2</sup> The topics of personal encomium are of course very numerous, and in the older theory (which Cicero, Quintilian and Theon preserve) they were not arranged in accordance with any hard and fast rules, such as the later Greek rhetoricians present. But it must always have been most natural that the topics which have to do with the different stages of life should follow in a certain sequence.<sup>3</sup> The order which Hermogenes presents will suffice for illustration (Spengel, R. G. II, p. 12): γένος, τροφή, ἀγωγή, φύσις ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις. The topic γένος is naturally the first, and with this Horace begins:

- I Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos  
incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,  
nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,  
olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,

<sup>1</sup> De se ipso citra invidiam laudando 4: αὐτὸν δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἔστι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῆς πρὸς διαβολήν κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> A good illustration of the ancient attitude toward such details of rhetorical technique as are here involved is afforded by the words of Crassus in de Or. I 138: non negabo me ista omnium communia et contrita praecepta didicisse . . . (141) certos esse locos quibus in iudiciis uteremur . . . alios in deliberationibus . . . alios item in audationibus, in quibus ad personarum dignitatem omnia referrentur.

<sup>3</sup> Quintil. III 7, 15: namque alias aetatis gradus gestarumque rerum ordinem sequi speciosius fuit, ut in primis annis laudaretur indoles, tum disciplinae, etc.

- 5 ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco  
 ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.  
 cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente  
 natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,  
 ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum  
 10 multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos  
 et vixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos;

His own birth obviously did not admit of simple encomiastic treatment, and he employs, therefore, the conventional resource with which the situation was met in the literature of this type. The two possible points of view are given by Quintilian (III 7, 10): ante hominem patria ac parentes maioresque erunt, quorum duplex tractatus est: aut enim respondisse nobilitati pulchrum erit aut humilius genus illustrasse factis. (Cf. Theon, Sp. II III, 27: ἐπαινετός τε καὶ εἰ τις ἐκ ταπεινῆς οἰκίας ὄν μέγας ἐγένετο.) It is of course the latter method of treatment<sup>1</sup> which Horace employs, basing his contention of the insignificance of birth not on his own authority but on the conviction of Maecenas (*cum referre negas, etc.*) Servius Tullius, as a type of man whose career illustrated the essential insignificance of birth, had doubtless seen long service in literature,<sup>2</sup> and the phraseology of Horace, *ante potestatem Tulli*, suggests an effort to win a little freshness from the trite example.

Passing over the considerable digression which grows out of this topic, we return to the words cited above, which contain the cause for the jealous criticism directed against Horace. He then continues:

- dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem  
 50 iure mihi invidet quivis, ita te quoque amicam,  
 praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava  
 ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc  
 me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicam;  
 nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim  
 55 Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.

In these words Horace takes up a familiar topic of encomiastic treatment—*felicitas* (τύχη), but not with the end of showing the gifts which fortune had bestowed upon him (as the encomiast of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Epp. I 20, 22: ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy IV 3, Seneca Rhet. Controv. I 6, 4 and VII 6, 18 (Albucius et philosophatus est: dixit neminem natura liberum esse neminem servum . . . rettulit Servium regem).

another might), but to show that the friendship with Maecenas rested upon the judgment of his own worth which Virgil and Varius, and Maecenas himself had made. The theorists of encomium reiterate that while goods of fortune may be named as sources of praise, yet the chief material of encomium are those things which are the result of one's own choice or volition. For example, Theon, l. c. 111, 17: *ἡκιστα γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσι μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης ἃ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὰ*. Horace then recounts the charming and simple story of his introduction to Maecenas and of his reception into the circle. In drawing the conclusion that he had won his place not by noble birth but by the worth of his character (*vita et pectore puro*) he claims for his own merit the praise of the honor conferred (cf. the pseudo-Acronian scholium on line 52: *neque casu aliquo neque beneficio fortunae factus sum tibi amicus, sed beneficio meo*). He adds further an element of praise to himself in naming the judgment of his friends Virgil and Varius, and especially that of Maecenas (*qui turpi secernis honestum*). Cf. Theon, l. c. 110, 25: *δεῖ δὲ λαμβάνειν τὰς κρίσεις τῶν ἐνδόξων*, and pseudo-Acro (ad vs. 47): *verae virtutis est et certi meriti Maecenatis iudicio comprobari*.

There follows then a passage of self-praise which carries out in more detail the assurance of essential worth which he has derived from Maecenas' approbation:

- 65 Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis  
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si  
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos,<sup>1</sup>  
si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra  
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,  
70 ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis.

These words set forth the topic which Hermogenes (as cited above, p. 389) designates as *φύσις* (cf. *natura* in 66) *τῆς ψυχῆς*, and Theon (l. c. 109, 29) *τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἥθος*. The offense of direct self-laudation Horace softens in various ways which may be illustrated by theoretical precepts. So Plutarch says that 'those who advance their own praises not as wholly cloudless and unalloyed, but with insertion of certain defects or failures or slight blemishes, deprive their mention of invidiousness.'<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> See note on this passage at the bottom of p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> De se ipso laud. 13: *οὕτως ἐνιοὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπαινοὺς μὴ παντελῶς λαμπροὺς μὲν ἀκράτους προσφέροντες, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ἐλλείψεις ἢ ἀποτεύξεις ἢ ἀμαρτίας ἐλαφρὰς ἐμβάλλοντες, ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῶν*.

such a form which Horace here uses (*atqui si vitiis mediocribus, etc.*). If we note further the contingent form of expression which is employed (*si*), the use of the deprecatory *ut me collaudem*, and finally that the merit which he thus modestly claims is referred to his father as its source,<sup>1</sup> we shall see that every resource has been employed to deprive self-praise of arrogance or offense.

The assignment to his father of whatever merit there might be in the qualities commemorated leads Horace, by natural transition, to describe the education (*ἀγωγή*) and training (*τροφή*) which he owed to him. The former topic precedes:

71 causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello  
noluit in Flavi ludum, me mittere . . . . .  
. . . . .  
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum, etc.

His training (*τροφή*) under the watchful care of his father himself (if it be right to separate this topic from the preceding<sup>2</sup>) then follows:

81 ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis  
circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,  
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit, etc.

The words *qui primus virtutis honos* are significant of the literary atmosphere of the whole composition. For as encomium, in the definition of Hermogenes (Sp. II 12, 5), *ψιλὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχει μαρτυρίαν*, so its separate items are *τὰ καλὰ*—*honesta, honores* (cf. Cic. de Inv. II 159: est igitur in eo genere [i. e. honestum] omnis res una vi atque uno nomine amplexa *virtus*). Purity, therefore, the primary honor of that *virtus*, to the portrayal of which the whole composition looks, his father secured for him. The conclusion touches by suggestion the disinterested motives of the father in providing his son with such an education, and the passage concludes with the grateful outburst:

89 nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius

harking back to the introduction of this description, *causa fuit pater his*.

<sup>1</sup> On *pietas*, as imposing an obligation to commemorate the merits of others, or as here justifying self-praise, see The Proconsulate of Julius Agricola, pp. 6 and 7 (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, vol. VI).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Epp. II 2, 41: Romae nutūri mihi contigit atque doceri.



The remainder of the poem is devoted to drawing the conclusions for Horace's own philosophy of life, tastes and daily occupations (*ἐπιτηδεύματα*) which have resulted from the possession of such a father. The manner is that of adoxographical, almost paradoxical (*demens iudicio volgi*), encomium, in that so far from apologizing for humble birth he finds in this the very foundation of his happiness and contentment. For the station to which it has assigned him enables him to lead a life freed from the constraints and cares which are incident to noble birth. The thought is carried out first negatively—

100 nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res  
atque salutandi plures, etc.,

and then positively, in the fascinating picture of his own daily life, which is the crowning charm of a composition rich in genuine and simple beauties.

The purpose of the topic *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων* in encomium is to employ the characteristic occupations, interests or tastes of a man (*ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον*, Hermog., *ζῆλοι*, Polybius, v. note) as an index of character. The meaning of the word is sometimes narrowed by the theorists too much,<sup>1</sup> but on the whole it pre-

<sup>1</sup> Hermogenes, in adding to the explanation given above (*ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον*) *φιλόσοφον ἢ ῥητορικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικὸν* (l. c. 12, 18), means only to suggest characteristic tastes or pursuits. But Priscian, with some misconception of Hermogenes' meaning, translated: *postea laudabis a professionibus*, id est quod officium professus est philosophum vel rhetoricum vel militare (Keil, G. L. III, p. 436, 12). Cf. the Glossae Graeco-Latinae in Goetz, vol. II, p. 311, 55: *ἐπιτήδευμα institutum inceptum studium professio*, and the Thesaurus Gloss. emendat. s. v. *professio*. The definition of Menander is very good, though unfortunately Spengel has corrupted it by unjustifiable change: *ἐπιτηδεύματά εἰσιν ἀνευ ἀγόνων πράξεις ἡθικαί* (Spengel reads *ἀνευ ἀγόνων ἡθῆ*, III 372, 4). Any characteristic pursuit consists in acts. These may be of significance for the characterization of the actor (*πράξεις ἡθικαί*) and yet be wholly unimportant as deeds in themselves, i. e. *ἀνευ ἀγόνων*. Cf. Men., p. 384, 20: *ἐπιτηδεύματα γάρ ἐστιν ἐνδείξεις τοῦ ἡθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνευ πράξεων ἀγωνιστικῶν*. A general definition of *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, without reference to this use as a topic of encomium, is cited by Stephanus from Galen (Kühn, vol. XVII, pars I, p. 210, extr.), and it is worth giving in this connection. Hippocrates, in naming the resources of diagnosis, mentions *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων* (Kühn, l. c., p. 204). Galen comments: *καλοῦσι δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα πάντα ὅσα πράττουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ χρεῖαν ἢ ἀνάγκην, εἴτε ναυτιλλόμενοι εἴτε γεωργοῦντες, ἢ οἰκοδομοῦντές τε καὶ τεκταινόμενοι, κυνηγετοῦντες ἢ φιλογυμναστοῦντες, ὥς λούεσθαι πολλάκις ἐν ὕδασι θερμοῖς ἢ ψυχροῖς*. For *ζῆλοι* v. Polybius X 25, 2 and 4.

serves its classical significance. This meaning and the use made of the topic in encomium are well illustrated by Demosthenes, Olynth. III 32: ὅποι' ἅττα γὰρ ἂν τάπιτ' αὐτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾗ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα εἶχειν. Thus the description of the sort of life which Horace leads (*haec est vila solutorum misera ambitione*) serves as evidence for the claim of worth and of absence of vulgar ambition which it is his purpose to establish. Recalling, finally, that similar evidence has been derived from his education and training, one may conclude with the words of the rhetorician Menander (Sp. III 420, 14): πιστώσῃ (τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐφυΐαν) διὰ τριῶν κεφαλαίων τῶν εἰξῆς, λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνατροφῆς καὶ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

The preceding analysis of the points of view (τόποι) from which Horace treats his life has shown general conformity to literary usage and precept for encomiastic composition. But there remain several further indications of encomiastic treatment to which attention may be called.

Encomium differs from objective narrative (historical or otherwise) in that it is not satisfied with the mere record of praiseworthy traits or deeds: for examples of conspicuous performance (πράξεις) or the record of other biographical items are not given for their own sake, but as indications of the *virtus* to which the whole presentation looks. This point of view is fully developed in the encomia of Isocrates (cf. Euag. 33: ῥᾶδιον ἐκ τούτων γράναι τὴν ἀρετὴν) and dominates the form throughout its whole subsequent history. Accordingly, at the end of each important episode or description, it is usual to find an outburst of praise in the form of an interpretative *σβήσεις*, setting forth the significance of the situation which has just been narrated as evidence for the character of the subject of encomium. Cf. Doxopater, Walz II 412, 32: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐγκωμίῳ οὐ μόνον τὰ προσόντα τινὶ καλὰ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θαυμάζομεν. The manner will be readily recognized, but one or two examples will not, perhaps, be superfluous. Isocrates, de Bigis 28 (after a biographical narrative of the parentage of the younger Alcibiades) adds: ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τῶν καλῶν κτλ., and Nepos, having described the character of Atticus' life at Athens, and the devotion of the Athenians to him, continues (3, 3): igitur illud munus fortunae . . . hoc specimen prudentiae quod, cum in eam se civitatem contulisset quae antiquitate humanitate doctrinaque praestaret omnes, unus ei fuit



there is here an extraordinary piling up of the negative side of each subject or situation, before the presentation of the positive features which would suffice for simple narrative. For example (I italicize the first word of the positive antitheses):

- 1 non, quia Maecenas, etc. . . . nec, quod avus, etc., . . .  
suspendis ignotos . . . *cum* referre negas.
- 52 felicem dicere non hoc me possim, etc. . . . nulla  
etenim mihi te fors obtulit: *optimus* olim, etc.
- 58 non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum . . . *sed*  
quod eram, etc.
- 64 non patre praeclaro, *sed* vita et pectore puro
- 68 si neque avaritiam, etc. . . . (*si*) *purus* et insons
- 72 noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere . . . *sed* puerum est  
ausus Romam portare, etc.
- 85 nec timuit . . . neque ego essem questus: *at* hoc nunc
- 90 non . . . sic me defendam: *longe* mea discrepat  
istis et vox et ratio (which is then carried out in the  
following sentence, *nunc*, etc.).
- 99 nollem onus . . portare molestum (which is then described  
in 100) . . . *nunc* mihi curto.
- 119 non sollicitus . . . *ad quartam* iaceo.
- 124 non quo
- 127 non avide

That the accumulation of sentences of this kind is really remarkable and a distinctive feature of the style of this composition the reader may readily verify by comparison with other satires. That it is peculiar to encomiastic style would of course be saying too much, for it is obvious that the figure may for instance be employed in refutatory argument, as in the Lucretian lines:

non radii solis neque lucida tela diei  
discutiant, *sed* naturae species ratioque.

But inasmuch as it throws strong emphasis on a positive assertion or description, with contrast of an opposing element, it lends itself readily to vigorous expression of praise or blame. For the

figure may of course be employed from the opposite point of view in invective or censure (*ψόγος*, the counterpart of *ἐγκώμιον*), as in the Horatian imprecation on *irae*:

non Dindymene, non adytis quatit,  
etc.

*Ἀναίρεσις* is the name which the Greek rhetoricians give to the figure, and the typical example which they cite are the great words of Demosthenes: οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὔτε πλίνθοις ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν θέλῃς μαθεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας, which Aristides quotes in the chapter *περὶ σεμνότητος*, with these words of explanation (Sp. II 466, 24): καὶ τὸ τὰ ἥττον ἐκτετιμημένα ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ ἀναιροῦντα ἀντεισάγειν τὰ μᾶλλον προτετιμημένα τῆς σεμνότητός ἐστιν.<sup>1</sup> The figure is named as one of the resources of encomiastic style by the rhetorician Apsines (Sp. I<sup>2</sup> 257, 20: ἐξ ἀναιρέσεως τὰ πολλὰ εἰσάγοντα) and—though for our examples it can scarcely be called significant or true—as a device by which the invidiousness of praise may be counteracted.<sup>2</sup>

From what has been said it is apparent that *ἀναίρεσις* always involves a comparison, and that brings us to another fundamental precept of the ancient theory of encomium; for, in the words of Hermogenes, *μεγίστη ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἀφορμὴ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν συγκρίσεων* (Sp. II 13, 3). *Σύγκρισις* is of course of much wider range than the stylistic figure of *ἀναίρεσις*, but it embraces the latter. I shall perhaps not be digressing too widely if I illustrate here, by a few typical examples from famous passages of encomium, the conjunction of these two marks of encomiastic style. A striking and admirable illustration is afforded by the praise of Italy in the second book of the *Georgics*:

136 sed neque Medorum silvae ditissima terra  
nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus  
*laudibus* Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi  
. . . . .  
haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem  
invertere . . . . .  
nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis:  
*sed* gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor  
implevere;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hermogenes π. *ιδέων* (Sp. II 307, 3) in the chapter *περὶ λαμπρότητος*: σχήματα λαμπρὰ ὅσα καὶ εὐεῖδῃ, οἷον αἱ ἀναιρέσεις.

<sup>2</sup> The example from Demosthenes is cited in the same connection by Plutarch, *de se ipso laud.*, ch. 12.

and the positive praise of Italy which follows. It becomes negative once more at 151 :

at rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum  
semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,  
nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto, etc.

Again, the encomium of Augustus in Aeneid VI 791 :

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis  
Augustus Caesar, divi genus . . . . .

801 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.

nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis  
Liber, etc.

Finally, the exquisite passage in praise of the simple pleasures of true philosophy in Lucretius II 23:<sup>1</sup>

neque natura ipsa requirit  
si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes  
. . . . .  
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet  
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque tecta,  
*cum tamen* inter se prostrati in gramine molli, etc.

To return, then, to our satire, we observe that each principal topic is carried out in the form of a syncrisis more or less fully developed. *τίμος*: The attitude of Maecenas toward lowly birth is contrasted with the sneers of others, not only by the negative form of expression (*non . . . suspendis*), but also by a phrase of direct comparison—*ut plerique solent*.<sup>2</sup> The negative form is reinforced in a similar manner in 90 below (*non ut magna pars*). *τύχη*: With the suggestion of mere luck, to which his position was attributed, is contrasted the discerning judgment of Maecenas (*κρίσις τῶν ἐνδόξων*). *Ἀγωγή*: The contrast between the school

<sup>1</sup>The whole of this prooemium affords almost continuous illustration of syncrisis presented in the rhetorical figure of *ἀναιρέσις*. The prooemium to Book V (encomium of Epicurus) is a carefully wrought out syncrisis of another type, contrasting the merits of Epicurus, first with those of Ceres and Liber—*confer enim divina aliorum antiqua reperta* (13)—and then with those of Hercules (22): *Herculis antistare autem si facta putabis*.

<sup>2</sup>On the use of such expressions ( [*non*] *ut plerique*, [*non*] *alius*, *ceteri*, etc.) in encomiastic and characterizing description, I have made some observations in *The Proconsulate of Julius Agricola*, esp. pp. 9, 12 and 15.

of Flavius and the best educational advantages which Rome afforded is continued further in the contrast, which the superlative *incorruptissimus custos* (81) implies, to the neglect which was common in protecting the school-boy from allurements to impurity (τροφή). The point is noted by the pseudo-Acronian scholium on *incorruptissimus*: ad comparationem aliorum.<sup>1</sup>

The final topic, ἐπιτηδεύματα, is a more elaborated syncretism than any of the preceding. The negative side sets forth the burdens of life which Horace must have borne in higher station (100), a description which develops into a picture of the cumbersome retinue with which he must have been attended whenever he ventured abroad. With this is contrasted the unconstraint of his life as it is in this respect (*nunc mihi curto*). The two situations are concluded with the words which point the moral of the comparison:

110 hoc ego commodius quam tu praeclare senator  
milibus atque aliis vivo.

To the proof for the generalizing words *milibus atque aliis* the poet then passes over in the further description of his daily life:

quacumque libido est  
112 incedo solus, etc.

It is carried out in a series of descriptions, nearly all of which contain elements of syncretism, either tacit or explicit,<sup>2</sup> with allusion to which the satire concludes:

130 his me consolor victurum suavius ac si  
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Menander, l. c., p. 372, 21: τίθει δὲ καὶ σύγκρισιν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων τούτων, αἱ συγκρίσεις φύσιν φύσει καὶ ἀνατροφὴν ἀνατροφῇ καὶ παιδείαν παιδείᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> The ἀναιρέσεις *non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis* (124) was of course a shaft with barbed point for contemporary readers. Merely as a form of negative praise of *οἶνον*, it is obviously a trifle rancid.

[NOTE on vss. 65-67. Although irrelevant to my argument, I would use this opportunity to indicate a striking parallel to the not wholly pleasing comparison of vs. 67. It is the conclusion of a literary judgment on the περιήγησις of Dionysius (Bernhardy, p. 82, 13): εἰ δὲ τις ἐχει καὶ κῆρας βραχυτάτας (αἰγῶνι si vitibus mediocribus ac mea paucis mendosa est natura), καθά ποιν σῶμα καλὸν δοθεὶς τινος οὐ προφανὲς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ λειχῆνας παρεμπεφυκότας οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ (velut si egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore maenos), ἀφ' ὧν ἡμιστά τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κάλλους ἀχρειοῦται (αἰσχροῖς recta), συνεπτέσθωσαν οἱ περιέρχοντες].

### III.—ON THE DATE OF PLINY'S PREFECTURE OF THE TREASURY OF SATURN.<sup>1</sup>

The more important published articles on the life of Pliny the Younger, and on the chronological sequence of his letters, are well known—Masson's *Life*, printed at Amsterdam in 1709; Mommsen's great study in the third volume of *Hermes* (1868), reissued in a French translation in 1873; and the later articles that almost of necessity have Mommsen's work as their starting-point, and traverse to a greater or less extent his views, Stobbe in the thirtieth volume of the *Philologus* (1870), Gemoll in a doctor's dissertation of 1872, Peter in the thirty-second volume of the *Philologus* (1873), Asbach in the thirty-sixth volume of the *Rheinisches Museum* (1881), and Maximilian Schultz in a Berlin dissertation of 1899. Other articles might be cited, but these are the most significant. To them of course can be added various summary statements in histories of the time, or of literature, or in introductions to editions of some part of the letters: but almost all of these, if not quite all, have no independent value.

By Mommsen, and too often since his article was published, the treatment of the chronology of Pliny's life has been made to depend upon the preliminary establishment of the dates of his letters or books of letters. From this method of discussion I am able for the most part to steer clear in this article, though I must of necessity touch upon it at the close. If the chronological point at issue seems too minute for such extended discussion, I must plead in excuse my attraction to a method that consists in a careful attempt to determine not what an author may be twisted into meaning, but what he actually did mean; and in the purpose not to let any theory, however neat or brilliant, stand in the way of such determination. It would be a tedious task to attempt to cite at each step the writers whose views, perhaps not always strongly held, I may be controverting, and I trust I shall not be thought to treat them in cavalierish fashion if I refrain from wearying the reader's patience by too many such references.

<sup>1</sup>A part of this article was read before the American Philological Association at its meeting in July, 1902.



That Pliny was prefect of the treasury of Saturn is stated by himself in more than one place (V. 14. 5; X. 3. 1; Pan. 92), and the office is mentioned in due order (next before the consulship) in the *cursus honorum* of the well-known inscription of Milan. It is the date of his entrance upon that prefecture that I wish first to determine, within as close limits as may be. For I need not remark, to those who interest themselves at all in the chronological questions connected with Pliny's life, that it is impossible to determine the date with absolute precision.

In Pan. 90 Pliny says, *diuus Nerua ut nos . . . promouere uellet*. In the next sentence he remarks (Pan. 91) that he and Cornutus had not yet served two years in their arduous and exalted office (*nondum biennium compleueramus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo*) when Trajan designated them for the consulship (*consulatum obtulisti*). In the next chapter we are told for the first time the name of this office to which Nerva "*nos promouere uoluit*", and which they were filling when named for the consulship, the prefecture of the treasury. That this treasury was that of Saturn is shown by the inscription above cited, to say nothing of other evidence.

Nerva, then, to translate literally the words Pliny uses, "wished to promote" him and Cornutus to the prefecture of Saturn's treasury. But does that phrase *ut nos promouere uellet* mean as well that Nerva carried out his desire or intention? I cannot deny that in a proper setting it is susceptible of such an implication, but such a setting is not found here. All, therefore, that is necessarily contained in the phrase is the statement that Nerva promised them, or designated them for, the office, and would have installed them in it had his life been sufficiently prolonged.

Let us now turn to two other passages in which Pliny speaks of his indebtedness for the promotion. In X. 3 he says, *me, domine, indulgentia uestra promouit ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni*; and again in X. 8 he speaks of that office as *delegati a uobis officii*. It is certain from the study of Pliny's style that he cannot be using the plural of the second person for the singular. Both *uos* and *uestra* must therefore refer to Nerva and Trajan. But Nerva alone at least nominated him for the office. In what sense, then, can both Nerva and Trajan be said to be responsible for the gift of the position? Some, assuming that the prefecture was actually entered upon during Nerva's lifetime, would say the plural means that the promotion was

the joint act of Nerva and Trajan as colleagues in the imperial power. Doubtless they were indeed colleagues in the imperial power to a certain extent, for Trajan as well as Nerva held the *imperium proconsulare* and the *tribunicia potestas*. But without entering further upon that question, it is sufficient to ask *why* the designation was not equally a joint official act. It certainly took place some months after the adoption of Trajan, as I shall later show. Why does not Pliny use *uos* also of that, and not merely *diuus Nerua*? There are no local circumstances or turns of language to suggest or to justify the inconsistency in expression. Evidently some other form of explanation must be found.

Mommsen is definitely of the belief (*Étude*, p. 64, n. 3) that Pliny entered upon the prefecture while Nerva was yet living,—that is, before January 27, 98,—and apparently bases his belief upon this use of *uos* and *uestra*, which, however, he explains by the declaration that Nerva inducted Pliny into his office, and Trajan upon his accession confirmed him therein: for, says Mommsen, upon the accession of a new emperor the various functionaries of the empire must be confirmed by him in their respective offices. On this point we must be allowed to differ with even so eminent an authority. In the first place, it would be difficult for him to prove so wide-reaching an assertion concerning the necessity of such a confirmation, nor can the *ipse dixit* suffice on a contested point like this. Indeed, I am not aware that he even makes such an assertion elsewhere, though I am writing at a distance from books, and my previous observation may be at fault. But Mommsen, with all his astounding sweep of knowledge, has yet a remarkable way occasionally of trusting his own idea of what ought to be, in the lack of actual evidence of what was. So he is prone to account for a fact by suggesting a possibility, then to advance that possibility the next minute to the rank of an actuality, and then to enunciate it as a general truth. Undoubtedly the princeps had very considerable powers in getting men out of office when he chose to do so. The official guillotine was invented before the times of Andrew Jackson. But the power of removal, by whatever means or on whatever theory exercised, is a very different thing from the right of confirmation. The immense body of offices of Roman administration was not vacated by the death of the princeps. The incumbents of such of them as were strictly public and not personal offices (and in this category

the prefecture of Saturn's treasury is to be reckoned) may in many or most instances have owed their posts to the favor of the emperor, but they were appointed after a constitutional manner, and were functionaries not of the emperor personally but of the state. A new emperor might be able to remove them, but there is no proof, and no indication in the nature of the principate, that they needed his confirmation in order to continue the exercise of their functions. Not in this sense, then, could Pliny say that he owed his prefecture to both Nerva and Trajan.

In what sense, then, could this be said? One other mode of explanation lies open, and that a perfectly simple and easy one. The date of designation for the prefecture may very well have been in the month of January, 98. Of this point I shall speak a little later. Nerva died shortly thereafter (on the 27th of January). What more natural than that Trajan carried out Nerva's nominations for the prefecture of the treasury precisely as he did those for the suffect-consulships of the year? And what more natural than that Pliny, speaking later of an office for which he had been nominated by one emperor, and into which he had accordingly been inducted by his successor (who was not constitutionally bound, however, to carry out the nominations of his predecessor), should join the two together in *uos* and *uestra* as those to whom he owed his advancement?

I hold, therefore, that Pliny was named by Nerva in January, 98, for the succession to the prefecture of the treasury, and that he actually entered upon that office after Trajan's accession,—that is, after January 27, 98.

But having established this *terminus post quem* let us pass on to consider the establishment of a *terminus ante quem*.

There are no indications of any definite calendar date on which the prefects of the treasury regularly entered upon their office, nor is it necessary from general considerations to suppose that there was any such uniform date of installation. On the other hand I am inclined to think that we may find in Pliny's own case, and in his words, some indication that the administration of the treasury passed from the hands of one pair of prefects into those of another at the convenience of the emperor and of the service, though this is by no means to be taken as an assertion that the term of prefects was confined within no usual limits. Of this matter also I shall speak later.

The determination of the date of Pliny's installation as prefect

may be approached, and indeed must be approached, from two different directions. We may trace the term of his immediate predecessors in office to its conclusion, and we may also follow backward certain chronological indications from the time when Pliny was designated consul. I purpose to take up these points in order.

The first of them is concerned with sundry determinations of date connected with the attempted impeachment of Publicius Certus, described by Pliny years after the event in the thirteenth letter of his ninth book. The incident occurred within the second consular nundinum of the year 97, and when that nundinum was considerably advanced,—perhaps as late as June or July (see my notes on IX. 13. 5 in *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny*, London, 1903). Publicius Certus was at that time prefect of the treasury of Saturn with Vettius Proculus (IX. 13. 13), and was expecting (l. c.) speedy advancement to the consulship. He had been made prefect under Domitian, and Pliny demanded that under the best of emperors he should be forced to surrender the prize that he had won under the worst (IX. 13. 23). And Pliny says his demand was gratified, for *collega Certi consulatum, successorem Certus accepit*. Proculus therefore was designated consul at the expected time, which could not have been later than the following year. Now as Proculus was consul in 98, and Pliny and Cornutus were designated prefects probably in January, 98, they must have been the immediate successors of Proculus in that office. For from what I shall later point out concerning the usual length of term of the prefects, and concerning specifically the length of Pliny's term, there is no possibility that another pair of prefects could have been interpolated between Proculus with his (final) colleague and Pliny with Cornutus.

I may perhaps be allowed to remark that Mommsen believes that both Proculus and Certus continued in office from the time of the incident in the senate (which I have shown in another place to have occurred probably not later than about the middle of 97) till January, 98, when Proculus was nominated suffect-consul, and Certus passed over, Pliny and Cornutus immediately succeeding them in the prefecture. With this notion I am forced to disagree. It is at variance with Pliny's words, and with Pliny's lack of words, as well as with the general character of the case. The prize which Certus had gained under Domitian was surely the actual office which he then held, the prefecture,—itself a high and important

position. This prize Pliny demanded that he be forced to surrender,—for Pliny hoped to be able to convict Certus under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et ueneficis* (Dig. XLVIII. 8, et al.), the penalty of which involved infamia and the consequent loss of office. Moreover *successorem accipere* is commonly used to denote removal from office before the expiration of the normal term (cf. e. g. Suet. Aug. 88; Spart. Hadr. 9. 4; 11. 2; 24. 7; Suet. Dom. 1; et al.). But what Pliny omits to say is quite as significant as what he says,—for if he had been the immediate successor of Certus in the prefecture, it appears impossible that he, who makes so much of the delirious dreams of Certus concerning his attack, should not comment also upon this dramatic fact. On general considerations moreover it would seem probable that if Nerva meant to inflict punishment upon Certus, even informally, he would not wait for more than half a year before doing so. Altogether then it appears certain that Certus was speedily removed from the prefecture, and a successor appointed, who served with Proculus till Pliny and Cornutus succeeded them.

But when did the term of Proculus end? Mommsen thinks on or immediately after the ninth day of January, 98, when Proculus was designated consul. Now that I am engaged in the critical consideration of this chronology I must remark that while it is possible that the nominations to suffect-consulships were made at this period on the ninth day of January of the year in which the consulship was held, it is by no means certain that this is the case. To be sure, the careful study of the manner of Pliny's utterance in Pan. 77 makes it appear probable, as Mommsen holds, that in the year 100 the *designatio* and *renuntiatio* of the suffect-consuls were made in the month of January, and earlier than the very end of that month. But the only authority that fixes January ninth as the precise day is the calendar of Polemius Silivius (C. I. L. I. 335), which asserts that on this day the suffect-consuls or praetors are designated. And this Calendar dates from the year 448 A. D., three centuries and a half after the period we are considering.

But the precise date of this particular *designatio* is not a very important matter. More important is it to determine when Proculus laid down the prefecture, and Pliny therefore succeeded. An important point to be made here is a warning against the mere assumption that the designation for the consulship involved

the immediate resignation of the prefecture, and that the designation for the prefecture involved the immediate entrance upon its duties. As regards this last matter, I have already shown that in Pliny's case the induction into the prefecture did not immediately follow his designation for it. As a necessary corollary, since Pliny was the successor of Proculus, the latter certainly held his prefecture for some time after his designation for the consulship. But how long? That cannot be precisely determined but an approximation to the date can be made by examining the chronological relation involved between Pliny's inauguration as consul and the conclusion of his term as prefect. To this consideration I now turn.

In Pan. 92 Pliny says, "How striking a fact is it that you exalted us to the consulship before relieving us of the prefecture of the treasury. Dignity was heaped upon dignity, nor was our lofty station continued merely, but duplicated, and our new honor, as if it disdained to succeed the former, anticipated it. So great confidence did you repose in our uprightness that you thought it only consistent with your own scrupulousness not to allow us to decline into the condition of private citizens after holding our exalted office." The "exalted office" to which he refers here can be only the prefecture, which he characterized in the same terms in the chapter immediately preceding this as well as elsewhere. There is no reason whatever, other than the insistence upon fidelity to a pet theory, for supposing, as Mommsen has done, that Pliny is looking ahead, and means that Trajan's purpose is to continue him and Cornutus in the prefecture of the treasury, so that they may not become private citizens after laying down the consulship (the "exalted office" being, in Mommsen's view, one moment the prefecture and the next the consulship). It is evident, then, from Pliny's words that ordinarily prefects of the treasury who were nominated to the consulship were relieved of their prefecture before actually entering upon their higher office. There was therefore a period, longer or shorter, during which they became only private senators, though consuls designate. It does not necessarily and always follow, however, that they were relieved of the prefecture very soon after their designation as consuls. There is no external evidence that such was the case, and there is no internal reason why it should be so. It would seem reasonable to relieve them from service in time so that the transfer of office could be made conveniently, and all

accounts adjusted, before the ex-prefects began their service as consuls; but for this a brief interval would suffice. Pliny entered upon the consulship in September, having been designated in the preceding January. If there were anything remarkable or unusual in his continuance in the prefecture for so long as eight months after his designation as consul, he, who makes so much in the ingenuity of his perfervid egotistic loyalty of every minute point of distinction, would certainly not fail to comment upon this. But his only remark is upon the fact that no interval elapsed between the two offices. In all probability, therefore, a prefect of the treasury designated consul ordinarily was continued in office until shortly before he actually entered upon the consulship.

Now let us apply this principle to the case of Proculus. If Gruter (1071. 4) is to be trusted, Vettius Proculus and P. Iulius Lupus were consuls in the month of December. Their term was, therefore, the last nundinum of 98. The length of the nundinum cannot be determined, but it was certainly as much as two months, and doubtless was not more than four months. Proculus therefore became consul at the latest on or about November first, and at the earliest on or about September first. In accordance with what has been said, there is no need for supposing that he laid down his prefecture more than, let us say, a month before he was installed in the consul's chair. Pliny and Cornutus would accordingly appear to have entered upon their prefecture somewhere in the neighborhood of August 1 or of October 1, of the year 98.

This conclusion has been reached by approaching the problem from the direction of the term of the predecessors of Pliny in the prefecture. But I have said that it is necessary also to approach it by reckoning backward from the time when Pliny was designated consul. These two lines of investigation should arrive at the same point, or at least the latter should not cut the former at an inconvenient or inconsistent point.

Pliny was designated consul in the month of January of the year 100. The manner of determining the month I have already mentioned. The year is determined by the statement (Pan. 60) that it was the year of Trajan's third consulship, and that is known to be 100 A. D. by a course of reasoning too long to be reviewed here, but convincing, and so far as I know, not doubted by any one. Now, as I have before remarked, in Pan. 91 Pliny says that he had not yet been two years prefect when he was designated

consul (nondum biennium compleueramus . . . cum . . . consulatum obtulisti). Just what does he mean by the phrase *nondum biennium compleueramus*? One of two things might be implied: the former, that nearly, though not quite, two years had been completed; the latter, that at least two years service was usually completed before nomination to the consulship. It is hardly likely that both these implications should be combined in the one statement, and this antecedent improbability becomes an impossibility when it is noted that Pliny goes on to emphasize the remarkable and exceptional grace of the emperor in offering the promotion without a much longer and more tedious waiting upon hope deferred. If two years were the term of service ordinarily required, and Pliny had nearly completed it, there would be no point, even with his tendency to extravagant rhetoric in the Panegyric, to the emphasis laid upon the unwonted speed of the promotion. We must conclude from his words, therefore, that two years of service was the understood minimum which must be spent in the intermediate office before eligibility for promotion to the consulship, and that ordinarily prefects had been compelled to wait a much longer time before they attained the coveted post. And this is seen to be quite consistent with other facts when we note that these prefects were always *praetorii*, and that two years was at this period the minimum time that must elapse between the conclusion of the year's service as *praetor* and the entry upon the consulship. There is indeed little indication that men at this period ever reached the consulship *suo anno* (as they used to say in Cicero's time), and the prefecture of the treasury was in itself such a high function that it might well console those who discharged it if they were detained therein for more than the theoretical minimum interval of two years.

Pliny means, then, and means only, that according to the minimum reckoning he might have counted upon the necessity of at least two years of service as prefect before nomination to the consulship, but he had not fulfilled even this theoretical minimum. There is therefore nothing in his statement to interfere with the conclusion before reached that his term as prefect of the treasury of Saturn probably began in August or in October of the year 98. And in the ground thus traversed I have covered all the evidence in point that has come under my observation. (I should perhaps remark that, as I have pointed out in my published notes on X. 8, that letter is of the year 99, and not of the year 98.)



I turn now, and more briefly, to the consideration of the concluding date of Pliny's prefecture, which Mommsen (*Étude*, p. 65) believes to have extended over a period of nearly four years, from January 98 till nearly the end of 101. I, on the other hand, think it more likely to have ended soon after his assumption of the consulship in September of the year 100. Let us remark first that nothing certain is known regarding what may be called the normal term of prefects of the treasury of Saturn. If what has been said may be regarded as establishing the probability that two years was the ordinary minimum term of service before nomination to the consulship, and that the prefecture, in the case of men advanced directly therefrom to the consulship, was ordinarily laid down only shortly before induction into the higher office, and finally that nominations to the suffect-consulships were made in January of the year in which the office was actually discharged, it is easy to see that a prefect advanced to the consulship under these rules with as brief an interval as possible between the two offices might have served in the prefecture as little as two years, or as much as four years lacking perhaps two months. For on the one hand he might have fulfilled his two years of service in December, in time to be duly nominated for an ordinary consulship to begin on the first day of January next succeeding; or on the other hand his two years of service might expire in January just after the nomination of suffect-consuls for that year, and he might have to wait in office for another year before nomination, and then perhaps till the last nundinum of the year, possibly November, for the actual consulship. Mathematically speaking, the mean between these two extremes is about three years; and there is a good chance that this was regarded as something like the normal term of prefects of Saturn's treasury, to be varied according to circumstances or the favor of the emperor. Indeed, it might be remarked in passing that the prefects of the two treasuries, the civil and military chests, were apparently regarded as colleagues, (see e. g. *Pl. Ep.* III. 4. 3), and the prefects of the military treasury served a normal term of three years under Augustus, and apparently for a long time afterward (*Dio C.* LV. 25. 2).

But whatever we may choose to regard as the normal term of prefects of Saturn's treasury, probable cause has already been shown for believing that they ordinarily laid down their office before assuming the consulship. Yet Pliny was made consul while

still prefect. Mommsen indeed asserts (*Étude*, p. 64) that Pliny states that he and Cornutus "continuèrent, même pendant leur consulat, à administrer le trésor", but therein he is in error. Pliny merely states (*Pan.* 92), as I have already pointed out but need again to emphasize, that at the time of entry upon the consulship he is still in office as prefect. He makes the most of the very unusual if not unprecedented plurality of his office, but he nowhere implies that he expects to continue long in the prefecture. Indeed, the implication is quite otherwise; for the point he particularly lays stress upon is not that he is expected to administer both offices at the same time, but merely that while others have been relieved from the one before taking up the other, he has been granted the unusual honor of entering upon the second while yet holding the first, and so of having no moment of interval in private station. From the face of his words, then, and from their patent implication, one would certainly be bound to consider it likely, in the lack of other evidence, that Pliny and Cornutus were not expected or expecting to hold another and an onerous office together with the consulship (a case perhaps without parallel), but were speedily relieved of their prefecture, which they had held thus long either, as Pliny affects to think, as an especial compliment from the emperor, or, as seems quite as likely to be the real fact, because some accidental circumstances had prevented their earlier relief.

I have thus, as I think, established my case, and fortunately without being compelled to enter upon the troublesome question of theory concerning the general chronology of Pliny's correspondence. But I cannot properly avoid mention of that topic at this point, since Mommsen holds that there is actual evidence in two particulars that Pliny was still prefect of the treasury of Saturn in the year 101. Both of these particulars are intimately connected with his great theory about the chronology of the letters. He believes, it will be remembered, that Pliny does not mean at all what he says in the first letter of the first book, where he states that the letters are not arranged in chronological order. Mommsen refuses to accept this statement in its plain and simple and reasonable meaning, and tries to prove that at least the earlier books individually, and the later books in groups, are arranged as chronologically distinct and progressive unities; and he tries to prove this on the scantiest of positive evidence, and with striking disregard of every point (and there are many of them)

that makes against his theory. Then he proceeds to investigate every date in Pliny's life after and in accordance with his determination of the dates of the several books of the letters. The general theory is a Procrustean bed into which every individual letter is made to fit willy-nilly. The method is striking, and the results reached sometimes appalling.

Mommsen's theory is an inexorable whole, and it falls completely to the ground unless he claims that all the letters of the third book date from the year 101, or possibly some of them from the year 102. At the date of two of these letters (III. 4, 9), which mention the prosecution of Caecilius Classicus, Pliny is evidently prefect of the treasury of Saturn (cf. III. 4. 2 with X. 8). Therefore to save his theory from collapse Mommsen attempts the impossible task of proving that there is no unreasonableness in the supposition that the case against Classicus was on the docket in 101; and accordingly he must also conclude that the term of Pliny as prefect was thus extraordinarily prolonged. The other particular of evidence cited by Mommsen is of still more dubious character, but of the same class. In III. 6 Pliny is detained in Rome by the duties of an official position (*officii ratio*). Since, says Mommsen, this, like all the other letters of the third book, must have been written in 101, and there is no other office possibly held by him at that time that was of an onerous character, it is another indication that Pliny was still prefect in 101.

It is evidently necessary to rebut these two pieces of evidence in order to make a complete case, though the evidence already advanced in chief appears to be perfectly conclusive. It is easy to point out the grave, and as I think it easy to see, unsurmountable difficulties that lie in the way of the assignment of the case against Classicus to the year 101. It appears improbable that Mommsen would so assign it, unless it were necessary under the support of his general theory. A more effective and still necessary method of rebuttal would yet remain, in showing the untenable character of Mommsen's theory in general. As I have just pointed out, his theory hangs so together that if undermined at any point it must inevitably fall as a whole. But a general rebuttal would prolong the present article far beyond the limits available in the *Journal*, and would be to repeat much that has already been done in the articles cited in the first paragraph. Whatever may be said in criticism of them on individual points,

they may be referred to as establishing completely the argument in rebuttal for the purposes of the case herewith presented.

I trust, therefore, that I have shown cause for believing that Pliny entered upon the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn in August or October, 98, and retired therefrom at about the expiration of the minimum term of two years, soon after his entry upon the consulship in September of the year 100.

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#### IV.—THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN LIVY.

##### II.

##### ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE FOLLOWING MAIN STATEMENT.

The ablative absolute is frequently placed after the main statement, about one in eighteen of the examples having that position. However, it must be observed that in these the proportion of present participles is larger than the average proportion, as they represent an action taking place at the same time as the main action, and so may follow as easily as precede the main verb, e. g. 22, 10, 9 *tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus*; 36, 23, 5 *nulla eos res aeque ac vigiliae conficiebant, Romanis succedentibus . . . labore urente*. Similar to these are 31 passages in which the names of consuls in the abl. abs. are postpositive. Sometimes the perfect participle follows when it is used with an intransitive verb, e. g. 1, 34, 2 *moritur uxore gravida relicta*. Of the other perfect participles at the end of the sentence, more than the usual proportion are causal, while occasionally they express a consequent or coincident action, e. g. 25, 34, 6 *compulsique intra vallum adempto rerum omnium usu*. There can be given no reason for most of the instances of this arrangement except the free handling of the ablative absolute by Livy, for most of them express an antecedent action, and this in some instances is indicated by a temporal particle as in 24, 2, 11 *arcem optimates tenebant prae-parato ante ad talem casum perfugio*; 32, 25, 1 *civitas prodita est temptatis prius animis plebis*.

##### SYNTACTICAL EQUIVALENCE.

Whatever may have been the origin of the ablative absolute construction, in Livy it usually expresses temporal relations, and in general its use is parallel with the *cum* constructions. The frequency of occurrence, both in the speeches and in the narrative portions, depends on the recurrence of temporal notions. It is for this reason that these two portions of the work of Livy do

not differ in the use of the ablative absolute, for the moods of Livy the annalist are as varied as the moods of Livy speaking through historical characters. Of the entire number of examples, by far the larger part are purely temporal, and in the mass they are treated as such. The parts are frequently separated by temporal particles which may also precede, and also frequently follow, noticeably *deinde*, *extemplo*, *inde*, *simul*, *tandem*, *tum*, *tum demum* and *tum vero*, the same as with other temporal statements.

Not infrequently Livy views a past action from his own standpoint instead of that of the original actors, and the perfect participle has the force of an aorist. The same method is followed in dealing with the ablative absolute, and the perfect participle is used to represent a circumstance accompanying the main action, e. g. 40, 4, 4 parvis admodum relictis omnibus decessit. See Draeger 2, p. 794.

Apart from the examples expressing time, those with causal force occur most frequently, and in these the abl. abs. usually follows the main statement, as in 2, 41, 4 consul largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante; 21, 56, 9 aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia, aut quia iam moveri nequibant . . . , sentire sese dissimularunt; 25, 15, 12 pedestre proelium fuit persegne paucis in prima acie pugnantibus Romanis, Thurinis expectantibus magis quam adiuvantibus eventum. The instances are similar in which the abl. abs. precedes, e. g. 23, 29, 17 non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

The ablative absolute with concessive force, and sometimes followed by *tamen*, is found in a smaller number of passages: 1, 17, 9 hodie quoque . . . usurpatur idem ius vi adempta; 1, 51, 7; 2, 10, 11 desiluit multis superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit; 2, 31, 5; 3, 26, 1; 3, 47, 2 quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda; 3, 63, 8; 4, 38, 1; 4, 44, 10; 5, 12, 1; 5, 28, 11; 6, 21, 5; 7, 27, 4; 8, 15, 9; 9, 2, 13; 9, 42, 2; 21, 30, 5; 24, 4, 7; 33, 5, 4; 33, 34, 7; 33, 34, 10; 36, 29, 5 deductus ad regem nondum convivio dimisso; 39, 21, 9 quae causa numero aucto infirmiores eos fecerit. With conditional force the use of the ablative absolute is still more restricted, and in the few instances which may be cited there is not in all a clear differentiation of the conditional and the temporal: 1, 18, 5 inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto

videbantur; 2, 23, 15 censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; 3, 34, 7; 5, 11, 11 quia stare diutius respublica his manentibus in magistratu non posset; 5, 33, 1 expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est capi Roma non potuerit; 9, 4, 12; 37, 19, 3 quaero enim pace per te facta rediturusne extemplo in Italiam sis? 1, 58, 7 quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? may be taken as a general conditional statement rather than specific temporal, while 5, 54, 7 hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii, may be taken as dative or as a conditional absolute.

Sometimes the activity of one of two hostile parties is expressed by the absolute, which sets forth an action contrasted with that in the main statement: 3, 70, 3 pedites . . . pugnare haud segniter resistentibus Volscis; 4, 57, 7; 8, 12, 11; 23, 40, 10 diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis . . . adsuetis, fecerunt; cf. 8, 38, 10 id aliquamdiu aequavit pugnam iam pridem desueto Samnite clamorem Romani exercitus pati; 24, 3, 9 optimates tenebant se, circumsedente cum Brutiis eos etiam plebe sua; 27, 8, 10 tribuni . . . censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore. The result of the main action is also expressed by the absolute in 4, 10, 5 dederunt poenas vix nuntiis caedis relictis; 21, 37, 4 quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis.

One of the best indications of Livy's freedom in the use of the ablative absolute is its frequent occurrence with particles, the entire expression being equal to a clause. These particles definitely indicate the syntactical equivalence of the ablative absolute, and their use with all forms of the participle is a good index of its increasing flexibility. For convenience in comparison we shall group the particles according to their meaning.

*Conditional.*—*Nisi* with the ablative absolute is comparatively quite frequent: 1, 36, 6 nisi auspicato; 1, 51, 7 n. gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi; 2, 24, 5; 4, 60, 4; 6, 1, 4; 6, 35, 1; 6, 37, 4 nisi imperio communicato numquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore; 7, 41, 4; 8, 12, 10; 9, 16, 3; 22, 55, 8; 24, 18, 11; 26, 21, 4; 27, 2, 12; 33, 12, 4 Philippo aut occiso aut regno pulso; 35, 45, 6; 37, 5, 2; 40, 26, 5 consules nisi confecto dilectu negare se ituros. It should be noted that all of these excepting the first 27, 2, 12 and 6, 1, 4 neque eum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt, are in indirect discourse, and the last gives the thought of the people. This limitation may indicate that Livy regarded colloquial brevities as the sphere for its use.

*Comparative.*—The two examples of the use of *quam* cited by Draeger 2, 817; 24, 18, 12 ante *quam bello confecto*; and 8, 14, 6 *prius quam aere soluto* are in indirect statements, as are the conditional absolutes with *nisi*. *Ante quam* is also used in the same way 3, 51, 13; and *priusquam* 5, 7, 7.

*Comparative Conditional.*—The use of particles of this class is especially worthy of note, *quasi*, *tamquam*, *ut* and *velut* being used in this way. While the special force of these particles is not always the same, yet it is sufficiently so for a general comparison. Numerically considered it is largely a question of the use of *velut* for, in comparison with the number of instances of its use, the others do not frequently occur. *Quasi* is found 26, 21, 4 q. *debellato*. *Tamquam* occurs 2, 53, 2 t. *Veiis captis*; 6, 14, 4 t. *Gallis victoribus*; 9, 6, 12 t. *ferentibus adhuc cervicibus*; 27, 9, 10 t. *integra re*; 27, 24, 6; 29, 2, 2; 45, 5, 10; 45, 30, 2; and with the abl. abs. of the future active participle, 30, 10, 10; and 36, 40, 1, the last two examples being similar to those in which the fut. part. is not in the ablative. *Ut* is used in half a dozen passages: 1, 54, 7 *ut re imperfecta*; 29, 32, 3 *ut debellato* (cf. 26, 21, 4 *quasi d.*; and 30, 8, 1 *velut d.*); three times with the perfect part., 24, 45, 11; 34, 39, 8; 34, 52, 11; and once with the present, 34, 39, 10 *ut adiuvantibus ignem qui . . . opem ferre solent*.

*Velut* is met with in 65 passages four times as often as all the others combined. While Livy's favorite, it does not differ in force from the others, for *quasi*, *ut* and *velut* are used with *debellato*; *ut* and *velut* (35, 36, 6; and 39, 34, 2) with *capta urbe* as is *utpote* 2, 33, 8, for at that stage of the proceedings the Romans had merely gained the outskirts of the city, and *utpote capta urbe* means 'as if it were really captured', or 'because it was captured, as they thought' . . . *Ut* in 1, 54, 7, and *tamquam* in 27, 9, 10 do not differ from *velut* in v. *perfecta re* 42, 16, 1; while in 29, 2, 2 *hostico tamquam pacato* is parallel to 24, 8, 15 v. *pacato mari*; and 34, 28, 3 v. *pacato agro*. *Velut* is also used with the dative, e. g. 2, 30, 13 v. *stupentibus metu intulissent Romani*; 6, 30, 4 *quibus v. circumventis . . . dum praesidio ut essent*; 30, 3, 1 *omnibus tamen, v. eam sortitis, Africae cura erat*.

*Causal.*—In addition to the instance of *utpote* quoted above, it is used 30, 10, 15 *vana pleraque, utpote supino iactu, tela*; and 36, 24, 11 *utpote congregatis feminis puerisque et imbelli turba in arcem*. *Quippe* is found in 3, 63, 2 *iam pavidos q. fuso suae partis validiore cornu*. It is used also with the dative agreeing



with a pronoun 8, 4, 5 *est quidem nobis hoc per se haud nimis amplum*, q. *concedentibus Romam caput Latio esse*; and with other forms of the part. 5, 14, 1 and 27, 39, 14.

*Concessive.*—*Quamquam* occurs between two contrasted ablatives 31, 41, 7 *sequente quamquam non probante Arynandro*; and *etsi* is used in the same way 42, 19, 3 *bello etsi non indicto tamen iam decreto*. Both words are found in contrasted statements with other forms (see Draeger 2, 817), and in one of the passages 4, 53, 1 *bellum Aequi parabant Volscis quamquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis*, by an easy shift, *quamquam* may be used with one of the participles.

#### CHANGE IN FORM OF EXPRESSION.

Livy's freedom in the use of the abl. abs. is shown by an occasional change in the form of expression where a succession of ablatives might be expected. Koeberlin has collected the numerous examples in which the abl. abs. of the participle is connected with some other form by copulative particles, e. g. 1, 29, 3 *deficiente consilio rogantesque alii alios*; 25, 35, 2 *deleto et . . . expectantes*; 28, 8, 12 *conlaudata . . . hortatusque*; 34, 49, 2 *tyran-num debilitatum ac totis prope viribus ad nocendum cuiquam ademptis*; 41, 26, 3 *signo proposito pugnae ac paucis adhortatus milites*. If *moenibus disiectis* in 24, 2, 9 in *vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis*, is taken as abl. abs., it should be added to K.'s list. Some of the examples, however, involve questions of textual reading, and in the last two quoted, a symmetrical construction with *adhortatus* in the ablative would hardly be admissible, as it is not in 31, 22, 3 *perfectis . . . profectus*; 31, 26, 9 *diviso . . . profectus*. There is also at times a change in the form of statement when there is no connective: 4, 9, 8 *pulsa plebs . . . armata ex urbe profecta colle quodam capto*; 21, 57, 2 *uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum*; 24, 3, 8 *sed arx Crotonis una parte imminens mari, altera vergente in agrum*. All of these examples are illustrations of a striving for variety in expression, and this is also shown by the use of some other ablative, with the absolute construction, and of the absolute participle with some other admissible absolute form.

*Different Ablatives.*—1, 19, 3 *clausus fuit semel T. Manlio consule . . . iterum . . . ab imperatore Caesare*; 1, 49, 3 *neque populi iussu nec auctoribus patribus*; 2, 12, 4; 1, 31, 4 *seu voce*

caelesti ex Albano monte missa . . . seu haruspicum monitu; 2, 17, 4 cum ira maiore . . . tum viribus etiam auctis; 3, 57, 6 ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum; 8, 23, 1 magis Nolanis cogentibus quam voluntate Graecorum; (24, 22, 6 sicut regnante Hierone . . . ita post mortem eius.) 31, 39, 15 partim testudine facta . . . vadunt, p. brevi circuitu . . . deturbant; 34, 5, 3 sua sponte an nobis auctoribus.

*Noun and Participle.*—3, 50, 16 nullo dum certo duce nec satis audentibus singulis; 2, 41, 4 auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante; 40, 14, 8 me auctore et sciente.

*Adjective and Participle.*—6, 9, 9 aversis eo hostibus et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis; 24, 26, 4 neque vivo Hieronymo . . . neque interfecto eo; 29, 16, 2 inopi aerario nec plebe . . . sufficiente; 40, 8, 17 vivo et spirante me.

#### SUBORDINATE ABLATIVES ABSOLUTE.

When there is a succession of ablatives absolute not expressing coincident actions, some form of a temporal clause might be used as a substitute in the series, e. g. 28, 31, 1 Laelius . . . auditis, quae acta Gadibus erant, . . . nuntiis ad Marcium missis, . . . Marcio adsentiente post paucos dies ambo Carthaginem rediere. In this *cum misisset* might be used for the second abl. abs., while in other passages *postquam* is admissible, e. g. 21, 25, 3 armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto . . . fecerunt; 23, 1, 4 impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito . . . iubet; 31, 26, 8 omissa oppugnatione urbis, diviso cum Philocle rursus exercitu . . . profectus; 40, 24, 6 mox coortis doloribus, relicto convivio cum in cubiculum recepisset sese. The last may also be taken as causal, as can most of the ablatives absolute which are subordinate to another: 1, 36, 2 reductis copiis datoque spatio Romanis; 1, 46, 1 conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso; 2, 55, 6 et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore; 2, 64, 8 velut tacitis indutiis utrumque quiete sumpta; 6, 32, 4; 9, 40, 20; 33, 20, 4; 33, 20, 10 hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu.

#### MODIFYING ABLATIVE ELEMENT.

The use with the ablative absolute of a modifying ablative element—participial, attributive, or appositional—is occasionally found, although similar combinations occur with other cases of the

participle as 4, 9, 8 *pulsa plebs armata ex urbe profecta . . . facit*; 26, 50, 11 *gratiam . . . redditae inviolatae virginis*; 24, 8, 18 *si stantibus vobis in acie armatis repente deligendi duo imperatores essent*; 35, 10, 9 *virum e civitate optimum iudicatum*; 30, 33, 10 *Mauros Numidasque Masinissae impotenti futuro dominatu terret*. The participle used in connection with the abl. abs., and taking the place of a relative clause is found 1, 14, 4 *iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas erat*; 1, 46, 1 *conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre . . .*; 3, 33, 9 *defosso cadavere . . . invento*; 8, 12, 9 *bello infecto repente omisso consul . . . rediit*. For the use of the ablative of a noun in the predicate Weissenborn (ad 1, 27, 3 *Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis*) cites 2, 58, 5; 4, 46, 11; 6, 39, 3; 8, 5, 3; 26, 40, 11; and 34, 33, 8. The following quotations will illustrate the use of an adjective in the same connection: 24, 47, 13 *decem ex eo numero iussis inermibus deduci ad se*; 27, 34, 3 *moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto conlega*; 29, 9, 8 *tribunis sontibus iudicatis*.

#### SUCCESION OF ABLATIVES ABSOLUTE.

The occurrence of two or more successive ablatives absolute is not infrequent. This in many instances furnishes a symmetrical aoristic approach to the main statement, especially when the place of the ablatives might be taken by subordinate clauses with the subject of the main statement as subject, a succession not less monotonous than that of the ablatives absolute. The tense, however, is sometimes varied, e. g. 1, 12, 10 *adnventibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo evadit*; 2, 10, 7 *parte pontis relictâ, revocantibus qui rescindebant*; 28, 12, 13 *adiuvante Magone . . . , dilectibus . . . habitis*; 34, 50, 9 *prosequentibus cunctis . . . acclamantibus, salutatis dimissisque*. A succession of several perfects is not uncommon: 1, 47, 10 *non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus*; 2, 11, 1; 2, 47, 10; 3, 3, 6; 5, 38, 1; 6, 31, 8; 10, 14, 7; 10, 37, 8 *bellis feliciter gestis, Samnio atque Etruria subactis, victoria et pace parta*; 21, 55, 1; 22, 1, 6; 26, 51, 2; 28, 46, 10; 29, 2, 2; 29, 14, 13; 29, 35, 4; 30, 5, 1; 31, 10, 3; 34, 8, 5; 37, 11, 4; 38, 42, 12; 41, 10, 5; 41, 28, 9; 43, 16, 13. Examples of the present participle repeated are not numerous: 6, 4, 6 *re publica inpensas adiuvante, et aedilibus velut*

publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis . . . admonebat enim desiderium usus—festinantibus; 21, 8, 8; and with an adj. 27, 25, 1; 37, 12, 1 tutante . . . fessis . . . permittente. More than three are rare: 7, 32, 1; 30, 30, 14 transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperi ereptis, me . . . detraxisti; 37, 19, 7 temptata, evastatis . . . relicto . . . facto. With variation in form of expression: 44, 9, 6 cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summisioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam . . . testudinem faciebant. 25, 28, 8 Hippocrate vero interempto, Epicyde intercluso ab Syracusis et praefectis eius occisis, Carthaginiensibus . . . pulsus, could be expressed by a mixture of active and passive clauses.

If the accumulation of ablatives absolute is to be criticised, still more so is a succession of ablatives of the perfect participle and of the gerundive. But as Livy keeps constantly in view variety in form of expression, the change in this respect, though unusual, is not more violent than a change in other ways. The following are examples of the mixture of participle and gerundive: 5, 27, 2 intermisso . . . trahendo . . . variatis; 28, 37, 1 classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque quod portae . . . clausae forent, purgantibus iis. In these as in 28, 31, 1 auditis quae . . . nuntiis . . . missis . . . adsentiente Marcio, a *cum* clause might have been used in place of an abl. abs., but the symmetrical sentence structure would have been lost.

#### CORRELATIVE AND CONTRASTED STATEMENTS.

An interesting feature in the handling of the ablative absolute by Livy is its use in correlative or contrasted statements which are introduced by a number of particles:

*Non Modo . . . Sed Etiam.*—The use of this formula in connection with the abl. abs. is comparatively frequent. Within the abl. abs.: 21, 55, 7 equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis; 27, 48, 3 omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque; 34, 51, 1 deductis non Chalcide solum sed etiam ab Oreo et Eretria praesidiis; 45, 43, 1 haerente adhuc non in animis modo sed paene in oculis memoria. The sub-

jects correlated by the formula are used with a single participle: 4, 23, 4 non Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis; 5, 48, 7 postremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et . . . prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis; 8, 4, 11 en ego ipse audiente non populo Romano modo senatuque sed Iove ipso; 10, 32, 6; 23, 42, 5; 24, 27, 2 non populari modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis . . . permixtis; 27, 48, 14 non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; 28, 36, 3 non aerario modo eorum sed etiam templis spoliatis; 33, 43, 6 suspectis non solum Antiocho et Aetolis, sed iam etiam Nabide; 37, 36, 5 non solum frenis, sed etiam iugo accepto. 36, 19, 6 multis in ipso itinere caesis captisque, non equis virisque tantum, sed etiam elephantis, quos capere non potuerant, interfectis. Cf. 34, 36, 4 vanis ut ad ceteram fidem sic ad secreta tegenda . . . ingeniis. The passages are less numerous in which there is a complete abl. abs. in each member of the formula: 5, 38, 6 non modo non temptato certamine sed ne clamore quidem reddito; 23, 46, 2 non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem, favoris indicem, accedentibus ardorem pugnae; 29, 32, 3 nec praeda modo pecorum hominumque missa ad regem, sed copiis etiam, ut aliquanto maioribus quam pro reliquiis belli, remissis; 29, 35, 4; 30, 45, 2.

A parallel construction is not always maintained in the two parts: 5, 5, 3 non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi sed etiam necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi; 21, 25, 7 non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide; 40, 58, 4 neque enim imbre tantum effuso . . . sed fulmina etiam undique micabant.

An abl. abs. is worked into one member of the formula: 6, 2, 11 non aperuit solum incendio viam, sed flammis in castra tendentibus vapore etiam ac fumo . . . consternavit hostes; 31, 11, 8 non patrium modo recuperasset regnum, sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam auxisset; 40, 31, 7 clamore non tantum ad ardorem excitandum pugnae sublato, sed etiam ut qui in montibus erant exaudirent.

Opposing Parties, (a) *Single Participle*.—1, 52, 3 Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante; 6, 32, 11 nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia adgredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum; 21, 1, 3 Romanis indignantibus . . . Poenis; 27, 14, 2; 21, 57, 5; 21, 63, 15; 22, 46, 8 Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in

septemtrionem versis; 26, 39, 23 Romanis victoribus *terra, Tarentinis* mari; 29, 33, 4; 30, 8, 6 Numidis . . . Carthaginiensibus; 34, 9, 3 Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in civitatem Romanam adscitis; 34, 9, 4 aperto mari ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis . . . obiectis; 34, 28, 4; 34, 62, 1; 38, 21, 4 Gallos loco adiuvante, Romanos varietate et copia telorum. With differentiation of the subject: 44, 35, 18 ibi in medio spectantibus utrimque ex vallo castrorum hinc *rege, hinc* consule cum suis legionibus pugnatum est.

(b) *Complete abl. abs. in both parts.*—4, 44, 2 hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum habente petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio Antisti tribuni plebis et fratre alterius tr. pl. Sexti Pompili; 4, 53, 1; 4, 53, 5 consulibus deos hominesque testantibus . . . Menenio contra vociferante; 5, 12, 1 Sergio . . . accusante, Verginio deprecante; 5, 29, 3; 5, 51, 3 Gallis . . . Romanis; 10, 18, 7 Appio abnuente . . . Volumnio adfirmante; 10, 24, 3; 21, 8, 8 Poeno . . . credente, Saguntinis . . . opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente; 23, 3, 4 primoribus . . . territis, milite in vulgus laeto; 22, 7, 5; 24, 4, 7; 25, 37, 10; 28, 18, 3-4; 29, 9, 8; 31, 23, 8; 37, 3 Iliensibus . . . praeferentibus et Romanis laetis; 38, 47, 11; 39, 31, 2 Hispanis recenti victoria ferocibus et insueta ignominia milite Romano incenso; 44, 24, 3 Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum; Eumene adiuvante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo patre suo Antiochum oppugnatum; 45, 4, 7 nihil ea legatione perfectum est, Perseo regium nomen omni vi amplectente, Paulo, ut se suaque omnia in fidem et clementiam populi Romani permetteret, tendente; 45, 13, 10 Pisanis querentibus . . . Lunensibus adfirmantibus. Similar to these: 29, 6, 2 principio ab Numidis facto et Brutiis non societate magis Punica quam suoapte ingenio congruentibus in eum morem.

(c) *aliis . . . aliis.*—4, 31, 3 signum aliis dari, receptui aliis cani iubentibus; 40, 58, 7 aliis redeundum, aliis penetrandum in Dardaniam censentibus; 37, 46, 10 aliis belli casibus, aliis morbo absumptis; 42, 44, 3 aliis ad regem trahentibus civitatem aliis ad Romanos. 22, 29, 3 caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam; 27, 25, 3 aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod . . . aliis praemia decernentibus, quod . . . mediis . . . dicentibus; 34, 54, 4 aliis tandem, quod multo ante debuerit, tributum existimantibus amplissimo ordini, aliis demptum ex dignitate populi, quidquid maiestati adiectum esset, interpretantibus; 34, 61, 12; 36, 10, 7; 37, 29, 4; 40, 54, 3 aliis expectantibus suam mortem, aliis ne ex-

pectantibus quidem. Cf. 27, 25, 1 defendente ipso . . . aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus, though this may be in apposition with preceding coram Fabio; 4, 34, 4 singulis . . . ductis et . . . binis, aliis . . . venundatis; 23, 35, 1 fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis.

(d) *Partim . . . Partim.*—7, 4, 2 p. virgis caesis, . . . p. vinculis datis; 27, 14, 7 p. occulcatis, p. dissupatis terrore; 37, 5, 3 p. divendita, p. divisa praeda; 44, 40, 1 silentium fuit p. traductis in sententiam eius, p. verentibus nequiquam offendere in eo. Cf. 33, 11, 2 captivis . . . *partim* venum datis, *partim* militi concessis.

Correlative temporal and local particles are occasionally used with successive ablatives absolute:

*Iam . . . Iam.*—38, 5, 1 consul iam munimentis, quibus saepi-enda urbs erat, iam operibus, quae admovere muris parabat, perfectis.

*Modo . . . Modo.*—4, 43, 8 m. prohibentibus tribunis . . . , m. interregem interpellantibus.

*Nunc . . . Nunc.*—38, 7, 10 n. ciliciis praetentis, n. foribus raptim obiectis.

*Primum . . . Deinde.*—5, 27, 10 concursu populi p. facto, d. a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu; 21, 48, 5 missisque Hannibal p. Numidis, d. omni equitatu. Cf. 33, 21, 6 vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata.

*Simul . . . Simul.*—23, 30, 11 maximus stirpis contempta s. senectute patris, s. post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad Poenos defecit.

*Tum . . . Tum.*—4, 33, 3 tum dictator magistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito.

*Alibi . . . Alibi.*—31, 23, 5 a. sopitis custodibus, a. nullo custodiente.

*Hinc . . . Illinc.*—10, 31, 6 hinc ira stimulante adversus rebel-lantes totiens, illinc ab ultima iam dimicantibus spe; 34, 21, 5 anceps terror hinc muros ascendentibus Romanis, i. arce capta barbaros circumvasit.

*Seu . . . Seu.*—Instances of successive ablatives absolute containing *seu . . . seu* are not uncommon: 3, 8, 1 s. pace deum impetrata seu graviore tempore anni circumacto; 5, 46, 3 s. attonitis Gallis . . . s. religione motis; 5, 47, 2 s. vestigio notato . . . s. sua sponte animadverso . . . saxo; 10, 19, 13, cernentem s. pugnante s. quieto se fore collegae victoriam; 30, 25, 5; and with a different construction in the two parts 35, 38, 1 s. ipsi per se suspicati, s. indicata re.

Other forms of correlation are also used: 3, 55, 15 *ut invitis, ita non adversantibus patriciis*; 44, 1, 5 *sicut nulla re bellica memorabili gesta, ita ad cunctam militarem disciplinam ab effusa licentia formato milite*; 23, 15, 2 *Neapoli quoque sicut Nola omissa*; 33, 2, 9 *redit Boeotis quoque, sicut prius Achaeis, ad societatem adscitis*.

Successive negative statements containing ablatives absolute are met with occasionally: 4, 37, 8 *non subsidiis firmata acie, non equite apte locato concursus est*; 21, 54, 8 *eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita*; 5, 40, 4, *nec prohibente ullo nec vocante*; 9, 2, 13 *nec hortante ullo nec imperante*; 32, 22, 9; 30, 14, 2 *nec consulto neque expectato Laelio*; 31, 2, 7 *profectus neque explorato circum, nec stationibus satis firmis . . . positus*.

The following are given as illustrations of the use of *quam* with contrasted statements: 22, 19, 11 *temptata verius pugna quam inita*; 23, 2, 4 *incolumi quam eversa republica*; 28, 43, 18 *Regulo capto quam Scipionibus occisis*; 1, 46, 9 *magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante*.

As long as the ablative absolute did not embrace more than two parts unmodified, or at the most few modifiers, it could be maintained as a strictly absolute construction. But with the rhetorical expansion of the absolute, logical relationship at times prevailed over grammatical absoluteness, some part of the absolute group being taken up again or represented in other parts of the statement. The examples of this encroachment of the logical on the grammatical may be considered under three heads (a) Subject of main verb supplied from the abl. abs., (b) Noun in the abl. abs. repeated or an equivalent noun given, (c) Noun in abl. abs. represented by a pronoun in main clause.

(a) 22, 45, 5 *Varro . . . copias flumen traduxit sequente Paulo quia magis non probare quam adiuvare consilium poterat*.

(b) 42, 59, 8 *fluctuanti rege . . . ad regem accurrit*; 7, 36, 9 *orsusque meritas Decii laudes interfante ipso Decio*; 27, 48, 14 *non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit*; 33, 39, 5 *a Philippo possessas Antiochus . . . averso Philippo . . . interceptisset*; 40, 27, 9 *indutiis datis, per ipsum indutiarum tempus . . . venissent*. The same word but differently applied occurs 5, 47, 4 *arreptis armis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit*. One of the nouns may include the other: 10, 45, 11 *sortientibus provincias consulibus Etruria Car-*



vilio evenit; 23, 9, 5 transgresso Volturnum Fabio . . . ambo consules rem gerebant. An equivalent may be used: 1, 39, 5 Servi Tulli . . . gravidam viro occiso uxorem; 38, 22, 3 primis forte deturbatis secundi tegant pulsos.

(c) Hartnick, "De Ablativis Absolutis qui enormiter usurpati vocantur", gives a general view of the usage in regard to the admission into the main statement of a personal or demonstrative pronoun referring to a preceding ablative absolute. Such examples merely illustrate the fact that at times completeness of logical statement requires the use of the pronoun. Draeger 2, 808 seqq. § 586, presents examples under five heads, and the same classification will be here followed.

1. The subject of the abl. abs. refers not to the finite verb but to a subordinate word: 30, 14, 8 cetera te ipsum tecum reputare quam me dicente erubescere malo; 37, 47, 2 is . . . ex facto se absente senatus consulto . . . colonos scripsit; 39, 53, 8 et alteram iam se vivo regiam esse indignabatur.

2. The pronominal subject is represented in the main clause by a possessive or demonstrative pronoun: 1, 48, 1 me vivo . . . in sede considerare mea; 27, 20, 12 nec de imperio eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur; 40, 8, 17 vivo et spirante me hereditatem meam . . . crevistis; 40, 11, 2 eum sibi te abdicato patre in locum tuum substituit; 42, 9, 4 postulare ut . . . supplicationem quam absente se . . . decernere debuerint . . . sui aliquo tamen respectu decernerent. Cf. 42, 13, 2 relicto meo regno . . . mare tantum traecissem; 10, 36, 8 nec vivo consule tuo nisi victor castra intrabis.

3. The absolute serves to fix the time more exactly: 3, 56, 9 suas leges quibus manentibus lator earum in vincla ducatur; 22, 29, 6; 24, 9, 9; 28, 10, 8; 38, 54, 1; 39, 40, 7 nec is tantum, cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet, vivit . . . eloquentia.

4. The subject of the abl. abs. is represented by a demonstrative in the main clause: 1, 28, 10 duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium; 4, 51, 3 transacta re nequivere tamen consequi ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret; 8, 18, 8 matronis . . . accitis duae ex eis; 10, 35, 19; 10, 38, 12; 23, 6, 1; 25, 9, 13; 27, 5, 6; 29, 5, 8; 31, 46, 4; 32, 22, 10; 32, 38, 7; 34, 24, 5 cunctis increpantibus Aetolos responsurum se fuisse iis dixit; 42, 36, 7; 42, 67, 12 Thebani vexantibus eos Coronaeis in Boeotiam arcessebant.

5. The ablative absolute of the present participle is sometimes used when we should expect it to modify some dependent word, as in 42, 36, 9 *tribunos ad occupanda Dassaretiorum castella, ipsis accersentibus praesidia misit.* 22, 5, 1 *consul . . . impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores instruit,* where *vertentes* is also read.

#### SUMMARY.

The number of the ablatives absolute in Livy, as well as the variations in form of statement, makes this construction one of the most important elements in his style. To him is due an extension in the use of the abl. abs. of the future participle, of deponent verbs, and of the neuter singular of the perfect. Though we have taken as gerundives some possible absolute forms, yet either interpretation shows the freedom of Livy's usage. This is noticeable whether the abl. abs. is viewed from a grammatical or a rhetorical standpoint. Everywhere are seen the results of a striving for variety in statement. It may be seen in the change of the logical subject in successive absolutes, e. g. 21, 55, 11 *Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto;* and 40, 27, 9 *nunc fraudem hostium incusans, qui pace petita, indutiis datis . . . venissent;* in the omission of the subject; and in breaking away from the earlier solidarity of the ablative absolute. As an illustration of some of these points we take the formula *dis bene iuvantibus* and its equivalents, but without unduly emphasizing the question of the spelling or of the order of words: *Dis bene iuvantibus* is used 6, 23, 10; 7, 32, 17; 21, 21, 6; 21, 43, 7; 26, 36, 9; 42, 51, 1; 44, 38, 7. *Bene iuvantibus divis* occurs 31, 7, 14; *deis bene iuvantibus* 25, 38, 22; 28, 32, 12; 29, 24, 7; 29, 25, 13; *iuvantibus dis* 7, 10, 4; *dis iuvantibus* 35, 32, 10 d. i. et *Aetolis sociis;* *dis auctoribus* 7, 32, 15; *auctoribus dis* 9, 14, 4; *deis auc.* 10, 40, 5; 28, 28, 11; *dis volentibus* 37, 19, 5; and 39, 16, 11 *dis propitiis volentibusque;* 7, 26, 7 *praesentibus ac secundis dis.*

While the frequency of occurrence for the different decades is practically the same, yet the abl. abs. is not freely used in the more reflective portions, either in the speeches or in Livy's own narrative. A good illustration of this is the excursus 9, 17-19 in which there are very few examples, as the passage is to a considerable extent free from statements expressing time.

It would be interesting to compare with respect to the use of

the abl. abs. by the one and of the gen. abs. by the other, those passages in Livy which are evidently based on the statements of Polybius. But this would carry us beyond the scope of this article, for, though the usage of the two at times coincides, it generally is different, as Livy had in view not simply the presentation of facts as a mere annalist, but also the independent rhetorical presentation of the most polished grouping of words and constructions. This statement will apply equally well to those portions of the history in which the facts are derived from earlier annalists in whose works the ablative absolute must have been much more restricted than it is in Livy.

In the absence of a perfect active participle, the ablative of the perfect passive was pressed into service as a substitute, and in most places shows its substitutive character. It, of all the forms, is most freely used, but along with it are nouns and adjectives which are potentially active, present active participles, and the perfects of deponent verbs. With the presents the active meaning is retained in full force, the grammatical absoluteness of the statement in no way affecting the voice. The perfects of the intransitive deponents remain active, and that there is a change in the voice of the transitives is not a necessary assumption, as they may have remained active, as did the present participles. The neuter singular of some perfect passive participles in the abl. abs. assumed the function of adverbs, and finally became fully established as such. In the explanation of kindred absolute forms which are used with dependent constructions, and in fact of the great mass of the perfects in the abl. abs., it would be a comfortable working doctrine, if we could assume that these, through their assumed function, became at last active participles.

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## V.—BEGINNING OF THE GREEK DAY.

The statement of Varro that the Athenians reckoned the day from sunset to sunset has been questioned by Gustav Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag*, Stuttgart, 1888, but the result of his work has been rejected both by Mommsen, *Neuere Schriften ueber die attische Zeitrechnung*, Phil. LXI pp. 201 ff. and by Unger in his article on Chronologie in Mueller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertums-Wissenschaft* I.<sup>2</sup> p. 715. In these places, however, are quoted from Homer, although Unger is to some extent striving for completeness, ("Wir fügen, weil gewöhnlich bloss die homerische Stelle [i. e. T 141] angeführt wird, einige Belege an") only the single passage T 141, and as far as I can judge from Mommsen's summary, Bilfinger—his work is unfortunately not accessible—referred to no other.<sup>1</sup> I am convinced, however, that there are in the Homeric poems a number of passages that must be interpreted on the basis of this method of reckoning the day, and the matter gains in importance because when such passages are interpreted on the basis of a day beginning with sunrise inconsistencies are brought into the poems, which are in turn used as a basis for the solution of the question of their composition. Thus Croiset, not realizing that for a Greek speaking before breakfast "yesterday" would include what we would call "night before last," finds the passage already cited at variance with the preceding books of the *Iliad* and says (*Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, I p. 154): "Ce détail indique peut-être qu'au moment où la *Réconciliation* a été composée l'*Iliade* n'était pas encore complètement formée et que par suite la chronologie des événements n'y était pas fixée comme elle l'est aujourd'hui." Apparently he does not notice that this involves the further assumption of a plot entirely different from that of our *Iliad*, for *Embassy* and *Reconciliation* can be brought on ensuing night and morning only by means of some such hypothesis as that of Valeton, *Ad compositionem Iliadis*, Mnem. XXIII pp. 390-454,

<sup>1</sup> In Phil. LI. 20-22, Unger discusses also Ω 414, which, however, is concerned only with the natural day.

according to which the *Embassy* was successful and the *Reconciliation* brought about before the death of Patroclus, but which is rejected by Cauer, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1902, p. 10, as violent and arbitrary. Consequently, unless one is willing to go to such an extreme, he must accept the conclusion of the scholiast, φαίνεται οὖν εἰδώς προϋποστᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας, which brings this line into harmony with the plan of the *Iliad* as we now have it.

The chief difficulty that has been found in the account of Odysseus' stay among the Phaeacians arises from a similar misinterpretation of αἶριον. The difficulty may be stated in the words of Croiset, op. cit. p. 272 f. (cf. also Kirchhoff, *Die homerische Odyssee*, p. 211): "Tout d'abord le début même de ce récit, par certaines maladresses évidentes, trahit un raccord. Puis Alkinoos promet par deux fois à Ulysse de le faire reconduire chez lui le lendemain matin (VII, 189-191 et 318). Or en réalité Ulysse passera chez les Phéaciens toute la journée du lendemain à des jeux, il emploiera la nuit suivante en récits, et en définitive ne partira que le surlendemain soir, sans que ce retard s'explique d'aucune manière. Il paraît donc certain que cette partie du poème a dû être allongée." Now, without wishing to argue for the unity of composition of this part of the *Odyssey*, I wish to call attention to the fact that this difficulty disappears as soon as the day is reckoned from sunset to sunset. The first promise made to Odysseus by Alkinoos (η 189 ff.) is simply that on the following morning ἡῶθεν he will call the princes of the Phaeacians, hold feast and sacrifice, and then consider the question of Odysseus' return. Later, after the hero has made a more favorable impression, Alkinoos fixes the time of his return (l. 318) αἶριον ἐς without waiting to refer the matter to the council. Properly interpreted, this means that Odysseus shall pass the ensuing (natural) day in Scheria and shall be sent home sometime between the first and second sunsets. On the following night, however (i. e. before this time has elapsed), his identity is discovered, and Alkinoos asks that his guest will not hold him to his promise but will (λ 351) remain until the (Greek) to-morrow.

Note what follows. The feast goes on the next day:

ν 28 :

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
πολλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανόωντα,  
δύναι ἐπεγόμενος· δὴ γὰρ μενέαινε νέεσθαι κτέ.

That is, the setting of the sun marks the beginning of a new day, the earliest moment at which Odysseus might claim that the time for his return had come. The objection may be raised that Odysseus made no such claim on the preceding evening at sunset, but the reason for this is to be found in the different forms of the two promises. Alkinoos' promise was to send Odysseus home on a certain day, and it would have been too great importunity on the part of Odysseus to demand that this promise be fulfilled the moment the day began. Such importunity on the part of an unknown stranger, even though he was evidently a man of worth, might very well have encountered a rebuff, and to urge such a request at the moment (*θ* 417) when the princes of the Phaeacians were bringing him gifts would have been to act with a tactlessness of which Odysseus could never have been guilty. On the following day the conditions were very different. He was known as a famous hero, he had promised to stay until a certain day, and the moment that that day came he had a right to rise and say, "I have kept my promise, the time for my departure has come."

In the other passages in the *Odyssey* in which *αὔριον* occurs (*α* 272, *σ* 23) it is used before sunset with reference to the ensuing (natural) day, so that the passages are not of service for the present question.

In the ninth book of the *Iliad* Achilles says:

I 357: *αὔριον ἱρὰ Διὶ βέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
νηήσας ἐν νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλαδὲ προερύσσω  
ὀψεαι, αἱ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,  
ἥρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας  
νῆας ἐμάς.*

Leaf in his translation connects *αὔριον* and *βέξας*. The same interpretation is implied by van Leeuwen's emendation, *νῆα ἐμὴν* for *νῆας ἐπὴν*. Even if this were correct, as *ἥρι μάλ᾽α* must refer to the same time, it does not remove the difficulty, that Achilles is made to threaten, according to the usual interpretation, to perform sacrifice, launch and load his ships, and still start very early the next morning—a physical impossibility. As a matter of fact, *αὔριον* modifies *ὀψεαι*, the meaning darting along the beginning of the lines *αὔριον . . . ὀψεαι . . . ἥρι μάλ(α) . . . νῆας ἐμάς*. Achilles' threat, then, is (in our terminology) to spend the next day in preparation and sail early the following morning.

This is perfectly feasible and is not contradicted by line 682, where Odysseus reports that Achilles has threatened to make on the following morning the first preparation for his departure, the launching of his ships.

This view of the situation removes one very serious difficulty in the plot of the Iliad and, at first sight, seems to introduce another. The presence of Achilles in the Greek camp on the following day is at variance with his threat as usually interpreted, and it is generally assumed that during the Embassy he changed his intention, the change being subtly indicated in 601, 619, 650, although Odysseus in his report makes no allusion to such a change of purpose, and the staying of Phoenix with Achilles implies the contrary. When *ἀδριον* is interpreted in accordance with Varro's statement this hypothesis of a change of purpose is no longer necessary,<sup>1</sup> and an examination of the three passages cited will show that they do not establish it, and so the plan of Achilles remains what Odysseus reports it to be. The trouble in 650 is that more meaning is read into *πρίν* than is warranted. Cf. the literature cited in An Epic Fragment from Oxyrhynchus, A. J. P. XXII p. 66. Achilles simply says that he will not fight before Hector comes to the huts of the Myrmidons, without implying that this will ever happen or ever can happen, and so Odysseus understood him, though the suggestion of the idea leads Achilles' fiery spirit to develop its consequences. Line 619 is simply a polite way of telling Phoenix to drop the subject and the promise to discuss it again on the following morning *ἀμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι* makes no difficulty when we remember that that time is twenty-four hours before the time of sailing. In line 601 Phoenix does seem to imply that Achilles will not leave. It may very well be that he is simply assuming the point he wishes to gain, but it must be remembered that this line is wound up with the Meleagros incident, which is one of, if not the latest, addition to the book, and it is possibly merely a thoughtless adaptation of what actually occurred.

The difficulty that my interpretation seems to raise is that if Achilles is not to sail on the following morning there is no reason why Phoenix should pass the night in his hut. In reply it might be urged that Phoenix is generally considered an intruder, and

<sup>1</sup> The threat is purposely so worded as to leave time on the next day for the intervention of Patroclus and its fatal consequences. That is the author of this book had before him the nucleus, at least, of the Patrocleia.

that the lack of skill shown in getting him off the scene is simply another indication of this fact. But when attention is once drawn to the absurdity of Phoenix's staying in the hut of Achilles in order to be ready to start with him thirty-six hours later—his action always involved his starting without bag or baggage—suspicion is directed towards ll. 427 ff. = 690 ff., and as both the speeches of Achilles and Odysseus clearly gain by the removal of the concluding lines, I was led by the absurdity of the way in which Phoenix is forced to remain in the hut of Achilles to the hypothesis that in the original version of the *Embassy* he was not one of Agamemnon's envoys, but present as an attendant of Achilles.

After I had already satisfied myself that this hypothesis would account for the difficulties connected with Phoenix and was preferable to the general and more radical view, that Phoenix was an entire stranger to the original version of the *Embassy*, I learned from Bursian's *Jahresb.*, 1902, p. 14, that a similar hypothesis had already been advocated by J. Schultz, *Zur Ilias-Kritik*, Berlin, 1900 (unfortunately inaccessible), in such a way as to gain the approbation of Cauer. I will therefore merely state briefly what seem to me the merits of this hypothesis. It seems impossible to believe that the author of the speeches of Odysseus and Achilles could have been so poor in invention as to attempt no reply to Achilles except Ajax's abandonment of the situation. Equally impossible is it to imagine anything more appropriate than Phoenix's speech (less the Meleagros incident, 523-602) and Achilles' reply, especially when we consider how Phoenix's speech gains in effectiveness as coming not from an envoy of Agamemnon but from a comrade of Achilles, and how well its tone and the tone of Achilles' reply are adapted to this view. Finally, the alterations necessary to restore this condition are in part the same as those usually proposed in part much less radical. In the first place, 168 must be expunged and the beginning of 169 remodelled as on the usual hypothesis. This does away with the difficulty caused by the presence of Phoenix in the council and justifies the use of the dual in 182-98. In 223 the name of Phoenix, as Leaf remarks, "has been awkwardly dragged in to remind us of his existence"; the line may be rewritten, as Leaf suggests:

νεῖσ' Ἀλας Ὀδυσῆι· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἦσι νοήσας,



or more simply :

νεῦσ' Ἀλας σιγῇ· ἐνόησε δὲ διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς.

Then, instead of having to abandon, as Leaf at 168 does, the whole episode, 432-622 (other parts, e. g. 427-9 = 690 ff., would have to go with it) we have only to reject 427-9, then in 432-3 we find Phoenix suitably introduced and the motif for his speech given. Then all runs smooth (apart from the Meleagros story) until we come to 617-8, out of which must be made one line:

οὔτοι δ' ἀγγελέουσ'· ἄμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι,

and in 621 some such word as *δτραλέως* is to be substituted for *φοίνικι*, Achilles' hint becoming much more pointed. The same change is to be made in 659, and 662 is to be expunged, with alteration of the beginning of the next line, unless this whole section is a later addition, and finally 690 ff. = 427 ff. are to be removed. All these passages refer to Phoenix's night's rest and have to go according to the usual view. The cause of these alterations is not far to seek. Some one misunderstanding 190 f., and believing that only an envoy of Agamemnon would speak for Agamemnon, proceeded to make Phoenix an envoy; then, not wishing to separate him from Achilles and taking the hint from 437, hit upon the idea of putting him to bed in order that he might be ready to return with Achilles. The expedient was in truth a stupid one, but not worse than others in the *Odyssey* that have been pointed out by Kirchhoff. The narrative as it now stands is impossible, and the above hypothesis seems to me better than the entire rejection of everything relating to Phoenix. In either case, however, no objection from this source can be made to the interpretation of *αθριον* in 357 that I have proposed.

To these four passages in which *χθιζός* and *αθριον* clearly imply that the day is reckoned from sunset to sunset must be added the fact that in a number of other cases where, speaking after sunset, one wishes to refer to the ensuing morning *αθριον* is not used but *ἡῶθεν* H 372, Ψ 49, Ω 401. α 372, γ 366, δ 214, η 189, μ 293, ξ 512, ο 308, τ 320; *ἡῶθε* πρὸ ζ 36; *ἡοῦς* Θ 470, 525 (cf. Leaf's note, however); *μέσφ' ἡοῦς* Θ 508; *ἄμ' ἡοῖ* H 331; *ἄμ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι* I 618, 682, Ω 600, ζ 31, η 222, ο 396, π 270. It is hardly necessary to add that the fact that these phrases are also used (Σ 136, ο 506, ρ 600, σ 248, φ 265, 280, δ 407, μ 24) before sunset does

not weaken the force of the argument. These words simply mean in "the morning", and the idea of futurity in the context specializes this meaning to "the coming morning" without implying whether that belongs to "to-day" or "to-morrow." The point is that in these twenty-three passages we might say "to-morrow," but the Greek has said "in the morning," presumably because *αὔριον* would have meant a different thing.

There remain for consideration three passages in which *αὔριον* is used after sunset with reference to the ensuing day. The material already examined is in my opinion sufficient to show that such an use must be the result of the unthinking approximation of originally diverse materials, and an examination of these passages will sustain this conclusion. Two of the examples are  $\Theta$  535 and 538. The whole of this book is a mosaic, and no part betrays this origin more clearly than this closing part of Hector's speech, cf. Leaf at 524. The instance in 538 is not even textually certain, as Nauck's conjecture *οὐρανόν* is attractive, while 535 was omitted by Zenodotos, and Aristarchus considered 535-7 an inferior parallel to 538-41. Under these circumstances there can be little doubt that the lines were adapted from a source in which *αὔριον* had its proper meaning. It may be noted that line 541 as it stands serves to confirm the theory that the day began with sunset. The criticism directed against it is practically 'Hector says "to-day" and means "to-morrow":' but in this case our "to-morrow" is the Greek "to-day." The line, however, seems taken from N 828, in which context it throws no light upon the subject.

That two out of three apparent exceptions stand in such a context must serve to cast suspicion on the third,  $\Sigma$  269. The passage is not improbably a late working out of a suggestion in  $\chi$  100-104, cf. Croiset, op. cit., p. 151, and it may be that this is simply the result of unskilful adaptation of material composed for another context. If a more definite suggestion is desired, Polydamas' speech would be satisfactory if made before sunset, and it may have been that originally the battle was terminated simply by the appearance of Achilles. Hera's making the sun set after the consternation that Achilles had caused seems rather an act of supererogation—not to mention that her interference after the events of the afternoon and the submissiveness of the sungod are both surprising—and served, according to Polydamas, only to impede Achilles and to give the Trojans time to save

themselves by flight. The words *νῦν μὲν νύξ ἀπέπαυσε ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα* may have been added to Polydamas' speech after the account of the setting of the sun had been inserted, or they may have meant originally only that night was so near that Achilles did not begin a counter attack for that reason, and themselves have been the cause of the insertion.

In view of these facts I think the conclusion is warranted that throughout the time of the composition of the Homeric poems the day was reckoned, as Varro says the Athenians reckoned it, from sunset to sunset, and that the only passages which seem to imply another mode of reckoning are all the result of the thoughtless adaptation of phrases from a context in which they must have been rightly employed.

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## VI.—NOTES ON THE CATO MAIOR.

§28. *Orator metuo ne languescat . . . Omnino canorum illud . . . sed tamen est decorus*, etc.

This difficult passage for the interpreter has been much discussed of late, as by Knapp in Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1898, p. v., and Classical Review, 1900 (XIV), p. 214; Barendt, ib. 1899 (XIII), p. 402, and 1900 (XIV), p. 356.

Knapp endeavors to escape from the stereotyped correlation of *omnino* with *sed*, or *sed tamen*, by making *Omnino*, etc. refer back to the *occupatio* (*Orator metuo*, etc.).

Barendt, along with Hennings, Deiter, and Sommerbrodt, would resort to emendation of *splendescit*.

Meissner<sup>1</sup>, Anh. p. 65, classes this *refutatio* as of that form which begins with a concession (*Omnino*, etc.), but the thing conceded is neither the thing charged, nor yet a similar or related accusation, as in his other examples (§§ 8, 21, 47, 65). It is, in fact, no accusation at all, although Knapp too speaks of *canorum illud in voce splendescit*, etc. as a "derogatory statement" (PAPA l. c., p. v.). Quite the contrary, it is something which *might* be said in favor of old age, that it brings with it an increase in a certain quality to which *canorum* refers,—a quality which Cato even in extreme age has not lost again (*quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos*).

But what is *canorum illud*? It is a well-known fact that a high pitch was especially admired by the ancients. Here then we may have *canorum* not in its usual sense, with reference to musical quality in general (as in *profluens quiddam . . . et canorum* of de Orat. iii. 28; cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 61; or in *voce suavi et canora* of Brutus, 234), but of *pitch* alone, the one respect in which age brings what ancient taste regarded as an improvement. No editor, so far as the writer knows, has proposed to take *canorum illud in voce* as equivalent to *acutum vocis genus*, or *vox acuta*; but the explanation<sup>1</sup> would seem to be in itself rational, and at the same time to relieve the

<sup>1</sup> For this suggestion I am fraternally indebted to Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University.

difficulty which has tempted some to distort *Omnino*, and others to emend *splendescit*.

For we may thus discover, perhaps, the true relation of the contrasted statements which combine to form the refutation. In meeting the anticipated charge that oratorical powers decline with years, Cato might simply insist upon the higher pitch acquired with age. But this was obviously a partial compensation only, of quite insufficient weight as an argument. He therefore abandons this line of defence for something stronger, *sed tamen*, etc. The relation then of the *Omnino*-sentence to *sed tamen*, etc. is that of partial, or possible, answer, to more complete refutation; and *Omnino*, etc. may be translated "*I might, no doubt, reply that,*" etc. In German or English, surely, it is common enough to give first with an „*allerdings*” or “*to be sure*”, a point which *might* be insisted upon, but which the speaker prefers to pass by in favor of a sounder argument.

§20. *Sic enim percontantur † ut est in Naevi poëtae Ludo* (Müller).

In this well-known *crux criticorum* of the Cato Maior the corruption in *ut est* is obvious; that the corruption also involves the name of the play has been assumed by Halm, Ribbeck and others; that the word *poëtae* is in itself suspicious, quite apart from the question of MS authority, appears not to have been hitherto suggested. The purpose of this note is to propose an emendation for the first, to throw some new light, if possible, upon the second, and to weigh and reject certain reasons for doubting the genuineness of the third.

(1) *ut est* L'PHM\*BESRIP<sup>b</sup> Bourb., Colb., Admont; *ut* (without *est*) L'AVvP<sup>v</sup>V<sup>1</sup>.

Müller obelizes *ut est*; Mommsen and Deiter omit these words, conjecturing *percontantibus* and *percontanti* respectively for *percontantur* (cf. Philologus, XLVI, 174). Reid, Schiche, Bennett, Egbert simply omit *ut est*, while Meissner resorts to brackets. Kornitzer and Rockwood follow Mommsen; Anz follows Deiter, but alters *enim* to *senem*; Schiche-Ramorino agree with Müller; Sommerbrodt<sup>13</sup> emended to *illi*, after Brieger.

Looking at the passage as a whole, it is difficult to resist the conviction that, were the text intact, we should have the name

\* By M is meant the best of the Laurentian MSS, collated (as Ma) by Ramorino (Rivista di Filologia, XV, 247 ff.). P<sup>a</sup>P<sup>b</sup>V<sup>1</sup> are among Dahl's *Parisini deteriores*.

of that foreign city to which Naevius' lines relate. Sparta has just been mentioned, and it is scarcely credible that *externa* (in *Quodsi legere aut audire voletis externa*) was left indefinite. That such a name may lurk in *ut est* of our extant MSS, does not seem to have occurred to the editors. An Italian city it must have been, since Naevius furnishes the quotation from an unmistakable *praetexta*.

The change of government brought about by the specious oratory of the *stulti adolescentuli* cannot have been from kingdom to aristocracy or democracy; for Cato (Cicero) would have regarded the expulsion of a king as praiseworthy. Clearly the change was in the opposite direction, and most likely the restoration of monarchy. But this is precisely the situation which Livy describes at Veii in v. 1. 3: *Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere*. However we may discount Livy's knowledge of the actual conditions in Veii, a play of Naevius, dealing with the period of the siege, would not be historically more accurate.

For *ut est* then we may conjecture *Veientes*. Following the quoted enquiry the subject of *percontantur* was most naturally omitted, so that no ambiguity could arise from the insertion of a personal object. By abbreviation, and possibly the assumption of a *rasura*, it would not be difficult, palaeographically speaking, for *Veientes* to be corrupted into *ut est*, especially in uncial letters. The further omission of *est* in other MSS is an awkward correction.

It would be strange if Naevius had not dealt in more than one of his plays with Veii and its tragic fate, and the prominence the city must have had in the *Origines* of Cato would be a further reason to Cicero for this particular quotation. A drama (*praetexta*) on such a subject was perhaps as a rule named from the city in question; so the *Clastidium* of Naevius and the *Ambracia* of Ennius. But the known examples are too few to establish a general rule. The *Sabinae* of Ennius shows the use of a national name where it would at once suggest a dramatic event.

(2) *Ludo* (*ludo*) LAHBIRSP<sup>b</sup> Bourb., Colb., Boist., Admont.; also PV in marg.; *libro* PVvMEP<sup>a</sup>V<sup>i</sup> (with *posteriore*(i) for *poetae*, except in the case of P<sup>a</sup>V<sup>i</sup>).

For *Ludo* Ribbeck conjectured *Lupo*, bringing this quotation into dubious relation to a fragment of Naevius preserved in a sad state in the sole extant MS of Festus (badly damaged by fire).

Out of the merest wreck,—*Navius* † in *Lupo*: “*Vel † Veiens regem salutant iubae † Albanum mulium † comitem † senem sapientem, contra redhostis Menalus †*” (C. O. Müller, p. 270)—the industry of editors has given us these lines:

*Rex Veiens regem salutat Vibe Albanum Amulium  
Comiter senem sapientem. Contra redhostis?—Min salus?*

(Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Fragm.*<sup>1</sup> p. 322; Merry, p. 20). Thus Ribbeck and those who follow him accept *Veii* as the city from whose experience a lesson is drawn, but make the reference to the exile of its king in the age of Romulus.

In view of the state of Festus' text, and the lack of certainty that the citation is after all from Naevius, too much weight should not be given to *Lupo* as against so many MSS of the Cato with *ludo*; admitting, as one must, that the palaeographer will find *lupo* nearer to *libro* than is *ludo*.

It is perhaps improbable, but not impossible, that Naevius had two plays with names so similar as *Lupus*<sup>1</sup> and *Ludus* (i. e. *Lydus*, *The Etruscan*). Certainly Etruscan, and in particular Veientine, characters must have found their way into more than one play of Naevius.

The name *Ludus*, *The Lydian*, or *Etruscan*, would in itself suggest a comedy rather than a *praetexta*, but while *The Lydian* might possibly be a *palliata*, *The Etruscan* as comedy would be nothing more than an inconceivable anticipation of the *togata*. For *praetextae* we have but a very limited number of titles, and any argument based upon them should be accepted with hesitation. There is no sufficient reason for asserting that a tragedy (*praetexta*) dealing with *Veii* could not have been called *The Etruscan*, unless it be the vagueness of the designation.

Certainly Ribbeck's conjecture that Cicero's quotation is from the same play as that cited by Festus encounters a serious difficulty, in the impossibility of believing that Cato would be made to support his argument by a quotation enlarging upon the folly of youthful counsellors, if their counsels had led to the expulsion of a king.

(3) *poetae* LABIRSP<sup>b</sup>V<sup>p</sup> Bourb., Colb., Admont.; *posteriori(e)* PVvMEH; *posteriori poetae* Boist.

In a passage so obviously corrupt at one point, so difficult of explanation at another, one may be tempted to suspect *poetae*

<sup>1</sup> Ribbeck no longer counts *Lupus* and *Romulus* one play, op. cit. pp. 321-323.

also; perhaps to assume that this word, and its variant, together with *ludo*, have displaced a longer name of the play (*Romulo?*). If *poëtae* is sound, this appears to be the only place in all Cicero where a quotation is said to be from *Naevius poëta*. Looking further, an examination of Cicero's usage when citing the older poets shows, one might almost say, a studied avoidance of such a form as *Ennius poëta*. Exceptions are apparent, not real, and only, it seems, where there is no quotation from the writings of the poet in question, but merely an anecdote, a fact about the man, and the like; or where the authority or testimony of the poet is appealed to without quoting his words.

In quoting their verses Cicero does not add *poëta* to the name of Ennius, Livius Andronicus, Plautus, Pacuvius, Terence, Caecilius, Lucilius, Afranius, or even such lesser lights as Turpilius, Atilius, and Trabea. And yet, with Naevius' exception, this list includes practically all the Roman poets Cicero mentions, down to Afranius. If then, for none of these the formula *Terentius poëta*, etc. is found to introduce a quotation, the present instance, standing quite alone, is rather suspiciously isolated from the general usage of Cicero. That "Naevius seems to have been in the habit of adding *poëta* to his name" (Reid) might have some bearing upon the case, if Cicero's own habit were not in direct conflict.

But the statistical method fails nowhere more signally than in a case of this sort. The recovery of a single lost work of Cicero might give us instances enough to upset any array of negative evidence. And no one would be ready to bind any writer to a mechanical rule, such as would alone justify us in rejecting *poëtae*, on the ground that it is unsupported by other parallel cases.

It is not likely that the corruption is so extensive. If our explanation of *Ludo* find favor, we may then limit the obelus to *ut est*, or the emendation to *Veientes*, and hold fast to both *poëtae* and *Ludo*, in spite of new objections to the former and old ones to the latter.

§5. *Quid est enim aliud*, etc. The translation "for what does the battle of the giants with the gods signify but rebellion against Nature?" (Bennett, in agreement with Nauck) is plausible for the present passage, but the list of examples below will sufficiently show how freely Cicero used this mode of expression, how often without the least idea of explaining a myth, a law, or anything of the kind.



It is true that the Stoics were much given to allegorical interpretations, thus explaining away many of the old myths (cf. Sen. Ep. 58. 15, on the unreality of the giants); v. Munro on Lucr. v. 117 f., a passage in which Lucretius refers to the crime of the giants in language clearly borrowed from the Stoics. Cicero may well have had in mind these Stoic interpretations, but the mass of such examples as follow forbids us in the case of this *Quid est . . . aliud?* to narrow the meaning to a special sense. Again, if Cicero had wished to suggest the meaning of the myth, he would never have brought in the comparison *Gigantum modo*.

Examples of *Quid est aliud*, etc. (all from Cicero):—

(1) with *nisi*:

*T. D. i. 64: Philosophia vero . . . QUID EST ALIUD NISI, ut Plato, donum, ut ego inventum deorum?*

*De Div. ii. 78: QUID EST ALIUD nolle moneri a Iove, NISI efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspiciū aut, si fiat, videri?*

*Rosc. Am. 54: QUID EST ALIUD iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum atque ad libidinem, NISI hoc modo accusare . . .?*

*T. D. i. 75: QUID ALIUD agimus, cum a voluptate, id est, a corpore, . . . sevocamus animum, QUID, inquam, tum agimus, NISI animum ad se ipsum advocamus . . . maximeque a corpore abducimus? Secernere autem a corpore animum ECQUIDNAM ALIUD EST NISI mori discere?* Note that in the second member *quid* is repeated without *aliud*; in the third *nisi* is lacking in the MSS (as also *est*), but restored by Madvig, Sorof, Heine, Müller; Halm and Baiter read *ecquid aliud est quam*; but with *quam* instead of *nisi* no unquestioned instance of this phrase seems to have been cited from Cicero (Sorof, *T. D. l. c.* Anhang). Cf. Seyffert, Laelius<sup>3</sup> (C. F. W. Müller) pp. 128–9; Madvig de Fin. pp. 658–9. An instance with *quam* is cited by Halm from Seneca de Brev. Vitae, 16. 5.

*Phil. iii. 21: QUID EST ALIUD de eo referre non audere . . . NISI se ipsum hostem iudicare?*

*Verr. i. 128: QUID EST ALIUD omnibus omnia peccata . . . concedere, NISI hoc . . . non credere?*

(2) with *si non*:

*Off. iii. 55: QUID EST enim ALIUD erranti viam non monstrare, . . . SI hoc NON est, emptorem pati ruere, etc.*

*Verr. Act. I. 10. 28: QUID EST . . . iudicium corrumpere, SI hoc NON est?*

ib. II. iii. 30. 71: QUID EST ALIUD *capere conciliare pecunias* . . . SI *hoc* NON *est, vi atque imperio cogere invitos lucrum dare alteri* . . . ? (in this case it is a question of interpreting a law).

(3) without *nisi*, or an equivalent:

*Phil.* ii. 70: *hoc est dicere: et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. QUID EST enim ALIUD Antonius?* (cf. ib. 77: *O hominem nequam! QUID enim ALIUD dicam?*)

*Phil.* i. 22: QUID EST ALIUD *hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti . . . cives velint esse?*

ib. ii. 7: QUID EST *enim* ALIUD *tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium?*

ib. v. 5: QUID EST ALIUD *omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri* . . . ?

ib. x. 5: QUID EST ALIUD *librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?*

*Off.* ii. 83: QUID EST ALIUD *aliis sua eripere, aliis dare aliena?*

*In Pison.* 47: QUID EST ALIUD *furere?*

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## VII.—PIERRE D'URTE AND THE BASK LANGUAGE.

As the editor found it impracticable to send to Mr. E. S. Dodgson the promised second proof of his essay which appeared in Vol. XXIII 2 of the American Journal of Philology, and as the first proof thereof reached the author at a period when it was impossible for him to correct it in presence of the Oxford edition of P. d'Urtes translation, which is its subject; he is glad to admit the following list of corrections, in which the author justly exonerates the printer, so far as the type-written original permits him to do.

### THE PRINTERS ERRORS.

p. 155, l. 1. It. p. 156, l. 28. Larramendi, p. 158, l. 7. G. c. etc: should begin line 8.; Note l. 7,—holders', p. 159, l. 27. G. c. etc: should begin l. 28. p. 160, l. 9. croutyn." p. 161, l. 4. words, p. 162, l. 11. hortaric' l. 12. matter). p. 163, l. 19. G. c. 34, should begin l. 20, and the words preceding should follow 'v. 27.' p. 164, l. 6. 'bark', l. 39 'becerro', p. 165, l. 8. giñezake' p. 168, l. 33. 'Etcioçontçat', p. 171, l. 3. eneatcen . . .; l. 4. ihiki, p. 172, l. 2. baitçuen,; l. 28. Baskish, p. 173, l. 23. v. 18. p. 174, l. 19 'hiretçat, emaztetçat' p. 176, l. 22. v. 22; and . . . p. 178, l. 7. plural; l. 9. 'aitçignean'; l. 22. 'hirriscuaren'. l. 36. l. 1. p. 180, l. 17. l. 3.

### THE AUTHORS OVERSIGHTS.

p. 153, l. 21. Cejador. p. 154, l. 26. insert G. c. 3, summary and c. 5 summary the possessive of 'Adam' is 'Adameren', but c. 5, vv. 1 and 4, 'Adamen', as in Leizarraga. p. 155, l. 12. after 'and' insert p. 192; l. 13. çaitte oherat'; l. 19. c. 18,; l. 24. G. c. 35, v. 16 and c. 36, after 'is' add 'gtipi', l. 35. c. 45, v. 1. 'harequien'; c. 46, v. 1. 'guciequien', v. 6. 'harequien'; l. 37. c. 44, v. 26, l. 41, 'gueróstic' l. 42. 'gueróztic'. p. 157, l. 11. c. 15,; l. 40. so., p. 158, l. 7 (for 8) 'guiçónquia'. l. 11. 'gizón'; l. 12. f. 14.; l. 13 'ar-rapáki'; l. 14. máнки'; l. 16. urréa' p. 160, l. 7. c. 41,; l. 15. guçietaric',; l. 18. c. 45, v. 10; l. 19. 18, v. 6; vv. 16 and 18; l. 20 ff. 73 (neurrimendútçat) 84 v°, 86, 129 (neurrimendútic); l. 22.

elsewhere, e. g. f. 81. v° and 85. v°. p. 161, l. 14 'ianeraguiten' l. 15 'bazceraguiten'; l. 25 'edantçac, hic'; l. 28. 47, v°. v. 38. p. 162, l. 1. c. 9, v. 5.; l. 13. c. 18.; l. 15. after 'authors' insert 'It is, however, *bai* only in appearance; for it is a contraction, not of *bai* and *tut* (for *ditut*), but of *ba* and (*d*)*itut* by outshoving of the initial of *ditut* = *I have them*'. cf. f. 29, v°. *baituc* for *ba-(d) ituc*. l. 16. 'baita'; right.; l. 30. v. 21. 'Tçat'. l. 39, Oxford, p. 163, l. 6. 'ediretecotçat', l. 10, v. 10.; l. 31, v. 15.; l. 37 'gôgara'; l. 41, v. 29; p. 164, l. 5 'Ruscino'; l. 37. 41, vv. 2, 3, 4. p. 165. l. 1. 'esnecumedúnez'; l. 13. G. c. 41, v. 36 'gossete iraun demboran', and v. 47 'abundancia iraun dembóran' l. 14. suppress 'the'. l. 23. 'çarétela' l. 29, v. 28. l. 31, v. 18. p. 166, l. 18. 'içango'. l. 39. e. g. Genesis. p. 167, l. 39, 95, and. p. 168, l. 2. foregoing half of the; l. 3. to'; l. 10, c. 14, v. 25; l. 34 l'(aie); l. 35 'Eztiaçacala' p. 170, l. 23. . . . alan . . . leuqueala' p. 171, l. 3. ehor . . . l. 23., or "This; l. 38. Eternalgânic': p. 172 l. 9. . . olha—l. 12. Gerar.; l. 17, 37. p. 173, l. 12. 'Ian'; l. 13 'Noeremgnoco'; l. 14. At least branded as a supposed . . . scribe, however.; l. 20. suppress 9.; l. 27. 'contcerba' in G. c. 19, v. 32, etc: l. 39. 1713; reprinted in the same city in September 1902). p. 174, l. 22. núen; l. 23, diote'; l. 25. to them.; l. 41. F. 46 . . . 'Dadillala' p. 175, l. 2. add F. 12, v. 8. 'bestia' is correct. l. 5. add cf. f. 129, v. 10. 'maitarassun'. l. 28. 148: 'Melchisedech handiaren', p. 176, l. 8. 'çioté'; l. 28. fault in some places. l. 30. tive. In the latter verse the Oxford text has 'Abimele'. At the end add F. 36, v. 6 read 'elkârrequign', as the MS has it. p. 177. l. 16 'years', l. 17. F. 77, v°. c. 43.; l. 24. 'cituen', after 'deithu'; l. 30. In F. 47.; l. 32 'an'. F. 48, (beginning a new line) l. 40. 'herri' = 'pays'; last line, add 'The scribes eye was caught by 'hiri' = 'tibi' three lines above.' p. 178, l. 7. add F. 50, v. 17. read 'Raçhelec'. 'The MS omits the name; but the Oxford edition wrongly supplied Rachel, the passive nominative'. v. 20. The MS has rightly 'baitçitçáizcon.' l. 8. 70, v°. v. 6. l. 19. 'In v. 12 etc': should be placed l. 16 before v. 13. l. 28. 'sehirrat' l. 29. 'sehirrera'. 'assurera'. l. 34, v. 29. p. 179, l. 6. 'and F. 70'. l. 10. add 'Leiçarraga has 'triste da' Matt. 26, 41, and 'triste citecen' Matt. 17, 23, and 'tristetzen' elsewhere. l. 18. add 'The word is wrongly cut in twain in the original.' l. 39. add 'But Leiçarraga also used it, e. g. 'irin flore', Apoc. 18, 13; which is interesting as it shews the equation of 'irrin' with 'irin' and 'flore' with 'lore'. p. 180, l. 16 MS; perhaps 'ledin'. l. 20. c. 41, v. 22; and Ex: c. 9, v.

31. l. 24, v. 23. l. 36, add 'See v. 9. The French is: elle devint ulceres avec vessies bourgeonnans',. p. 181, l. 11. add 'The French is: 'Sauras tu auparavant que Egypte est perie?' l. 24. 116 verso. p. 182, l. 7. 'in Ex: c.' l. 32 'in G. c. p. 183, l. 4. 'Thou, I pray'.

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EDWARD S. DODGSON.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

I due simposi in rapporto all' arte moderna. *Ricerche critiche* di PLACIDO CESAREO. Palermo, Alberto Reber, 1901.

"Fears of the brave and follies of the wise"—and blunders of the learned." These are the words with which I began a little article written some twenty years ago on the lapses of eminent scholars. Yes, eminent scholars. And I am free to confess that if I were not 'domo da lunga esperienza e mite | dai maestri anni' and had opened Signor Cesareo's book on the two Symposia at p. 261,—there are 264 in all,—I might not have read his disquisitions with so much attention as I have done. On p. 261, to wit, when Cesareo comes to decide the period of the Xenophontean 'Simposietto', he assigns it to some malignant scribbler 'who arose after Xenophon, Plato and perhaps Aristotle, were dead, when Stoicism was waning and when sane art had begun to lose its bloom, before Athenaios came into the world (200), approximately the first half of the third century before Christ.' Now a man who fancies that Aristotle lived into the third century and that Athenaios came into the world two hundred years before Christ would seem to have put himself out of a philological court and to have deserved relegation to the company of average historians of Greek literature. But I should have lost something, if I had not studied his book. For Signor Cesareo has read everything about the two Symposia, from Cornarius to Dakyns. He displays a knowledge of the Platonic literature that is not easily paralleled, and he is up to his eyes, over them sometimes, in modern aesthetics. True, his book is disfigured by numberless typographical errors, any one of which would have cost the editor of the American Journal of Philology sleepless nights. True, his style is unbearably diffuse, exasperatingly repetitious and distractingly picturesque. But before I reached the astounding sentence just quoted I had made a summary of the book for my own use and had interwoven into it a number of little things of my own; and now I am afraid that I have wasted my oil, which is not all oil of vitriol, and my toil, which was in part a labor of love. As, however, I have renounced the long cherished hope of editing the Symposium of Plato,<sup>1</sup> perhaps I may be excused for abridging the work of some happier man by saving from the flames a summary of that summary.

Much of the book, which it is fair to say, has for its sovereign aim the cultivation of aesthetic study, is taken up with discussion

<sup>1</sup> See Johns Hopkins University Circulars No. 55, Jan. 1887.

of realism and idealism and with the refutation of the current statement that Plato is an idealist, Xenophon a realist, a contrast to which Grote and Hug and Dakyns commit themselves. Of course, everything depends on the definition and when Rosmini says that 'real' is often used as the synonym of 'ideal', one sees the futility of the antithesis, which Bénard reconciles by saying: *Le véritable idéal de l'art c'est le réel idéalistique*. Cesareo then proceeds to prove that there is no such thing as absolute objectivity and to apply at rather wearisome length to the two Symposia the various categories of realism and idealism, as laid down by modern writers on aesthetics, in order to show that realism and idealism have nothing to do with art, certainly nothing to do with antique art. Realism, as represented by Zola,—if naturalism may be called realism, a portentous 'if',—and idealism, as represented by Mallarmé, if that can be called idealism, are both untrue to the motto *μέτρον ἀριστον*, which incorporates the vital principle of the true art of antiquity. Your supreme artist is both realistic and idealistic.

The realists demand rigorous analysis of facts, absolute objectivity, reproduction of the environment, or rather of that which is visible and tangible in the environment. As for form, the serious artists of the new school care little for it. Cant, slang, the most trivial and vulgar diction suffices. The best style is no style at all. Their stylistic programme is that of Frederic Harrison, of Cato the Elder, without the admirable results that ensued in the case of the modern Positivist and in that of the ancient Censor who was positive enough in his way.

The realistic fad lasted a good while, is not over yet. Then the reaction set in, the brood of symbolists, aesthetes, intellectuals. No detail, only suggestion. The author is everything, the subjective idea is everything. The Cult of Style is proclaimed. Nothing is to be common or vulgar. Everything is to be rich and strange. Full fathom five is the least admissible depth.

Now the Greek of the better time unconsciously followed a mean between the two extremes, and I for my part do not consider it necessary to read Cesareo's previous work on 'Subjectivism in Homer' in order to be convinced that there is a personal element even in the impersonal epic. Homer, he says, is at times as minute in his analysis as Dostojewsky and then again as suggestive as Pindar and yet suggestiveness is the mark of idealism, analysis the mark of realism. To be sure, there is no symbolist in antiquity. The ancients never fall into the Bedlamitish jabber, to which Verlaine and Mallarmé sometimes descend. Xenophon it is true, is apt to deal with the obvious and superfluous. But there is nothing to compare with the tiresome and otiose detail of modern writers of this school. Flaubert says deliberately in regard to his great book 'Mme. Bovary' that he wishes to reproduce the effect of lassitude and boredom; and this Cesareo seems to think inconsistent with the antique standard, forgetting perhaps that the prolixity of Nestor and Phoinix stretches our modern endurance of dramatic propriety. οὐχ ἴδως, says Patroklos (Il. 11,

648), οὐχ ἔδος ἐστὶ, γεραιὲ διορρεφές but the old man keeps him standing while he tells the tale of the conflict between the Pylians and Eleians, to which Patroklos listens with as much patience as a young soldier of our great war would have listened to the story of Palo Alto or Resaca de la Palma.

In his comparison of ancient with modern literary art, Cesareo yields the palm for obscenity and lubricity to the French, but contends that in this department antiquity is not a bad second. But in the best period of antique art passion redeems sensuality. So far as the breach of what we call morality is concerned, Sappho, says Cesareo, who believes the very worst of Sappho, is no better than Nana,—but her intense love reaches the sphere of the divine.

So much for the first two chapters headed respectively 'The two Symposia as works of art' and 'Idealism and Realism among the Greeks.' In his third chapter, Cesareo proceeds to apply the canons of realism and idealism to the two Symposia. The first canon of realism is minute and rigorous analysis of facts. Where does one find more minute analysis than in Plato, that very Plato who is supposed by some to have wrought out in detail the hints of the Xenophontean Symposium.<sup>1</sup> In his genuine works Xenophon, who is set down as a realist, is as virginal as Plato the idealist failed to be, and the occasional coarsenesses of the Memorabilia are effaced in Cesareo's mind by the episode of Abradatas and Pantheia in the Cyropaedia. As to the second canon, is Xenophon an objectivist, Plato a subjectivist? Is the personality of Xenophon merged? Is that of Plato explicit? Why, all the laborious commentators of Xenophon unite in pointing out the egoism of the author. Plato, on the other hand, is a dramatist and never fails in dramatic propriety, whereas Xenophon's characters are all Xenophon and the author of the Anabasis and the Memorabilia, not to say the author of the X. S., has no dramatic talent. As to the third canon, the representation of the environment in its actuality, Xenophon, it is true, in his Anabasis, deals with things that he has seen, though Dürrbach might not agree with Cesareo<sup>2</sup> there, but the Cyropaedia is a romance. The Memorabilia is supposed, how justly no one knows, to represent scenes in which Xenophon himself was present; but what of the Hiero? Teichmüller says that Plato deals with a real world, Cobet that he is a more exact portrait-painter than is Xenophon, and Huit has pointed out that he has given a more faithful picture of the Greek common-wealth than any historian. And yet this is Plato the idealist! The philosophical thought of Plato belongs to the abstract, the ideal. The artistic representation is always plastic, concrete, realistic. No better illustration of this than the relation of *μῦθος* to *λόγος* in Plato. It is hard to draw the line between the artistic

<sup>1</sup> Henceforward P. S. = Platonic Symposium; X. S. = Xenophontean Symposium.

<sup>2</sup> Revue des ét. gr. 1893, p. 343, foll.



and the philosophic myth, and no wonder, for they are often fused. What Sokrates calls a λόγος, Kallikles calls a μῦθος. The pretended antagonism of Plato and Xenophon is naught. True, they are as unlike as 'bread and cheese', but that unlikeness does not prove personal antagonism. But it does make antipathy possible, and if Cesareo admitted antipathy, we might substitute our English 'chalk and cheese'. Bread and cheese are complementary, and 'the third in the union' is—kisses. The ancients manufactured a hostility between Homer and Hesiod, Pindar and Bakchylides, Aischylos and Sophokles. Both Plato and Xenophon were *virī Socratici*, and the identity of the subjects treated by them would naturally suggest rivalry. But compare Pindemonte and Foscolo, Goethe and Lenau, Scott and Manzoni. There was no bad feeling, no *simultas* between Plato and Xenophon and what is cited as a document, the rivalry of the two Symposia, amounts to nothing, for the X. S. is not worthy of Xenophon. It is, as Bonghi has frankly said, not a work of art.

The Platonic Symposium is not a pure fiction; it is not a 'guazzabuglio di frottole'. It is based on an historical fact. The X. S. is in the air. Even Plato's anachronisms are history, though history turned upside down, and Plato as a dramatist is allowed a certain scope. The time of a poet is the eternity of the opium eater. The long day of the Republic is measured by the same clock as the three long days of the Divina Commedia.

As for the characters of the P. S., which has been called the comedy, as the Euthydemus has been called the farce, and the Phaedo the tragedy of the Platonic repertory, they are all taken from life. They are not mere incorporations—Phaidros of the mythologer, Pausanias of the politician, Eryximachos of the pedant, Aristophanes of the artist, Agathon of the sophist—as has been held. The model was in each case a living human being, such as the true artist must have.

Nor are the characters the masks for other personages of the Platonic world, as Sydenham supposed, as Teichmüller has tried to make out for the Euthydemus. They are historical, all of them, and Plato has been true to his *dramatis personae*, truer than most historians. When we turn to the X. S. we find that Sokrates is called an old man, when he was only forty-seven, though, to be sure, there is no hard and fast line for old age, that Lykon is called a notable when he is a nobody—a thing that has happened to others—and there are other points not necessary to bring out in detail, which might be excused by the dramatic perspective, if the X. S. were dramatic, which it is not.

'All the Platonic personages are accomplished persons', says Grote; 'the Xenophontic personages, except Sokrates and Antisthenes, are persons of ordinary capacity'. But what has that to do with realism and idealism? exclaims Cesareo. A fine compliment to realism! Why should a florist put a burdock in his bouquet? The dismissal of the flute-girl in the P. S. is

as realistic as the retention of her in the X. S., and Cesareo might have cited a very realistic passage from certain memoirs which recounts how on one occasion Napoleon was too much absorbed in his plans to carry out a fugitive amour.

Leaving the question of priority in abeyance, and not stopping to ask whether Xenophon had the hardihood to attempt the betterment of what Plato had done supremely well, whether Plato has shown triumphantly how Xenophon ought to have done it, leaving this question in abeyance, no one can deny that there is a certain correspondence in the characters of the two dialogues. Agathon answers to Kallias, Aristophanes to Philippos. But Agathon is drawn to the life. Kallias is an historical abortion and a failure in art. Philippos is an imaginary type and not an historical buffoon. The X. S. is our only evidence for his real existence. His absurd remarks and his poor jokes, borrowed and spoiled in the borrowing, present a dismal contrast to the genialities of the grand γελοιοποιός Aristophanes.

The question as to the representation of the character of Sokrates in the two Symposia brings up the old controversy about the truthfulness of the two *virī Socratici* in the portraiture of the master. Everyone who has had to do with the son of Sophroniskos has had his say on the subject from Brucker to Joël, and Cesareo echoes Bonghi in awarding the palm to Plato. Plato may have fooled himself, but he is in the main the more faithful interpreter of Sokrates. Never did liegeman know more of his lord. Never did disciple lose himself so completely in his master. At all events, in the P. S. all the personal features of Sokrates come out, all his mental and moral characteristics. To say, as has been said, that Plato bore the practical sage aloft on the wings of his philosophic spirit, is to say that Sokrates has no wings of his own. Why, even in Aristophanes he treads the air.

But whatever may be said of the Xenophontean representation of Sokrates elsewhere, in the X. S. we have nothing but an imitation of Plato and of the true Xenophon, with a few drops from the Clouds of Aristophanes. Even that stout champion of Xenophon, Dakyns, is obliged to admit the superiority of Plato's representation of the personality of Sokrates.

Cesareo next takes up the characters of the P. S. that are not found in the Xenophontean, and proceeds to develop the difference between the 'sofistichino' Phaidros, the sucking sophist, as he has been called, and the 'sofisticone' Pausanias. The burning question why the *ισρός λόγος* business is attributed to Phaedrus in the P. S. and to Pausanias in the X. S. cannot be disposed of, thinks Cesareo, by a σφάλμα μνημονικόν, and he sets it down as a bit of wanton falsehood on the part of the Pseudo-Xenophon. Little does Cesareo know of the range of that same σφάλμα μνημονικόν. It is the Até of philology.

Eryximachos is a triumph of realism, says Cesareo. He must have been an actual personage. He is no mask for Hippias, and

Heaven forbid that we should identify him with Plato, as Sybel has done. And so say I. As well identify Malvolio with Shakespeare. Alkibiades is another successful portrait in which that 'homo ingeniosissime nequam' is taken off to the life. Apollodoros ὁ μαυικός is a 'buon diavoluccio', and we seem to know Aristodemos, who is drawn with a few strokes, as Shakespeare has drawn his James Gurney in four words, 'Good leave, good Philip', according to the penetrating remark of Charles Lamb. As for Diotima, Cesareo maintains that she is an historical character, like Theano, like Aspasia. The significance of the name, the punning reference in *Μαυτικῇ* amounts to nothing. Such coincidences abound, and the defender of Diotima's personality might have pointed to Aspasia herself and to Theano herself.

Of the characters that are peculiar to the X. S., Autolykos gives our resolute fault-finder most trouble. The worst that he can elicit from a minute analysis is the feebleness of the imitation, the lack of verisimilitude. The worst that any one can say of Autolykos is that he is a tiresome good boy, a wearisome Telemachos. Those who enjoy the portrait of the youthful Cyrus, which I must frankly say repelled me when I myself was a boy in the year of grace 1844, have no right to withhold their sympathy from Autolykos. In fact, he is much more tolerable than the precocious prig depicted in the first book of the *Cyropaedia*. In everything that Xenophon has written there is a suspicion of self-portraiture.

In his deadly hostility to the 'Simposietto' Cesareo does not omit to mention that Lykon, the father of Autolykos, was a wittol, which is simply a bit of irrelevant scandal. Nikeratos is but a reminiscence of the Platonic Ion. Kritobulos is another historical character about whom we know a good deal from other sources than the X. S., but apart from his notorious beauty, there is no salient trait such as we find elsewhere, his pride in his wealth, his indifference to his wife, his boy-kissing and boy-fancying, his butterfly friendships. Hermogenes, the poor brother of Kallias, cuts a wretched figure in the eyes of our critic. Antisthenes is reduced from an acute thinker, a witty talker and a winning speaker to a mere puppet. Charmides, whom we have all learned to like from the Platonic dialogue that bears his name, shows nothing of the sweetness of temper that is so attractive in the Platonic Charmides. He has been called by one critic a cosmopolitan born out of due time. Well, what of it? So was Xenophon; and it is for this reason that Bowbells patriots, such as Niebuhr, have never been able to stomach Xenophon. In brief, the Platonic types obey the law of the realists, which demands the analytic, the partial, the special, and yet do not disobey the other law, that of the ideal, which demands the synthetic, the universal, whereas the types of the X. S. are consistent neither with reality nor with ideality.

Not without interest is Cesareo's chapter on Eros in the two

Symposia, in which he contends that Platonic love is a love that has its roots in the physical nature of man. In fact, severe critics have found in Plato not a few traces of the worship of the Great Goddess, Lubricity, as Matthew Arnold calls her. In the different works of Plato the theory of love presents different facets. In the Symposium we have the compendium and the synthesis of them all. In short, Plato's Eros is neither all sensual nor all spiritual. As there are degrees in knowledge from *δόξα* to *ἐπιστήμη* so there are degrees in love, and in the Symposium as in the Divina Commedia we mount to the highest, *τὴν ἀνω ἀνάβασιν καὶ θέαν τῶν ἄνω* (Rpb. 517 B).

Now love was not much in the line of the true Xenophon, thinks Cesareo, despite the episode of Pantheia in the *Cyropaedeia*; and the true Xenophontean Sokrates looks upon love as a delusion and a snare. In our 'Simposietto' Love is neither the love of the realist nor the love of the idealist and the theme is lugged in by main force. The Eros of the P. S. is the Eros of all the intellectual world of the time of Plato. The Eros of the X. S. gives at most the view of one man. The Eros of the P. S. is myth and idea. In the X. S. it is not myth; and the idea is so disconnected, so incoherent that one gets no artistic conception of Eros. The Eros of the P. S. is represented by each of the speakers in an original way. In the X. S. we have nothing but conventionality. The Eros of the P. S. shows variety in unity. A divine harmony arises from the dissonance. In the X. S. the one discourse does not harmonize with itself. The Eros of the P. S. is in keeping with the character of the speaker. The Eros of the X. S. is not consistent with the character of the historical Sokrates. The P. S. is both real and ideal. It is perfect. The X. S. is neither real nor ideal. It is unaesthetic.

In the chapter which deals with the style and diction of the two Symposia, Cesareo reminds us as he often does, that Realism demands analysis, unconditional objectivity, the representation of the environment. Idealism demands synthesis, unconditional subjectivity, a new heaven and a new earth.

Now, according to Cesareo this analysis manifests itself in the precise use of moods and tenses, the cumulation of participles, the exactness, the *proprietas* of the vocabulary and the wealth and variety of particles. True, when he contrasts Plato's precision in use of moods and tenses with Homer's looseness he does not stand alone; indeed, he simply echoes Cauer. But the last word has not been said on that subject. Such statements are to be accepted with extreme caution. Cobet has found fault with Herodotos' use of the historical tenses, especially the imperfect, and I have made it a point in my Greek Syntax to show how exact he could be. It is safer to maintain with Ameis that Homer's imperfects are to be considered imperfects, and not mere happy-go-lucky preterites. The 'Schwäche der homerischen Denkart' may after all be 'Stumpfheit des Sprachgefühls' on

the part of the critic.<sup>1</sup> The cumulation of participles in the P. S. is set down by Cesareo to Plato's analytical genius. But that the increasing use of the participle is in any way due to the strengthening of the analytic faculty in the Greeks, inasmuch as the participle serves to subordinate one action to another, is not a proposition that can be accepted without reserve. The stylistic effect of polymetochy, of pyknometochy is, as I have shown at some length, quite the reverse of analysis.<sup>2</sup> The section on vocabulary cannot be discussed even briefly here. Cesareo has overlooked the demands of ποικιλία in Plato. As for Plato's wealth and variety of particles he would be a bold man who should claim for the Platonic use an exactness denied to the Homeric use. As we can see from a comparison with the orators, Plato's wealth of particles is due to his μίμησις of conversational language. But is it safe to resolve all μίμησις into analysis?

Homer, says Cesareo, is a prince of analysis but he is less than mediocre in synthesis, which is not the privilege of primitive ages. The child is prone to distinguish, not to recompose, for analysis requires less idealizing power and less coordinating experience. As evidences of Plato's synthetic power Cesareo adduces his pregnant use of words which is said to be the special glory of Italian poetry, pregnant constructions, omissions, ellipses, asyndeta; but the last and best expression of synthetic power is the summary which each personage gives of his own discussion at the beginning and the end of it; and here is seen a strong contrast to Homer and—Zola. I need not say that this synthesis is the κατὰστασις and the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις of the rhetoricians and belongs to the regular machinery of speech-making. Verily, if there is much virtue in synthesis, there is much vice in aesthetic cant. Every one sees in Homer what he brings to Homer and the richer one's own experience of life, the more does one admire the dramatic art of the court-singer and the faithful portraiture of the naked soul in what is earliest, what is best in Greek poetry. The ballad-monger theory sins against the spirit of the highest art.

Now when we compare Symposikin with Symposium we find that in opposition to the dictum of the critics, the analysis in the 'idealistic' Plato is even more minute than in the 'realistic' Xenophon. Indeed the would-be analysis of the X. S. is sheer disconnectedness. The speeches show a mechanical, not a chemical combination. They follow one upon another like slides in a lantern. There is no thread that binds them together and the attempts at concatenation are highly artificial. Hence the obscurity of the X. S.; hence the frequent puzzles, whereas in the P. S. everything is plain. Remarkable is the abuse of the Greek freedom in the change of subjects. Homer is free. But he is addressing rude audiences. Plato is free but he does it dramatically. Not so our unfortunate scribbler who shifts his subject as often as five times in a single sentence. He has, it is true, a lot of particles but a

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. XXIII 250.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. IX 137 foll.

large part of them are useless and some of the *voces praeognantes* are filched from Plato; and when they are not stolen they are obscure. In fine, Cesareo cannot understand why anybody should suppose that Plato took as his model this 'Simposietto', as if it were the quintessence of a fine Greek style.

Realism demands absolute impersonality; idealism absolute personality. The P. S. ought to be personal, the X. S. impersonal. And there is no denying the fact that Plato shows personality throughout. His style is a mean between poetry and prose, as Aristotle pointed out in a sentence which may be expanded but cannot be improved; and the P. S. is impregnated with poetry. All the characters are more or less poetical, the language is tinged with poetry, the rhythms are poetical. One does not have to prove that for Phaidros, the Homerist, for Aristophanes, the comic poet, for Agathon, the dramatist, but even Pausanias, the rhetorical is not free from the infection and while Sokrates and Poet are 'cat and dog' or dog and cat whichever you choose, the son of Sophroniskos not only uses poetic language in rehearsing Diotima's discourse but lapses into sundry poetic sins on his own account. Cesareo does not undertake to show that Malvolio-Eryximachos, as I have ventured to call him, ever indulges in poetic flights but contents himself with emphasizing the frequency of his poetical quotations. Eryximachos was a pedant and there was nothing else to quote from except poetry, as Cesareo fails to observe.

But while Plato's native vein makes itself felt, like everything else it is made subservient to dramatic needs, or, to use the cant of the aesthetic gentry, the subjective requisites objectify themselves in the various persons. Sokrates abounds in questions. Phaedrus asks but one. Antithesis is occasionally used by Phaidros—why not by Pausanias?—but the discourse of Agathon is a tissue of antitheses. In fact, Agathon is a Marinist before Marini's time.

All the personages of the P. S. satirize themselves unconsciously. They are all put in a comic light. There is Pausanias, for instance, who tangles himself up in his periods and can't get out, and who 'murders grammar worse than some modern philologists'. There is Aristophanes, who evolves all his extravaganzas with a most serious air.

Plato is clever and all his characters are clever, but they are clever each in his own way. Especially noteworthy is the parodic character of Aristophanes' discourse, which enables us to understand the fun he makes of Sokrates in the Clouds. There is no fusing of the two geniuses, the Platonic and the Aristophanic. What we have, if I may use a cigar-vendor's phrase instead of Cesareo's metaphysics, is Aristophanic filling in a Platonic wrapper.

Now contrast the X. S. Where is the objectivity that is demanded by realism? The author is in evidence throughout and utters his own opinions, which, as Cesareo maintains, are not the opinions of the true Xenophon. The foibles of the Platonic

personages are all different in conformity with the requirements of dramatic art. In the X. S. the same foibles reappear. The periods of the X. S. are incoherent. The imitation of the language of Plato is as unsuccessful as it is evident. The figures are scant and poor. The attempts at wit are pitiable. The jokes are either incomprehensible, ill-timed or silly; and in a burst of contempt Cesareo calls the subjectivity of the X. S. 'una subiettività di insulsaggini'.

The P. S. echoes the language of the market-place. Proverbs abound. Apt anakoluthia's artless aid is invoked to give naturalness to the talk, but not indiscriminately. Alkibiades, who is chokeful of wine, is chokeful of anakolutha. Sober Eryximachos has hardly any. Phaidros, the puzzle-headed, telescopes his thoughts, as we Americans would say. Pausanias gets tangled up in his sentences, as we have seen. Sokrates has an anakoluthon from time to time, but there is no darkening of counsel when his major is bereft of its minor. Here Cesareo pushes analysis to an extreme; and when he says that Alkibiades is worse than anakoluthic, that he is chaotic, our critic goes too far. Alkibiades is not Anglo-Saxonically and inarticulately drunk. He is Hellenically and articulately drunk.

The X. S. tries to be lively, tries to have the snap and the go of Attic speech, but has not attained. Witness the obscurities. Witness the tiresome imitation of Plato. And if Plato is an idealist, as they assert, if he is an exotic, how can his imitator give us the natural and the popular of the realist? For the details of the language see Cobet, see Mehler, see Schenkl, the last mentioned of whom finds many phrases that are neither Greek nor anything else. The anakolutha in the X. S. have not, as they have in the P. S., the double office of giving actuality to language, of representing more perfectly the state of mind and the characters of the personages in hand. Not all the medicinal gums of Weiske, of Schneider, of Schenkl, avail to cure the diseases of this little book.

After putting the X. S. to this open shame, after making it stand in the pillory and pelting it with the fruits of learning and the eggs of fancy for two hundred and forty-five pages, Cesareo attacks the question of priority, although he has in his own judgment decided it by his arraignment of the Simposietto. There are three possible views:

- I. The P. S. is prior to the X. S. and the model of it.
- II. The X. S. is prior to the P. S. and the model of it.
- III. Neither is the model of the other, and the question of priority is a matter of no consequence.

The third view is curtly dismissed. It has few advocates.

The priority of the X. S. has the authority of Boeckh's great name, and the support of the two latest and chiefest editors of the P. S., Hug and Rettig; but Karl Friedrich Hermann, Steinhart and Schanz are of the opposite view; and Cesareo does not stand alone in maintaining the spuriousness of the

X. S. Suspicions of the genuineness of it have been rife from Gail to Jowett. Boeckh in one of his early performances says that the spuriousness of a work can be convincingly proved, not so the genuineness. But in this case it is interesting to see how the argument gets into the sphere of the *εἰκός* of which one has so much in Attic oratory. Is it likely that X. could have been so besotted as to attempt to improve on the Symposium of Plato? Who knows? The limits of human vanity are not to be marked by any hard and fast line. Xenophon's smug self-complacency is to some of his readers the worst thing about him, worse if possible than the want of patriotism that made him so repulsive to Niebuhr. Goethe's Faust did not check the generation of Fausts.

But Cesareo thinks that even in his old age Xenophon would not have been capable of such a weak performance as the Symposikin. Verdi, he cries, composed Falstaff when he was eighty, and Xenophon could have done much better than the author of the 'Simposietto'. I am glad to read such a vindication of the *μακρόβιοι*. It is in refreshing contrast to the tone of one scholar, who considers it a monstrous supposition that Plato could have been equal to the Theaetetus after sixty.

Now take the other hypothesis, the Xenophontean priority. Is it conceivable, asks our critic, that Plato should have taken so poor a thing as the X. S. for his model? We can understand Isokrates, the vain old rhetorician, when he shows a rival how the thing ought to be done. But Plato? Dakyns imagines Beethoven using a 'Volkslied' as a movement in the Sinfonia Eroica, and there are similar incorporations of popular airs in ambitious operas, as we all know. Plato as a lordly genius was a corsair, like Molière after him, not a sneakthief, and would not have hesitated to help himself to any tempting bit that lay in his path. Bumboat or galleon, everything is the prize of the pirate. The genuine ancients cared little about charges of plagiarism. But for all that Cesareo thinks that a deliberate and thoroughgoing betterment of such a wretched performance as the X. S. is quite inconceivable for such a genius as Plato. We are in the domain of the *εἰκός* again.

The solution of the whole problem lies, as we have seen, in the spuriousness of the X. S., which Cesareo thinks he has established. But if Xenophon did not write it, who did? A question to be asked, but a question that Cesareo does not consider himself bound to answer; and it is a pity that he had not declined even a guess, for it is just here that he has made a slip that, as we have seen, diminishes our confidence in the critic.

But if the Xenophontean Symposium is the wretched affair that Cesareo makes it out to be, why should it have been so much admired and even set above the P. S. by some critics?

'It is a tremendous saying of Landor's', says Augustine Birrell: 'We admire by tradition and we criticize by caprice',



and all I can do here is to set Dakyns against Cesareo. Personally I have no great admiration of the X. S. and cannot share the enthusiasm of the latest editor, Mr. Marchant, when he tells us of the 'Convivi delicias exquisitas', nor, on the other hand, have I so high an opinion of the 'genuine Xenophon' as to think him incapable of the X. S. Even Signor Cesareo has to admit that, like the bad egg in the story: 'Parts of it are very good'.

B. L. G.

## REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXX (1901).

Janvier.

Ferdinand Lot. *Nouvelles études sur la Provenance du cycle arthurien.* XI-XVIII. 21 pages. M. Ferdinand Lot here discusses a number of place-names connected with King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

Arthur Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations.* 27 pages. We have given here an account of the controversy raised at the French Court by the allusions made by the poet, a number of hitherto unpublished documents being printed from the mediæval manuscripts of Alain Chartier.

Alfred Morel-Fatio. *Le Débat entre Anton de Moros et Gonzalo Davila.* 16 pages. Nine poems forming part of an acrimonious discussion between an Aragonese and a Castilian trobador are published from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Salverda de Grave. *Les Mots dialectaux du Français en Moyen-Néerlandais.* 48 pages. The author of the article by investigating a large number of French words occurring in Mediæval Dutch texts endeavors to determine which of the Old-French dialects exerted the greatest influence upon the language of their northern neighbors. He finds that all the indications noted point to that of Picardy, and this is made plausible by the historical fact that the French counts of that region long reigned over Holland.

Mélanges. Ov. Densusianu, *Primus et \*Antaneus en Roumain.* Albert Dauzat, Amaiza. Albert Dauzat, *Urgere.* R. J. Cuervo, *Canoa.* R. J. Cuervo, *Sabana.* Ferdinand Lot, *Le Cri de la bête dans le Daniel du Stricker.*

Comptes rendus. Dr. Gustav Schlessinger, *die altfranzösischen Wörter in "Machsor Vitry" nach der Ausgabe des Vereins "Mekize Nirdamim"* (Louis Brandin). Gaston Paris, *Orson de Beauvais, chanson de geste du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (H. Suchier). R. Berger, *Canchons und Partures des altfranzösischen Trouvere* Adan de le Hale le Bochu d'Aras (A. Jeanroy et G. Paris). M. Potanine, *Les motifs orientaux dans l'épopée du moyen âge* (E. Anitchkoff).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXIV 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Siebenter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig* (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notice on Adolphe Hatzfeld, who died Oct. 5, 1900. He is known especially as the author of his *Seizième Siècle en France*, and the *Dictionnaire Général*. Announcement that the last person who spoke the indigenous Romance dialect of Dalmatia died on June 10, 1898.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 5 titles. *La satire des femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge*, par Théodore Lee Neff. (Dissertation de Chicago. "Travail mal conçu et rédigé en un français plus que médiocre"). A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day, by George Saintsbury. Vol. I. *Classical and Mediæval Criticism* (Mediæval French literature has been neglected by the author).

Avril et Juillet.

Mario Roques. *L'Élément historique dans Fierabras et dans la Branche II du Coronement Loois*. 23 pages. (Both of these poems are founded on the siege of Rome by the Saracens in 846. M. Gaston Paris adds a confirmatory note founded upon an independent investigation of the same problem).

Raymond Weeks. *Études sur Aliscans*. 14 pages. (Prof. Weeks calls attention to the fact that this poem raises an unusually large number of interesting problems, some of which he endeavors to solve. He finds both interior and exterior contradictions which make it difficult to arrive at any certain conclusions as to the origin of the primitive legend).

Auguste Longnon. *La procession du bon abbé Ponce, Chanson historique et satirique du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 19 pages. (This is one of the rare instances of a historical chanson as early as the thirteenth century which is founded upon contemporary events. It has reference undoubtedly to a sort of private war between the party of the Abbé Ponce and the monastery of Saint-Seine, and was written about the year 1241).

E. Philipon. *Morphologie du dialecte lyonnais aux XIII<sup>e</sup> e XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*. 82 pages. (Recent discoveries of additional Lyonese texts have made it possible to determine with greater precision than hitherto the special characteristics of the dialect in question).

Paul Meyer. *Notice du ms. 10295-304 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Légendes en prose et en vers)*. 22 pages. (Besides the lives of saints this manuscript contains the *Esope* of Marie de France and the *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz. Among the former is a version of the Saint Alexis legend).

Arthur Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations*. 35 pages. (This instalment of the article begun in the previous number treats of *le Parlement d'amour* de Baudet Herenc, and *la Dame loyale en amour*, the last-mentioned poem being published in full in a critical edition).

Gaston Paris. *Villoniana*. 41 pages. (M. Gaston Paris here gives sundry notes on matters connected with this author which he collected while engaged in the preparation of his small book on Villon published recently in the *Grands écrivains français*).

Mélanges. Paul Meyer, C et G suivis d'A en provençal. A. Thomas, *Le Suffixe -esimus en français*. Paul Meyer, *Provençal Nadiu*. A. Delboulle, *Davoisne*. A. Delboulle, *Un proverbe altéré*. Eug. Ritter, *Romancium et Gallicum*. Gaston Paris, *Mayence et Nimègue dans le Chevalier au Cygne*. Ernest Muret, *Un fragment de Marco Polo*.

Comptes rendus. Ovide Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine* (G. Paris). Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Die Betonung im Gallischen* (A. Thomas). F. Noack, *Der Strophenausgang in seinem Verhältnis zum Refrain und Strophengrundstock in der refrainhaltigen altfranzösischen Lyrik* (A. Jeanroy). Henry A. Todd, *La Vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie* (G. Paris). Kr. Nyrop, *Observations sur quelques vers de la farce de Maître Pierre Pathelin* (G. Paris). Jean Ducamin, *Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor* (R. Menéndez Pidal). J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Estudos de philologia mirandesa* (Albert Dauzat).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXV, 1, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XII, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXI, enumeration of contents (E. M.). *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, XIII, 1-XIV, 4, enumeration of contents with scant comment (P. Meyer). *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1900, mention of an Old-French manuscript preserved in the library of the University of Upsala. *Bulletin historique et philologique* (Comité des travaux historiques), année 1899, containing a number of articles on Old-French legal documents which throw an interesting side-light upon the history of the language (P. Meyer). *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, années 1897-1900, containing an old inscription and charts of various sorts bearing on the language and literature of France in the Middle Ages (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Prof. G. A. Scartazzini, the well-known Dante scholar, and of Comte Théodore de Puymaigre, a scholarly writer on the literature of Spain and Portugal. Account of the three complimentary volumes presented by former

pupils to Profs. A. d'Ancona, G. I. Ascoli, and P. A. Geijer respectively. This is an instance of a tendency which has manifested itself very strongly of late years in learned circles all over the world. Dr. Edward C. Armstrong announces that he has in preparation a critical edition of the Barlaam et Josaphat legend in Old-French verse, having copied the manuscripts of Tours and Carpentras.

*Livres annoncés sommairement.* 35 titles. Cornell University Library, Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented by Wilard Fiske, compiled by Theodore Wesley Koch (notice by A. Morel-Fatio. "Félicitons M. Koch de l'heureux achèvement de ce grand travail, qui témoigne non seulement d'une excellente méthode bibliographique, mais d'une connaissance du sujet que peu de spécialistes possèdent"). Federico Hanssen, *Notas de filologia castellana*, Santiago de Chile. Hugo Albert Rennert, *Macias, o namorado, a Galician Trobador* (notice by A. Morel-Fatio. "L'étude grammaticale de l'ancien gallego que nous présente ici M. Rennert rendra des services"). Federico Hanssen, *Elementos de fonología castellana*, Santiago de Chile ("Son exposé nous a paru juste en général, et ses idées sont judicieuses"). J. Douglas Bruce, *The Middle-English Metrical Romance "Le Morte Arthur", its Sources and its Relation to Sir Thomas Malory's "Morte Darthur"* ("Cette étude ne devra pas être négligée par celui qui voudra faire l'histoire difficile du Lancelot français"). Gustav Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch, zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe.*

Octobre.

Ferdinand Lot. *Date de la chute des dentales intervocales en français.* 8 pages. The fall of intervocalic d, which is given by Schwan-Behrens' grammar as having occurred at the end of the eleventh century and by Nyrop as the beginning of the twelfth century, is here shown to have occurred as early as the end of the ninth century in the region extending from Langres to Mâcon.

Paul Meyer. *Fragment d'un ms. d'Aie d'Avignon.* 15 pages. In 1861 M. Guessard and M. Paul Meyer published an edition of this Old-French epic based chiefly on the readings of a Paris manuscript. Since then additional evidence has been found in the manuscript notes of Claude Fauchet, in a fragment at Brussels, in a fragment at Venice, and lastly in the Archives de la commune de Vuillafans, near Besançon. The last-named fragment is here published in full.

Otto Klob. *A Vida de Sancto Amaro, texte portugais du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle.* 15 pages. The basis of this edition of the text is a manuscript preserved in the Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon. This and a similar version in Spanish probably both go back to the same Latin source. The same manuscript also contains *A lenda dos santos Barlaão e Josafate*, and the *Vida de Santo Aleixo*, both of which have already been published.

Hermann Suchier. *La Fille sans mains*. 20 pages. This Catalan text is published from a manuscript now at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but formerly in the Bibliotheca Colombina of Seville. It is one of a series of versions of this same popular tale which Prof. Suchier proposes to publish in extension of his treatment in the *Cœuvres poétiques de Beaumanoir*.

Lazare Sainéan. *Les Éléments orientaux en Roumain*. 28 pages. Having published a general work on this subject in the year 1900, but written in Roumanian, the author of this article here gives a résumé of his book for the benefit of those numerous persons who are not adepts in the Roumanian language. These borrowings are naturally grouped under the headings: *Emprunts préosmanli, emprunts tatars, emprunts osmanli*.

Comptes rendus. *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* (G. Paris, with numerous discussions of etymologies). Dr. F. Geo. Mohl, *Les origines romanes: La première personne du pluriel en gallo-romain* (G. Paris). E. Stengel, *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied* (L. Brandin). *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (G. Paris). Leandro Biadene, *Carmina de Mensibus di Bonvesin da la Riva* (G. Paris).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische philologie*, XXV. 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Romanische Forschungen*, X, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIV-XV, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). *Supplementi periodici all' Archivio glottologico italiano*, I-VI, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Prof. John E. Matzke has completed his edition of the works of the Anglo-Norman poet Simund de Freisne, which he will propose for publication to the Société des anciens textes français. An account is given of the work in the Romance Languages which is being done at Harvard University, concluding with the following statement: "Aucune des universités américaines ne peut dans le domaine de nos études le disputer à la doyenne de toutes, la vieille université Harvard (does this refer to the past or future?); mais nous attendons aussi de plusieurs d'entre elles, dans un très prochain avenir, d'intéressants travaux de philologie et surtout d'histoire littéraire. Nous nous félicitons d'autant plus de cet état de choses que nous nous rappelons le temps, peu éloigné, où la philologie romane et l'histoire littéraire du moyen âge roman étaient à peu près inconnues aux États-Unis."

Livres annoncés sommairement. 26 titles. Dr. Adolf Zauner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft* ("Ce petit manuel de linguistique romane est excellent"). Theodor Birt, *Der Hiatus bei Plautus und die lateinische Aspiration bis zum X. Jhd. nach Chr.* ("La question de l'hiatus dans Plaute ne tient dans ce gros volume

qu'une place assez restreinte; la plus grande partie en est consacrée à l'étude de la prononciation de l'h en latin"). An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, herausgegeben von JOHANNES HOOPS.  
Band XXVII, 1900.

I.—J. Koch. Critical Observations on the Globe Edition of Chaucer's Works (edited by Pollard, Heath, and Liddell). The writer had already reviewed this edition at some length. He now takes seventy pages to show that Pollard is mistaken in dating the Italian influence upon Chaucer from his second, rather than his first, visit to Italy; that he is again mistaken in explaining variations in the MSS as due to subsequent alteration at the poet's hand; that the text of the Canterbury Tales by Pollard, and of the Minor Poems by Heath, show an astonishing want of judgment and accuracy; that, if Liddell attributes fragment C of the Romaunt of the Rose to Chaucer, he is bound to do the same by fragment A, but that the authenticity of either has never been proved in spite of Kaluza's industry. The evidence cited by Koch is detailed, convincing, and even superfluous in amount. It is a pity that the diligence which it displays has been devoted to the criticism of a book that really deserves less. On pages 227–234 of this volume Koch resumes the subject of the Romaunt of the Rose to observe that Skeat's evidence of Chaucer's hand in fragment A, cited from the King's Quair and Lydgate, is merely collateral. Cf. *Athenaeum* 3741, 3743; Skeat, Preface to Chaucerian Pieces.

K. D. Bülbring. Notes in Old and Middle English Grammar. The article deals with palatal tendencies of certain consonants in Old English, such as the phonetic development of OE *seccan* and ME *focche*, the pronunciation of OE *cc* and *cg*, the tendency of such pure dentals as *d, t, s, þ, r, l, n*, when followed by *e*, to recede to an alveolar, or even a prepalatal, articulation in OE and ME, and then to alter the following *e* to *i*. The writer adds a note on palatal or mouillée *s* in OE. The article reveals wide and exact knowledge and exquisite precision.

K. Luick. The Origin of the Modern English Diphthongs, *ai* and *au*. The same subject was discussed by Sarrazin in the last volume, who concluded that the transformation of ME *i* and *u* to *ai* and *au* began in the west Midlands, and thence spread over England. Luick says that these conclusions are wrong, being based upon insufficient and blundering observation, and that Sarrazin follows a false theory of extension of a sound-change from dialect to dialect. The problem is exceedingly difficult, yet the writer discovers certain signs which point to the region of Edinburgh as the place where *ai* first appears.

E. Koepfel. The Authenticity of the Visions of Petrarch and the Visions of Bellay commonly ascribed to Spenser. The translations from Petrarch and du Bellay bearing these titles were first announced as Spenser's when they were published by Ponsonby in his *Complaints* in 1591. They had, however, been already printed in 1569 in a miscellany known as the *Theatre of Worldlings*, but without Spenser's name. Ponsonby reproduced the Visions of Petrarch with only slight alterations, but the Visions of Bellay were both modified in other respects, and were changed from blank verse to rhyme and recast in sonnet-form. This revision is undoubtedly Spenser's. That the earlier versions were not, Koepfel attempted to show in *Englische Studien* XV. 53 ff. J. B. Fletcher replied in favor of Spenser in *Modern Language Notes* XIII. 409 ff. Koepfel now rejoins with a fair criticism of his opponent, but hardly strengthens his own rather weak position.

The Theses of Wendt. Wendt's theses, printed in volume XXVI, serve to define the position of those teachers of English and French in the German schools who take the most radical and utilitarian views in matters of method and aim. The printed discussion of the theses is here continued by Ellinger, resumed on pages 263-268 by Witzelbock, and on pages 411-435 by F. Beyer and Klinghardt, by whom it is closed. These writers, with varying degrees of concurrence, side with Wendt on the whole. Beyer's opinion is representative. Writing from south Germany, he says that Germans in temperament are idealists; but Germany's present position in the world demands that her citizens be practical men, and well-fitted to engage in international affairs of all kinds. It is therefore the business of the teachers of French and English, especially in the *realschule*, to train their pupils in the peculiar use of these languages, and in the peculiar knowledge of these peoples and countries which will serve them best as men of affairs. The whole discussion is only another pathetic instance of the helplessness of the idealist who tries to convert a utilitarian, or even offer him a convincing apology. The various comments should be of interest to those who teach modern languages on this side of the Atlantic.

Reviews. The more important reviews are as follows: the first volume of the second edition of ten Brink's *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, reviewed by Kölbing; Schipper's edition of King Alfred's *Bede* in the *Grein Bibliothek*, reviewed favorably by Binz; *Hamlet in Iceland*, being the *Icelandic Ambales Saga*, etc., edited and translated by I. Gollancz, reviewed by Jantzen, who finds it in many respects unscholarly. *Die Kritik der Englischen Litteratur des siebenzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, by Hamelius, is reviewed by Schnabel in a paragraph exemplary for its justice, directness, and incision. Schnabel's reviews are well worth the study of any one who wishes to advance in the art of writing book notices. They are brief,



authoritative, readable, and appreciative alike of a book's artistic and scholarly values, if the two are not one, yet at the same time fearless in their condemnation of shoddy. His manner of dealing with frivolities is illustrated on page 186 in a review of Adolphus Jack's *Essay on the Novel* as illustrated by Scott and Miss Austen. Favorable reviews by Schnabel are those of T. A. Fischer's *Leben und Werke Alfred Lord Tennyson's*, and of E. Koepfel's *Tennyson*, on page 289. Other interesting notices from the same hand are found on pages 131-135. Beginning on page 135 are a number of summaries of 'Programme,' among others, of F. Brincke's *Germanische Alterthümer in dem Angelsächsischen Gedichte Judith*, and F. Münzner's *Die Quellen zu Longfellow's Golden Legend*.

II.—M. Kaluza, Eugen Kölbing. A sketch of Professor Kölbing's life and achievements, written soon after his death in 1899 at the age of 53. The picture drawn by his former student is that of a man of enormous energy and industry, qualities which distinguished his work in such various fields as Romance, Scandinavian, and Middle English philology, in the editing of Byron, and in founding *Englische Studien* and serving as its editor for twenty-two years. The article is accompanied with a portrait, a list of Kölbing's publications since 1869, including notes and reviews, and filling twenty pages, and a list of fifty-seven dissertations prepared under his direction. Of the last nearly all deal with Middle English.

A. Pogatscher. *English Etymologies*. The article includes ten altogether. The words dealt with are OE *afesn*, *āncra*, *īzor*, flood; *orȝol*, pride; *sācerd*, priest; *ȝl-twist*, fowling; Old Icelandic *byrr*, favorable wind (ME *bir*); ME *ægāde*, luxury; *ēgēde*, foolish; modern, *arrish*, *eddish*, *ettidge*, aftermath; *sewer*, waiter (cf. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 38).

W. von Wurzbach, George Etheredge. A superficial account of the dramatist and his works, beginning with the statement that the dramatic period of the Restoration 'finds its like only in the Aristophanic comedy of ancient Athens.'

C. Stoffel. The Quasi-appositional Superlative after 'one'. The construction is exemplified in Chaucer's 'Oon the faireste under sonne', and occurs in English from Aelfric to Shakespeare. It is here explained as a Latinism (cf. *iustissimus unus*). After Shakespeare it is supplanted by the not wholly equivalent construction 'one of' followed first by the singular, then later by the more logical plural.

Reviews. Among others are notices of Kluge and Lutz's *English Etymology*, by Pogatscher; of Brandl's new edition of the Schlegel-Tieck Shakespeare, by Schröer; of Heinrich Gildardon's *Shelley's Einwirkung auf Byron*, by Ackermann; of F. Roeder's *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, by Liebermann.

The Miscellanea include notes from A. E. H. Swaen on two corrupt passages in Arden of Feversham; from Hoops, on an autograph of Keats denying the publisher's statement that *Hyperion* was left unfinished because *Endymion* had been condemned by critics; and from W. A. Read, including a dozen instances where the influence of Keats' diction seems to be apparent in Tennyson. Swaen adds several notes in lexicography, consisting chiefly of illustrations and definitions of rare meanings, in some cases supplementary to the Oxford Dictionary.

W. Heuser. The Development of *u* in open syllables in Middle English. The article deals with a difficult problem, and one which has hitherto been discussed with various results. Other vowels in stressed open syllables are regularly lengthened in this period, but with *i* and *u* the case is not clear. Luick had concluded that before the fourteenth century *ü*- and *i*- in open syllables had altered in Northumbrian regions and along the border to *ō* and *ē*. Morsbach held that they remained *i* and *u*; Sarrazin, that they had lengthened throughout England. These opinions were none of them final because they rested on insufficient evidence. Heuser goes into the matter much more thoroughly, dividing his abundant evidence into four groups; (1) Rhymes in northern and Scottish texts; (2) spelling in northern texts; (3) spelling in Scottish texts; (4) spelling in Midland texts. His texts are well chosen and his inferences cautious. The conclusion of the whole matter takes the form of a law which prevails throughout Middle English dialects. (1) In syllables which were originally open, but which have become closed through silencing of a final *e* (e. g. *cum*, *luf* etc.), the *u* (spelled *o* in the south) remains short. (2) In syllables which remained open (e. g. *hony*, *somer*, *thorough*) it became the rule to write *o* for *u*, and the quantity of this *o* at the period in question is variable between short and half-long. This variableness ceases when the modern practice begins of phonetically doubling the consonant after a short vowel (e. g. *honey*, *summer*, etc.). It will be seen that Heuser, as he himself admits, here revives ten Brink's doctrine of 'schwebende vocale' which has, for no very apparent reason, been abandoned of late.

H. B. Baildon, Robert Louis Stevenson. Stevenson's biographer and schoolmate continues from the last volume his somewhat desultory comment on the novelist's works.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

No Grecian can read his Shakespeare without being struck by the number of happy equivalents the poet furnishes for Greek words, otherwise without adequate translation; and Greek syntax is often more illuminated by a Shakespearian parallel than by much discourse about the psychology of the moods and the loves of the cases. The compilation of a Shakespeare-Greek Lexicon and a Greek-Shakespeare Lexicon would be more profitable work for a young scholar than much mechanical sorting that passes for philology nowadays; and for such a task one indispensable help would be the *Shakespeare Lexicon* of ALEXANDER SCHMIDT of blessed memory, a work which I prize so highly that, crowded as the Journal is, I must make space to call attention to the new edition, just published by Stechert of New York. While the body of the lexicon does not show much change, there is a valuable appendix by GEORG SARRAZIN, with a select list of new renderings and interpretations alphabetically arranged. Among the other reissues of standard dictionaries I may note in passing the new GRIEB'S *German-English and English-German Dictionary*, which has been worked over and enlarged by the well-known scholar, ARNOLD SCHRÖER (New York, Henry Frowde), a useful work for ready reference, if ready reference were not so dangerous a thing. By the way, I hope that the shade of that punctilious student of English, FITZEDWARD HALL, will not be disturbed by the discovery that the hideous Americanism *at that*, which the Muret-Sanders Dictionary has pilloried, is to be found in an English author as noted as WILLIAM MORRIS, *Stories of the Kings of Norway*, II, p. 25, see Beiblatt zur Anglia, Sept., 1902. Cf. A. J. P. XVIII 124. So, to adopt the language of another (Essays and Studies, p. 484), so does the glittering, voluble mercury of the American lingo make a dull, gray amalgam with the pure gold of the English tongue.

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The project of a Greek-Shakespeare Lexicon naturally leads up to the preface that Mr. BEVAN has prefixed to his *Prometheus Bound*, a rendering which is not unworthy of its sumptuous dress (David Nutt); and that is saying a good deal. In that preface Mr. BEVAN discourses on the advantage that the language of the Elizabethan drama gives to the translator of the Greek drama, in its vocabulary, characteristic phrases, turns

of expression. 'Here, then', he says, 'we have a model to guide us, a language to draw upon in translating the plays of the Greeks'. But as the Elizabethan spirit does not conform absolutely to the Greek spirit, we must also make draughts on the Hebrew prophets, for 'the Greek tragedians stood to their people in some ways as the Hebrew prophets stood to theirs', and our second model is the English Bible. The third model is Milton, who took up 'the blank verse and style of diction' which had been developed by the Elizabethan drama and 'subjected them to modifications and refinements under the very influence of classical type and the Bible'. These be our models, these our materials. By careful study of these models, by judicious tempering of these materials, the resulting Corinthian brass will enable us to make translations that shall abide through the iron age of the English language.

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Now I suppose that every translator of Aischylos into English has been more or less consciously guided by the same models that Mr. BEVAN sets up. The language of Attic tragedy was far removed from the every-day speech of the Athenian cit; and that merciless critic, Aristophanes, helps us to draw the subtle line that divides art from artifice. But as the world moves on, as the people who speak the English language are getting more out of touch with Shakespeare, with the Authorized Version, with Milton, as our prose becomes less and less reminiscential, as we live a less and less historical and more and more cosmopolitan life, as foreign exchange becomes more simplified by banking facilities, and modern thought can be decanted from one language into another without difficulty—why, a translation constructed under the guidance of the models that Mr. BEVAN accepts will become more and more exotic with the lapse of time, and the artistic translator will have to furnish a glossary throughout, as Mr. BEVAN has done here and there. It is, after all, a perilous business to attempt the reproduction of an earlier stage of the language. In a ballad that I wrote many years ago in half-mocking imitation of other Brummagem performances of the same kind (*Essays and Studies*, p. 190) I used 'moe' for 'more', thinking that 'moe' had a genuine ring, but the third edition of SCHMIDT'S *Shakespeare Lexicon*, which I have just hailed with enthusiasm, informs me that 'moe' is plural only, whereas I had employed it as a singular. My ballad 'doth not please me moe (more)'.

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O course I cannot undertake to ask in detail how far Mr. BEVAN has been true to his models. The criticism of translations is an infinite business, like the measuring of asymptotes. Apart

from those renderings in which we have a real metempsychosis (A. J. P. XXI 108), in which the translation is reborn into a new creature, such as FitzGerald's Agamemnon, such as Mr. Way's Euripides, the comparison of a translation with the original is the reverse of a pastime, especially if the critic has privately or publicly dabbled in the art. Here one finds what may be called a success where one has failed utterly oneself, here another dead failure, where everybody has failed. To be artistic, a translation must have an artistic form, and the artistic form cannot be simply transferred, it must be transmuted; and I look back sadly at my own reams of experiments in 'translation into the metres of the original'. The English trimeter is a failure even when it does not go to pieces as an Alexandrine; and then again the English pentapody reminds one how restless the Greek would have felt it to be. Here, then, is opportunity for interminable comment on Mr. BEVAN'S choice of metres, his choice of rhymes (A. J. P. XIII 517). All I can say is that Mr. BEVAN does not seem to have realized how severely conscientious a workman Aischylos was in metrical art also. And then the 'needs must' of the verse and the consequent padding, the consequent clipping. One comes away from the best translation, thankful that he can read the original if only after a fashion. Reading Mr. BEVAN'S work as an original poem, the most benevolent critic will hardly class his translation among the metempsychoses. Much of it cannot be appreciated without the original, though it does not reach Browningsque depths in that regard. So f. i. v. 2 no one would understand aright 'inhuman solitude', unless it were confronted with *ἀβροτον ἰρημίαν*. Familiar words masquerade in picturesque costumes, a darling sin of 'spirited' translators, which never fails to win applause from the mob of critics, though it is death to the understanding. See my Persius 2, 45; 5, 1. So *νηλῆς* is 'steel-hard' (v. 42), *τῶν νῦν παρόντων* (v. 47) 'this coil', *τόνδε* (v. 70) 'this caitiff', *ἐλαφραίς* (v. 127), 'nimble-driven' and *ἔπαυσα* (v. 247) 'askanced'. *προσεύχου* (v. 937) 'fleece' can hardly seem to a Scot so exotic as it does to us; I forgive 'yarely' (v. 52) for *ἰπέιξη*, and I am not proof against 'tarr' for *ἐπιθούξω* (v. 72). As for the Aeschylean compounds, any translator may be pardoned for evading the problems they suggest. Less pardonable is the intrusion of compounds where no compounds exist. He must be a real genius who can make a satisfactory poetical compound in English, something that is better than the monsters that Teutonizing scribblers inflict on the lovers of English speech. Few, if any, of Mr. BEVAN'S compounds commend themselves. 'Rock-hung' is a false analogy to 'rock-bound' and 'rock-ribbed'. 'Right-areading' is not a good rendering for *ὀρθοβούλου* and 'sudden-fill'd', 'downward-ruining', 'grievous-girding' and the verb 'palsy-shake', are not beautiful, whatever their warrant.

But criticism of this sort is rather cheap, and I do not wish to do injustice to Mr. BEVAN's meritorious study, and so pass on to another rendering of Aischylos, this time into French. A French translator is not likely to sin by making false compounds. The language demands the substitution of a relative sentence, but it may be worth while to note that the relative sentence in French brings about a much closer unity than does the relative sentence in English. Victor Hugo's 'L'Homme qui rit' is not 'The Man Who Laughs' as it was actually rendered in one American translation, and Oliver Wendell Holmes' 'Roche qui pleure' does not produce the effect of 'Rock that weeps'. But apart from the compounds, what is for me the double refraction of a translation from Greek into French puts M. MAZON's *L'Orestie d'Eschyle* (Paris, Fontemoing) beyond the reach of my criticism. In the *Avertissement* M. MAZON says that he has aimed at exactness and consequently at clearness. Aischylos, he continues, is not obscure, precisely what has been said of Herakleitos (A. J. P. XXIII 346). But his language is synthetic and hence impossible to copy in true French (*à calquer en vrai français*). We must not think of translating his words but his ideas. We must analyze where he has condensed. This is unfaithfulness beyond a doubt, but it is, says M. MAZON, with national *tristesse*, a necessary unfaithfulness. Like Lancelot, M. MAZON is falsely true. So from our point of view M. MAZON's translation is really not a translation but an interpretation, and as such will be of service to the student. An Aischylos without half-lights is no Aischylos, but the garish day may enable us to understand the half-lights better. One feature, however, of this rendering may be noted. There is, of course, no attempt to reproduce the metres of the original, but there is an attempt to indicate their character. The choral parts are printed in italics, and on the margin the movement is characterized as in a piece of music—'animé', 'un peu retenu', 'plus vif', 'agité', 'modéré' and the like. This is quite in keeping with the present development of metrical study. If we give up the *ῥθος* of the different metres, and fall back on the music (A. J. P. XVI 394), no wonder that musical directions are introduced. Unfortunately the musical directions are inferences from the text, and most readers can draw those inferences for themselves.

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In so conservative a country as England is, history repeats itself most stolidly. Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets* poo-poo's Milton's saying that 'to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French'; and the famous programme of Palmer and Munro, issued in 1871, seems to have had little effect on the heavy ears of their countrymen. In a recent number of the *Oxford Point of View* Professor ROBINSON

ELLIS makes a passionate appeal to the men of the new century, let us hope with better chances of success. For the last twenty-five or thirty years the tide has been setting in this country pretty steadily away from English tradition. True, some years ago, Professor MICHAEL MONTGOMERY FISHER, a highly esteemed Latinist of Missouri, tried to stem the current in a pamphlet on the Three Pronunciations of Latin, and every now and then one notes the bubbling cry of some strong swimmer or some frantic flounderer, but there is, I believe, a practical consensus in America and Professor ELLIS actually invokes American example. Let us pray that before the Caecilians—or shall we say Rhodians?—go to Oxford from America some *modus proferendi* may be reached.

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What Pliny the Younger (Ep. 3, 1, 4) says of *Spurinna* at sixty-seven, *sola ex senectute prudentia*, might be said of GOMPERZ at seventy, if it were not that we moderns have pushed the limits of old age a good ten years on. Still, as Swinburne declares that only the poet can judge the poet, so the author of the *Griechische Denker* in the third of his *Platonische Aufsätze, Ueber die Composition der Gesetze* (Wien, Carl Gerold's Sohn) evidently feels that only an old man can judge an old man. Old experience makes no small contribution to wisdom, and GOMPERZ maintains that at all events only a man who has written a big book, a work of long breath, can judge as to the possibility of this mistake and that. To saddle all the difficulties of Plato's Laws on the unfortunate Philippos of Opus is unfair. To say that no author is to anticipate the result for which he is preparing the way, that he is to belt himself so as never to show 'the baby figure of the giant mass of things to come at large', is a counsel of perfection that is only to be expected of a young man like Ivo Bruns, who, unfortunately, was destined never to become old; and even Zeller at twenty-five was not a good judge of the work of a man of eighty. Everybody knows that the Laws has come down to us unfinished, and if every modern author, after he has spent years and years in composing and revising a work, is eager for a new edition, so that he may correct and harmonize the errors and the inconsistencies of his best endeavors, why should we not expect to find here and there in a vast structure like the Laws, which the builder left incomplete, broken bricks and untempered mortar?

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According to GOMPERZ the Laws is not a congeries of essays, huddled together by the unlucky Opuntian, but a unit; and he has traced the cross-references that run through all the twelve

books and that show in most cases an exact correspondence. The network of these references is so close, so taut, that the redactor cannot have had any hand in the work, and instead of vilipending Philippos' bad editing, we ought rather to admire the tenacious memory (*die eiserne Gedächtniskraft*) of the great thinker as he wrought on at his patriarchal age.

To expect the highest stylistic art everywhere in Plato is asking too much even of genius, and especially of an aged genius, whose last estate, by the way, has been pathetically described by Wilamowitz in his *Aristoteles u. Athen*, I 336. And then think of Plato's versatility, think of the rapidity with which he changes his point of view. What men set down as inconsistency is often simply a shift in the angle of vision.

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Of course, the Platonic scholar will not fail to study this new contribution to the fascinating subject, which is handled in GOMPERZ'S attractive way. Of especial interest to the student of Plato's style is the second appendix, in which GOMPERZ calls attention to one peculiarity of the later dialogues, Sophistes, Politicus and Philebus, viz., the mannerism of interrupting the didactic monotony by mechanical appeals to the interlocutors. For example, Phileb. 60 A. ΣΩ. Οἶμαι γὰρ οὕτω πως τὰ τότε λεχθέντα ῥηθῆναι. ΠΡΩΤ. Πᾶς; 60 B. Σ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τότε τότε καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἂν ξυνομολογοίτο; Π. Τὸ ποῖον; . . . Σ. Τὴν τὰγαθοῦ διαφέρειν φύσιν τῷδε τῶν ἄλλων. Π. Τίνι; This beadle's rap to keep the sleepy children awake is a sad contrast to the liveliness of the earlier dialogues, and GOMPERZ emphasizes the contrast in this respect between the Theaetetus and its tardy continuation, the Sophistes. How full the Laws is of peculiar expressions and turns we all know now, but long before the mania for this line of research set in the Laws was to me a quarry of examples for exceptional things, and the specimens of the periphrastic perfect optative with *ἄν* in my Syntax were collected a generation ago (S. C. G. § 288). Somehow they show the natural meticulousness of old age.

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W. H. B. The appearance of such a work as Mr. GREGORY SMITH'S *Specimens of Middle Scots* (Blackwood and Sons, 1902) is a very gratifying phenomenon. It points to a wider recognition of the facts that the Scottish of the literary period is not a mere "dialect" (except in the sense that Chaucer's East Midland is a dialect) but the lineal descendant of the great Northumbrian or Anglian tongue, and that the rich and beautiful literature of that period is the representative of the once great Northern school. Perhaps we may indulge the hope that at no very distant day some knowledge of this literature will be recognised as essential to any thorough course in English.



While Mr. Smith is right in calling the specimens he has given us "Middle Scots," we cannot agree with him in assuming that Early Scottish was identical—or would be found to be identical, if we had it—with the Northumbrian from 1100-1500; though we freely admit that the resemblance would be close. Unfortunately we have no Scottish of that early period, so we cannot bring the matter to a test; but we should like to see the steps of the process that transformed the verse of the Ruthwell Cross to the rimed octosyllabics of Wyntoun, and that gave us Hampole on one side of the Tweed and Barbour on the other.

The selections in this book are excellent, the notes judicious and illuminating, and the Introduction the best brief treatise on the subject that we have seen.

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K. F. S. Huvelin's recent monograph, *Les Tablettes Magiques et le Droit Romain* (Macon, 1901), is a work of universal interest and suggestiveness. The author brings out with greater clearness than has heretofore been done the undoubted fact that in Rome, as elsewhere, there was no distinction, primordially, between secular law and religious law. Pernice comments on the fact that the technical vocabulary of both is identical to a striking degree. But, as Huvelin's work goes far to prove, this is not because the terminology of *fas* was borrowed by *ius*. It is because *ius* and *fas* had a common origin. Their separation belongs to a later and more advanced stage of society. The main object, therefore, of Huvelin's discussion is to show that the Roman law, especially, the Roman law of *obligatio*, had its origin in religious rites. It should, of course, be emphasized that, at the early period of which he is thinking, religious rites are practically identical with magic rites. The study of primitive cults convinces one that the ancient feud between religion and magic derives not a little of its bitterness from the fact that it was originally a family quarrel.

Of all magic rites the most ancient and conservative is the *devotio*. Huvelin, therefore, makes this type the basis of his investigation, discusses the philosophy of it in its various forms, and the antique doctrine of Nemesis from which it was derived, and applies his results to the question in hand. The work is one which, from its very nature, leads into all manner of by-paths, interesting to any student of antique magic and folk-lore. His discussion, for example, of the Ephesia grammata, based, of course, on the well-known work of Wessely, shows that we may yet be able to give a complete analysis of Cato's famous prescription for a dislocated joint (r. r. 160).

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#### CORRIGENDA.

p. 2, l. 1, for 'largely' read 'large'; p. 20, l. 17, for 'verbs' read 'doubt'; p. 23, l. 28, for 'phenomena' read 'phenomenon'; p. 25, l. 6, for 'department' read 'departments'; p. 29, l. 10, for 'Kunstler' read 'Künstler'; p. 97 l. 8 read 'Sibyllina'; p. 100, l. 24, for 'Thukydiden' read 'Thukydides'; p. 106, l. 30, for 'all' read 'at all'; p. 108, l. 26, read 'on the nominal element of the verb rather than on the verbal element of the noun'; p. 111, l. 33, read ZIMMERN'S '*The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*'; l. 37, for *Euripides* read *Euripide*; p. 112, l. 13, read '*zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee*'; p. 112, l. 13, read '*zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee*'; p. 141, l. 2, for 'unannealed' read 'un-aneled'; p. 223, l. 45, read 'dépendance'; p. 229, l. 26, read 'Cesareo.'



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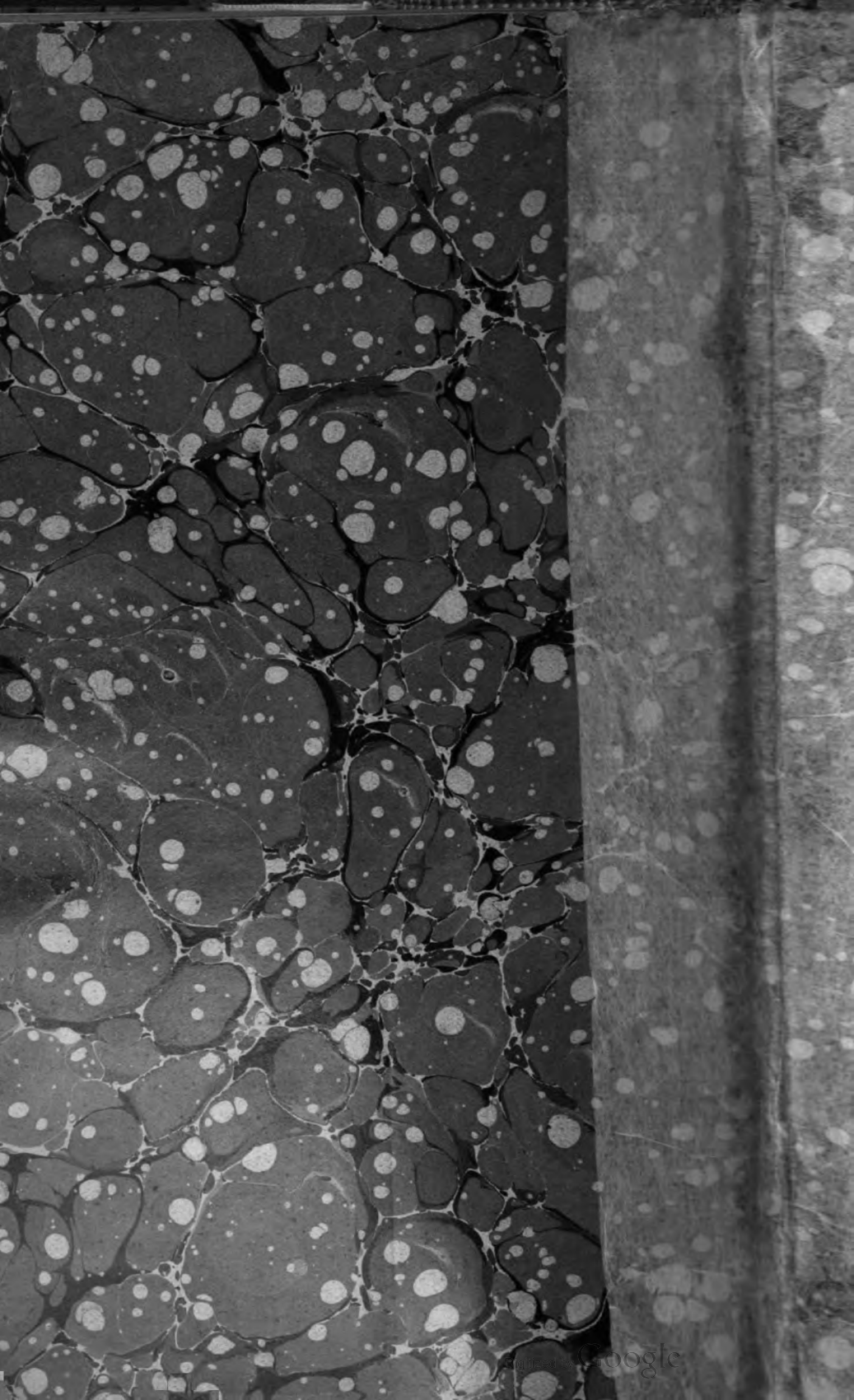












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